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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*On the restoration of an ancient Persian Inscription, analogous to those at Behistun.* *By* THE REVEREND J. W. DONALDSON. D.D.

[*Read January* 18, 1851.]

THE beginnings of ancient history too often contain a large admixture of legendary or fabulous ingredients; and the difficulty of discriminating between truth and fiction is greatly increased in those cases where the annalist derives his information from statements or documents conveyed in a language with which he is imperfectly acquainted. The critical historian is obliged to content himself with conjectures, more or less arbitrary, unless he can fall back upon authentic monumental records which he is enabled to interpret. This solid basis has at last been supplied, in the case of early Persian history, by the inscriptions which Colonel Rawlinson has deciphered and explained, and I propose in the following paper to make these memorials available for the correction of a curious tale respecting the great Darius.

That the inquisitive spirit of Herodotus was influenced by a pure love of truth, and that he faithfully related all that he saw with his own eyes, and honestly recorded the statements which were made to him in foreign lands, is a fact which receives increasing confirmation from the labours of modern travellers and scholars. He did not however relinquish the privilege, which he considered to belong to the semi-epic character of his work, of enlarging at pleasure upon a slender thread of narrative; and I have had another opportunity of proving[1] that he did not scruple to borrow from the contemporary Greek poets even the phraseology of speeches and conversations, which he represents as taking place in the heart of Persia. It can be shown that, although he had some acquaintance with the ancient Persian language, he was far from perfect in his knowledge of it; thus the Behistun inscription

[1] Transactions of the Philological Society for 1843–4.

proves that he was not correct in his statement that all Persian names end in *s* (I., 139), and he has obviously confused between *khshayârsha* and *khshatrâ* (VI., 98). He might therefore be expected to commit some blunder in translating an inscription read to him from the cuneiform characters, and he would not be unlikely to enlarge upon his misconceptions until he had made a pretty story out of these unsafe materials. I hope not only to show that he has done so, but to get at the truth through the veil which he has cast over it; and as I could not have accomplished this without the help of Colonel Rawlinson's papers, I cannot do better than submit the results of my combinations to the Society to which the learned world is indebted for the publication of that distinguished officer's most able and satisfactory researches.

Everybody has read the account given by Herodotus of the manner in which Darius, the son of Hystaspes, was raised to the throne of Persia. We are told that after the seven conspirators had slain the Magian impostor, they first deliberated about the form of government which they should establish, and Darius having carried the day in favour of monarchy, it was agreed that the sovereignty should devolve on one of the six—for Otanes retired from the competition—whose horse should be the first to neigh at sunrise on the following morning, when they were all mounted. This omen was secured to Darius by the ingenious instrumentality of his groom, who is called Œbares, (Οἰβάρης),[1] and as it was confirmed by the celestial auguries of lightning and thunder from the cloudless sky, he was at once saluted king. In memory of this proceeding, the historian tells us, Darius had a bas-relief made representing a man on horseback, under which was the following inscription : "Darius, the son of Hystaspes, by the virtue of his horse (of which the name was mentioned in the inscription), and of his groom Œbares, obtained the kingdom of the Persians" (Herod. III., 84—88).

It is impossible to read this narrative without feeling convinced that the incidents are fictitious; and we should dismiss it at once as a piece of pure invention, if it were not for the fact, that an inscription is quoted in confirmation of the alleged circumstances. That Herodotus saw this inscription, and heard it read to him, can scarcely be doubted. That he has not rendered it correctly, and that he has constructed the tale from the document as misunderstood by himself, is an obvious conclusion. For is it likely that if Darius had obtained the kingdom by a successful trick of his groom, he would have commemorated the degrading circumstance, and have qualified his own glories by an acknowledgment of obligation to a servant? This is not

[1] We have the name Ἀρτεμβάρης in Æschylus.

the true "Cambyses' vein" of the kings of Persia, nor does it accord with the boastful tone of the Behistun and other inscriptions in which Darius invariably ascribes his power and his victories to the favour of Ormazd, and not to the aid of man. To such an extent however has the strange fiction about the horse and groom taken root in the minds of scholars that they have even used it to explain the name *Hystaspes*, which, in contradiction to Herodotus and the Behistun inscription, they consider as the surname of Darius, not as the name of his father. Thus Hyde (*Histor. Religionis veterum Persarum*, pp. 304, 5), who attributes this erroneous interpretation of the name to Herodotus, says: "Si eisdem literis et diversis vocalibus sonaretur گشتاسب, *Gheshtasp* satis apte significaret *factus equo*, cum ex equi hinnitu factus fuerit rex. Hocque, magis obvium quam verum, credidisse videtur Herodotus, verioris rationis ignarus." Vullers (*Ueber die Religion des Zoroaster*, p. 104) adopts expressly this reference of the name, though he gives a different etymology. He considers *ghushtasp* to be derived from *ghush*, "to make a noise," passive participle, *ghushta*, and renders the compound *dessen Pferd gewiehert hat*, "he whose horse has neighed!"[1] Burnouf, who sees the mistake of voice implied in this etymology, falls into the same error himself. For, taking the Zend form *Vîstâçpa*, he derives the first part (Yaçna; *notes et éclaircissemens*, p. cvi.) from the passive participle *vîsta*—Sanscr. *vitta*, from the root *vid*, "to acquire," "to obtain," and regards the whole word as a possessive compound signifying "celui qui a acquis ou qui possède des chevaux;" and by consquence equivalent to *écuyer*. But he has not shown how a passive participle could bear this active signification. He suggests that the word might have denoted an office or dignity, and he quotes from Ammianus Marcellinus (l. xxiii, c. 6. Valen. p. 369): *Vitaxæ: id est magistri equitum;* and Heysch.: Βίσταξ, ὁ βασιλεὺς παρὰ Πέρσαις. Supposing that in these two cases we ought to change *x* into *sp*, which is probable, the name *Vitaspes* would correspond to Ὑδάσπης, rather than to Ὑστάσπης, and the σ in the first syllable of Βίσταψ or Βιστάσπης would prevent us from identifying the word with one in which that letter was omitted. I believe that *Hystaspes* is an epithet of the Persian sun-god *Ormazd*. Æschylus, who had undoubtedly had abundant opportunities of learning the Persian worship from the captives of Marathon and Salamis, makes the Persian chorus speak thus of the West (*Pers.* 230):

Τῆλε πρὸς ἑσπαίς ἄνακτος Ἡλίου φθιναπάτων·

[1] The noise signified by *ghush* might proceed from a horse; but it is the very reverse of neighing. Besides, *ghushta* would signify "sounded," not "sounding."

and I think that the name of *Ormazd*, namely *Aura-mazdâ*, Zend *Ahuramazdâo*, means "king of light." I agree with Saint Martin in referring the first part to the Zend *hvare*, gen. *hûrô;* and *mazdâo*, "great in knowledge," means "a king," or "god," just as Θαμιμασάδας, the Scythian name for Neptune (Herod. IV., 59), means the "King of the Sea." (*Varronianus*, p. 51, 2nd edit.) With regard to the word *Vishtâspa*, or *Vîstâçpa*, it is obvious, as Colonel Rawlinson remarks, that the labial semivowel is more original than the guttural of the modern Persian *Gushtasp* (X., p. 149). That the last two syllables include the common word *açpa* is sufficiently clear, and the analogy of the Greek compounds in ἵππος would lead us to suppose that *vîsta* is some epithet for "a horse." From विस, *vis*, "to throw" or "send," we could imagine a passive participle *vista*, signifying "swift;" compare *celer*, "a horseman," κέλης, "a race-horse," *pro-cella*, "a rapid wind," with the root of *cello*, "to push forward," *excello*, "to shoot up," &c.[1] Some similar meaning might attach to the names of the rivers *Hydaspes*, *Choaspes*, &c. The Greeks represented running streams by horses, as in the case of Pegasus; and the Sileni, or stream-gods, had horses' tails. That the perpetual course of the river, and the sun's apparent passage through the sky, marking the course of time, suggested the same ideas, and invited similar expressions, has been shown elsewhere (*New Cratylus*, 2nd edit., § 270). With regard to the meaning which I would give to *vistâspa*, it is clear that the old Persian language admitted of a *bahuvrîhi* compound of this kind; for we have one precisely similar in the royal name or epithet *Arta-Xerxes*, i. e., *Arta-Khshatrâ*, the first part of which is the perf. pass. participle of the root *ri*, in Zend *ereta*, and the second part a substantive; so that *Arta-Khshatrâ*, "the honoured warrior," is quite parallel to *vista-aspa*, "the swift steed," and both are capable of being used as adjectives or epithets; and I am rather disposed to think that the same explanation is applicable to *khshay-ârsha*, namely, that this signifies *regiè sacer*, rather than *rex sanctus*. The case would be but little affected, if the horse which Herodotus saw on the monument were a hippogriff. Indeed, I feel convinced that the story about the griffins and the Arimaspians is built upon some symbolism referring to the equestrian worship of the sun. The great disk of the sun led to the idea of a monophthalmic deity; and perhaps, after all, the horse of Ormazd lies concealed in the *Arimaspa* = *Aurim-açpa*. This, however, is mentioned only in passing. (See *Varron.*, p. 52, 2nd ed.) With regard to our present object we have simply to show that the ancient

[1] Compare also, ῥίμφα, "quickly," with ῥίπτω, "to throw;" κραιπνός, "nimble," with the Sanscrit root *kship*, "to cast;" *rapidus* with *rapio*, and so forth.

Persians regarded the horse as the emblem of the sun, and we shall then travel rapidly from the name of Hystaspes to the story about Darius and the horse.

The augury, by virtue of which Darius obtains his sovereignty, is the neighing of a horse at sunrise, followed by lightning. The Persian kings, when they went to war, were attended by a chariot drawn by white horses, consecrated to the sun, and a horse sacred to that god was led behind it. (Herod., VII., 40; I., 189; VII., 113. Q.Curt. III., 3, § 13; to which add Zendavesta, II., 264; Xen. *Anab.* IV., 5, § 35; Justin, I., 10; Heliodor. *Æthiop.* 10.)[1] Long ago I called attention to the fact that the Σύριον ἅρμα, in which Xerxes is placed by Æschylus, (*Pers.* 86), was neither more nor less than this *sûrya-vâhanam*, or car of the *Sûrya-dêvas;* and I also hinted that the decision of Darius' claim to the throne, by the neighing of a horse at sunrise, seemed to have some reference to the same symbolical connexion between the horse, as the emblem of motion, and the sun, as the index of time, (*New Cratylus*, § 473). If *Hystaspes*, "the swift-horsed," is an epithet of the great luminary, this name, borne by the father of Darius, indicates the peculiar form of the symbolical worship of that elementary god, which the family always kept up. We have a similar record of family worship in the names of Gelo and Hiero, (*New Cratylus*, § 459). Now in the Behistun inscriptions Darius always attributes his glories to the favour of *Ormazd*, this "king of light." If he also termed his patron-god "the rider of the heavenly steed," the figure carved on the bas-relief would represent the god himself, just as is the case in the Behistun monument, though Ormazd is there floating in the clouds; which, according to some systems of mythology, are regarded as the chariot or horse of God. On this supposition, the phraseology of the Behistun inscriptions will enable us to see how the groom *Œbares* has gained a spurious existence, and every difficulty will be removed.

The Greek text of the lost inscription is as follows: ΔΑΡΕΙΟΣ Ὁ ΥΣΤΑΣΠΕΟΣ, ΣΥΝ ΤΕ ΤΟΥ ΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΗι ΑΡΕΤΗι (τὸ οὔνομα λέγων) ΚΑΙ ΟΙΒΑΡΕΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΙΠΠΟΚΟΜΟΥ, ΕΚΤΗΣΑΤΟ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΣΕΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΙΗΝ. It is important to observe that the name of the horse is said to be mentioned in the inscription. Now if our supposition is correct that it was "the horse of heaven" that was mentioned, the phrase "by the favour of the horse of heaven" would be rendered *wasnâ açpahya asmânahya*, or *spargaçpâ*, where the second

[1] Among the imputed superstitions of the Jews, (II. Reg. XXIII., 11), we read of the סוּסִים אֲשֶׁר נָתְנוּ מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה לַשֶּׁמֶשׁ, and of the מַרְכְּבוֹת הַשָּׁמֶשׁ, referring to certain images in the Temple.

genitive might appear to be in apposition, instead of regimen, and the word *asmânahya* would be taken as the name. In the second reference, I presume a compound epithet *asmânaspa*, or *spargaspa*, analogous to *Vistaspa*. That *sparga*, in Medo-Persian, might correspond to the Sanscrit *svarga* स्वर्ग, as *açpa* does to *açva*, and that there might be a *tatpurusha* compound, like *spargaçpa* or *asmânaçpa*, is shown *à priori* by the compounds *Sparga-pises* and *Sparga-pithes*, (Herod. I., 211; IV., 78), which seem to be equivalent to the Sanscrit *svarga-pati*, "lord of heaven." (*Varron.*, p. 51, 2nd edit.) The name *asbâra*, signifying "a horseman" (Rawlinson, XI., 1, p. 64), or the verb *frâbara*, or *abara*, or *vyabara*, could easily be represented by Οἰβάρης, pronounced *Wibares*; and the whole inscription would stand thus: *Adam Dâryavush Vistâspahya putra.* (See Rawlinson, X. p, 279.) *Washnâ aspahya asmânahya* (or *spargahya*), *adam khsâyathiya abavam* (p. 204). *Asbâra asmânaspa* (or *spargaspa*) *kshatram manâ frâbara* (or *abara*, or *vyabara*), (p. 200). That is: "I am Darius, the son of Hystaspes. By the grace of the steed of heaven I became king. The rider of the heavenly steed granted me the empire." That such a reference to the steed of heaven is in accordance with the religious phraseology of the ancient Persians is clear from the words of the *Zendavesta*, as rendered by D'Anquetil: "J'invoque et je célèbre le soleil éblouissant, *coursier rapide*, l'œil d'Ormazd." (Burnouf, *Yaçna*, p. 349.)

As the citation of the inscription by Herodotus is immediately followed by an enumeration of the satrapies, and as a similar description of territories succeeds to a similar declaration of divine favour, in the Behistun monument (Rawlinson, X., p. 197), it might be inferred that the equestrian bas-relief furnished the Greek historian with some of the materials for his statistics; consequently, that he quoted only the beginning or a part of the record.

My view of the matter does not at all interfere with the possible fact, that the sacred horse was regarded as an oracle, and consulted for an augury; or that the priest who waited upon the animal practised some collusion, which may have suggested the story about the groom; but, even in that case, the name of the priest would not have been mentioned in the inscription. The constant occurrence in the Behistun monument of the phrase, *Auramazdâ khshatram manâ frâbara*, renders it nearly certain that something similar must have occurred in the inscription translated by Herodotus. Now we know, from the case of Ὄαξος, that F or o might represent *f*, or even *fr* (*Cf.* ἄγνυμι with ῥήγνυμι, and *frango*, &c.—*New Cratylus*, § 110):

and even without this we might assume *vyabara*, or some other compound of the same verb, for the prefix *vi* is sometimes merely intensive. As therefore there is every reason to believe that no man, still less a servant, would be mentioned in the inscription, as having helped the king to his throne, as the name introduced is closely allied in sound to the verb which most probably appeared in this place, as in the Behistun inscription, to say nothing of the probable occurrence of the word *asbâra* also, the faithful groom must relinquish all claim to a monumental existence, and resign his place for the past tense of an active verb.

All this is, of course, put forward as a matter of conjectural reproduction; but I contend that the criticism rests on a scientific basis. If Darius had an inscription engraved on stone, purporting to give an account of his elevation, it must have been analogous to the great chronicle which we know he left at Behistun; and if it was at all like that which Herodotus cites, it could hardly have been in other words than those which I have restored, especially as the spurious Οἰβάρης retains a trace of the constantly occurring *frâbara*. At any rate it can do no harm to place on record, and leave to the judgment of scholars, a view, which, if correct, substitutes a true glimpse of Persian history for an ingenious but improbable chapter of romance; and rescues from oblivion a document, which, if extant, would rank beside the most interesting and valuable of the cuneiform inscriptions.

Art. II.—*On the Lake Phiala—the Jordan and its Sources*
By the late Captain Newbold, F.R.S., *&c.*

In Josephus we find the following account of the sources of the Jordan, and the Phiala lake: "The head of this celebrated river [the Jordan] has been thought to be Panion; but in truth it passes hither underground; and the source of it is Phiala, an hundred and twenty furlongs [stadia] from Cæsarea [Philippi], a little on the right hand, and not much out of the way to Trachonitis. It is called Phiala (that is, the Vial) from the round figure of it; and its water stands always at a stay, the basin being brimful, without either shrinking or overflowing. The first discovery of this secret was from Philip, the Tetrarch of Trachonitis, by casting straws into Phiala, that came out again at Panion, which, till that time, was taken for the head of the Jordan. This river, thus, as to appearance, taking its origin from the Cave of Panion, afterwards crosses the bogs and fens of the lake Semechonitis; and after a course of an hundred and twenty furlongs further, passes under the city of Julias [or Bethsaida], and so over the lake Genezareth; and then running a long way through a wilderness or desert, it empties itself at last into the lake Asphaltitis, or the Dead Sea."[1]

The Jewish historian speaks of another source of the Jordan called the Little Jordan ("*τὸν μικρὸν καλούμενον* Ἰορδάνην"), near Daphne, or Dan. Pliny, however, speaks only of the fountain of Panion as the source.[2] "Jordanis amnis oritur e fonte Paneade, qui cognomen dedit Cæsareæ." From the Scriptures little definite is to be gleaned regarding the sources of the Jordan beyond their springing from the base of Lebanon.

It is hardly necessary to mention that the sources at Dan and Panion have been recognised by Seetzen and Burckhardt in the fine springs of Tel el Kádhí and Bániás. The true lake Phiala has been lost sight of for many centuries, until accidentally discovered by Irby and Mangles in travelling direct from Damascus to Bániás, in 1818; though it was heard of by Seetzen under the name of *Birket er Rám*. The pool seen by Burckhardt, on his way from Damascus *viâ* Kanei-

[1] Wars of the Jews, book III. chap. xviii.
[2] Pliny, Hist. Nat., Vol. XV.

tarah, to the bridge of Benát Y'akúb, which he mistook for the Phiala lake, is much too far to the south of Bániás.

Irby and Mangles briefly describe it as "a very picturesque lake, apparently circular, of little more than a mile in circumference, surrounded on all sides by sloping hills, richly wooded. The singularity of this lake is, that it has no apparent supply nor discharge; and its waters appeared perfectly still, though clear and limpid: a great many wildfowl were swimming on it."[3]

As I had more leisure to examine the lake than those intelligent and intrepid travellers, the following additional particulars may not be uninteresting.

The Lake Phiala.

The lake Phiala, the *Birket er Rám,* بركة الرام of the Arabs, lies, according to bearings carefully taken during my route, in 1846, E. 19° S. (reduced from the magnetic to true bearing), from Bániás. The approximate distance thence, calculating four miles per hour, at the brisk pace at which I travelled (with horses), would be about twelve miles; which, calculating the stadium at the usual rate of one-tenth of a geographical mile, will coincide very closely with the distance (120 stadia) given by Josephus. Its situation, easterly from Bániás, and a little to the S. of the road leading through the ancient Trachonitis, identifies it still more clearly. Its circular form, its brimful appearance, are the same as in the days of the Jewish historian.

The ascent to the lake from Bániás and the basin of the Jordan is steep: its elevation above the level of the sea, approximated by the boiling-point, taken with a common thermometer, (Troughton and Simms), is about 3000 feet high. It lies surrounded by hills, from 100 to 200 feet high, forming a basin, in a plain, or rather a broad valley, sloping towards the Jordan, and overlooked by the lofty dome of Hermon, glittering with silvery ribbon-like glaciers. The elevation of Mount Hermon above the sea has been roughly estimated at 10,000 French feet. It bears from the Phiala Lake N. 16° E.

The form of the lake, as before stated, is nearly circular, and 2954 paces in circumference. The water is limpid and clear, but of a dark hue, occasioned probably by its great depth and the black basaltic basin in which it reposes. My Arabs declined drinking it, contenting themselves with washing their mouths and feet. The taste I found to be a little brackish and flat, and the temperature slightly thermal (75° Fahr.; temp. of air in shade 78°).

[1] Travels, pp. 286—289.

The Arabs say that no fish are to be found in the lake, though it abounds with leeches and frogs. I observed a Druse on the bank quietly bleeding himself, by allowiug the leeches to fasten on his arm.

The surface of the lake was tranquil, and glassy as a mirror—no motion that could be construed into the whirl of water finding a vent downwards; nor could I find any lateral outlet by which the waters of the lake could escape either to the springs at Bániás or elsewhere. I repeated the experiment of Philip the Tetrarch: but the straw thrown in remained motionless on the surface. It is interesting, however, to note that the traveller may hear at the present day, among the Arabs, the same tradition which was current in the time of Josephus, and which induced the Tetrarch of Trachonitis to test its truth by the experiment of throwing in straw and chaff, and looking for their reappearance iu the springs of Bániás. The Tetrarch was no doubt imposed on in the execution of his experiment, by the Arabs from whom he heard the tradition; and who would have been unpleasantly compromised with their Roman Mutasallim, had the experiment failed.

Similar groundless popular traditions exist in India. On the rock of Gooty, a Brahman showed me a spring in a cave; from which he stated that a line thrown in, would emerge ou the surface of a stream, several miles off, in the plain below. The experiment was not successful: the line floated quietly on the surface of the spring, like the straw on the lake, without evincing the slightest inclination to commence its subterraneous voyage.

Other strong arguments against the magnificent springs of Bániás, which burst forth at once a river from the womb of the rock, being supplied by the lake Phiala, are, the stagnant and impure character of the lacustrine water, compared with the delicious sparkliug water of Bániás; and the inadequacy of the supply in ratio to so constant and large a demand. The temperature too, of the springs at Bániás, I found to be only 58° Fahr., while that of the lake is 75°. The only visible source from which the lake derives its supply of water, is from the drainage of the sides of the basin, and numerous small springs, which I found oozing forth in the boggy and turfy ground around the margin. The loss by evaporation would be amply sufficient to account for the phenomenon of the lake's never overflowiug; but it was evident, from a water mark, traceable all round its edges, that the surface of the water had been six inches higher during the winter.

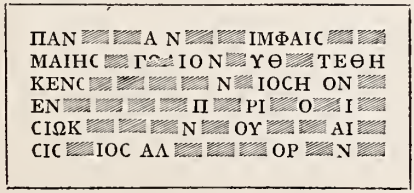
The basin, at the bottom of which the lake lies, has much the appearance of an ancient crater of elevation. It is composed of basalt, both vesicular and compact, containing crystals of olivine, and is covered with a green turf, spongy from springs which ooze out from the

cracks and chinks in this volcanic rock. The sides slope to the lake at about an angle of 15°, but are irregular and broken; and shaded in, in many places, by luxuriant underwood. I found no traces of *lapilli*, *scoriæ*, or pumice. The surrouuding plain, to the base of Hermon, on the north, is formed of *coulées* of basalt, which stretch down by the S. of Bániás, to the valley of the Jordan, in uninterrupted sheets: bursting from the enormously thick strata, chiefly of marine limestone, which form the mountain mass of Anti Libanus.

Besides this lake, and the Birket er Rám of Burckhardt, there is a small lake of the same name, close to the south of Bániás, on the other side of the stream which flanks that town.

First Source—Springs of Bániás.

These fine springs are situated on the N.E. side of the present town of Bániás. They gush forth by seven or eight vents from beneath a mass of rocky débris, at the base of limestone cliffs, facing westerly towards the valley of the Jordan, near the mouth of a natural cavern (the grotto of Pan), in the face of the rock, in which are cut six ornamental niches: the northernmost is ornamented with a scallop-shell top, and flanked by Doric pilasters, doubly fluted near the base. The one next to it contains a pedestal, on which, probably, a statue was placed. Several Greek inscriptions occur on the rock near the niches, much damaged by time, one of which, on the middle niche, copied by Burckhardt, contained the title of a priest of the god Pan, and is supposed by Col. Leake to have been annexed to a dedication by a priest of Pan, who had prefixed the usual *pro salute* for the reigning Emperors. I found here the following fragment of an inscription uncopied by Burckhardt.



The cliffs are about eighty feet high, of compact buff-coloured limestone, the surface of which has reddened in weathering. The springs form three streams, which spread out over a plateau at the base of the cliffs, shaded by a verdant grove of poplars and oleanders, and gardens, in which I found several columns and Corinthian capitals, as well as the foundations of the cella of a temple, the remains probably of the

temple erected here by Herod the Great to Augustus.[1] The line of springs is fifty-two paces across; and the three streams, if united, would make a river at least ten yards broad, and nearly a foot deep, close to the sources from which the water gushes with considerable rapidity. One of the streams is diverted to turn a mill, but they are all united a little below Bániás, passing westerly by its N. flank, and then southerly, when they are joined by the stream of Wádí el Kíd, about four miles from Bániás, and subsequently by that of Tel el Kádhí, before reaching the Húleh lake, which lies about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles S. by W. from Bániás, down the valley of the Jordan. The upper part of this valley from the *Tel el Kadhí*, to the sources of the Hásbeiyá stream, is called *Wádi et Teim* وادي التيم.

Second Source—Springs of Tel el Kádhí تل القاضي.

The springs of *Tel el Kádhí*, the second source of the Jordan, are made by Burckhardt, probably by an error in the press, or slip of the pen, to lie *N.E.* from Bániás, at the distance of one hour and a quarter; by Berton, N. 75° W., distance 4160 metres; and by Robinson and Smith, who do not appear however to have visited these springs, or those at Bániás, at about an hour's distance W.N.W.$\frac{1}{2}$W.[2] My own observations make Tel el Kádhí about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant from the modern town of Bániás, W. 12° N., or, what is the same, N. 78° W.

The Tel, or mound, stands in the valley of the Jordan, on a position considerably lower than that of Bániás. It is a low flat-topped elevation, based on basalt, elevated from ten to thirty feet above the level of the valley, of an irregular oval form, and about 300 paces in circumference, covered with soil, in which occur fragments of pottery, cut stones, &c., indications of an ancient site. The soil is clothed with a luxuriant vegetation of bushes and trees.

At the N.W. base of this mound gushes forth from an opening in the basalt, a copious spring of clear water, which forms at once, with the aid of a few lateral springs, a rapid stream, eight paces broad and six inches deep, running along the west side of the mound, down the valley southerly to the Húleh lake.

Another, and equally copious spring, boils up on the top of the mound, and runs by a magnificent tree, over the side of the mound, turning a mill in its course, to join the other spring. The ground

[1] Reland, Pal., pp. 347, 348.

[2] Bib. Researches, Vol. VII., p. 350.

around this singular source is boggy, choked with bushes, and difficult of access. The united volume of both these springs is certainly equal if not superior, to that of the Bániás sources. My Arabs gave the name of *Ed Dán* الدان to the stream formed by the springs of Tel el Kádhí; and pointed out to me, about three miles S. by W. from the mound, the point of its junction with the Bániás stream نهر البانياس, with which it falls into the Húleh lake, nearer its eastern than its western angle. Burckhardt heard that the ancient name of the springs at Bániás was Júr; and that those at Tel el Kádhí were still called Dan; whence he infers the name of the river produced by these two sources, Júr-dan. Robinson and Smith reasonably object[1] to this etymology, which goes back at least to the time of Jerome, that the name Jordan is merely the Greek form (Ιορδάνην), for the Hebrew יַרְדֵּן Jarden, which has no relation to the name Dan; and that the name Jordan was applied to the river in the time of Abraham, at least five centuries before the name Dan was given to the city at its source, which was originally called Laish.

Among the Arabs of the present day the name Jordan does not exist; though Abulfeda, and some other early writers, mention this sacred river as *El Urdun*. It is universally called *Esh Sherî'ah* الشريعة (the Watering-place). El Kebír الكبير (the Great) is added when they wish to distinguish it from the *Sherî'ah el Mandhúr*, the Hieromax of the ancients, which joins it from the east, about two hours below the lake of Tiberias.

The third source of the Jordan—the Hásbeiyá River, (Nahr Hásbeiyá) نهر حاصبيا.

This, the most distant, and most considerable source of the Jordan, has entirely escaped the notice of ancient writers. At the lowest point where I crossed it, at the bridge of El Ghujar, forty-three minutes walk, W. 5° N. from Tel el Kádhí, it formed a rapid, clear stream, thirty paces broad, and from two to four feet deep, flowing in a great crevasse in the basalt basing the valley, seventy paces wide, with nearly perpendicular sides, from fifteen to sixty feet high, the bottom of which was shaded with a thicket of oleander, willow, raspberry, and oriental sycamore. The bridge, of three arches, was strongly built of stone, sixty-five spaces long, and four paces broad. Two of the

[1] Bib. Res., III. 352.

arches were slightly pointed ; the third was round. A little above the bridge, the stream falls over a ledge of basalt about two feet high. Higher up the valley, W. of Hásbeiyá, it is still a considerable stream, sixteen paces broad, and a foot deep, clear and rapid. It is here crossed by a stone bridge of two arches (a third is perhaps concealed by the underwood), forty-five paces long and four paces broad. A little above the bridge, part of the stream is turned off by means of a large stone dam, to turn a mill on the left bank, and to irrigate some gardens. I dismounted here, and proceeded on foot to the sources, which were reached after twenty-five minutes walk, N. by E. from the bridge. Above the bridge, the valley, *Wádí et Teim*, narrows, and the banks become steep and precipitous, consisting of limestone cliffs, overlooked by the lofty mountains of Anti Libanus. Nearing the sources, the water becomes scant, and the bed encumbered by huge precipitated blocks of limestone. It was evident that the stream owed its supply of water not to one fountain-head alone, but to a number of springs rising in the bottom and sides of the ravine. The last springs to the N.E., I found under a limestone cliff on the right bank ; they are small and insignificant ; I followed up the bed a mile further to the N.E., but it proved to be nothing more than the dry, rocky channel of a winter torrent.

Between the Hásbeiyá bridge, and that of El Ghujar, this stream receives a considerable tributary from the mountains on its left or eastern bank. I crossed it en route from Bániás to Hásbeiyá, one hour and eighteen minutes S. by W., below Hásbeiyá, and fifty-eight minutes below the village of 'Ain Jerfa. It is a clear, rapid stream, ten paces broad and two feet deep, turns a mill, and is crossed by a bridge of two arches. Near the bridge it receives a small rivulet from the right. The valley here is well cultivated, and sprinkled with poplars and oleanders: it is covered with a fine, rich, reddish alluvium, resting on the ordinary limestone of the Anti Libanus.

Still further down, between the bridge El Ghujar and the lake Húleh, the Hásbeiyá river is said by the Arabs to be joined by the Zúk stream, the sources of which I visited at the western side of the valley, where the Wádí et Teim opens into the basin of the Húleh. I crossed the Zúk stream fifty minutes W. 22° N., from the bridge of El Ghujar over the Hásbeiyá river. It is six paces wide, two feet deep, clear and rapid, and spanned by a stone bridge, of one pointed arch. It flows in a pretty dell, covered with oleander, willow, and wild raspberry, over a *coulée* of basalt: the foundations of an old site were traceable on the right, and remains of a Ghawárnih village.

Another rivulet, which I crossed twenty-eight minutes to E. 30° S.

of the bridge of El Ghujar, as well as many other springs on the west of the valley below Zúk, bursting up fron the contact line of the basalt and limestone, are said by the Arabs to join the Hásbeiyá river before it pours its accumulated water into the Húleh lake.

Whether the united streams of Bániás and Tel el Kádhí, and the Hásbeiyá river, unite, or not, before reaching the Húleh lake, is a geographical problem, which, I regret not having had the opportunity of personally solving: but I was assured by the Ghawárnih Arabs of the Húleh, that they only united in the lake. Seetzen[1] indeed, on his map, makes the two run together near the lake; but he only travelled along the western side, and his map is here a mere copy, by another hand, from his rough sketch. Irby and Mangles attempted to go down from Bániás to the lake on the east of the Jordan; but found the region so full of marshes and numerous streams, that they were compelled to pass over to the western side of the basin. Among all these "numerous streams," they speak only of crossing the Jordan itself, and say nothing of the size or nature of the rest (Travels, p. 290). Berton, on his map, like Seetzen, makes the two main streams unite near the lake; but he too only travelled along the west side, and his map, notwithstanding the pretension of minute detail, has not the stream from Merj 'Ayún, nor does it even distinguish the two streams of Bániás and Tel el Kádhí. The stream and fountain of Hásbeiyá appear to have been first rccognised, or at least, distinctly noticed, as a source of the Jordan, by Fürer von Haimendorf, in A.D. 1566, in travelling from the Húleh northwards through a part of the Wádí et Teim, and thence to the Bakâa and Ba'albek (p. 280, Nurnb. 1646). Seetzen was the next Frank traveller to visit and describe that region, and nóte the stream as a part of the Jordan (*l. c.*, pp. 340—344.) Then followed Burckhardt (pp. 32—43), Buckingham (*l. c.*), Richardson (Vol. II. p. 449. seq.), &c. &c.

Fourth and Easternmost Source of the Jordan—Springs of Esh Shor.

A fonrth, but minor tributary to the Jordan, not mentioned by the ancients, is found iu the springs of Esh Shór الشور, which lie about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles E. by N. from the Phiala lake. They form a rivulet, a yard broad and a foot deep, which runs by the N. side of the Phiala lake between it and Majdel, increased by several springs in its

[1] Bib. Res., III. 354 (Robinson and Smith).

course down the deep defile of Wádí esh Shór; and passing close to the S. of Bániás by *Wádi el Kíd*, joins the Báníás river in the basin of the Húleh.

This is evidently the rivulet seen by Irby and Mangles,[1] east of the Phiala lake, and which they mention as having crossed by a causeway into Bániás. Burckhardt[2] also mentions it under the name of Wádí Kíd, immediately to the S. of Bániás.

This stream, I was assured by the Arabs, never dries up. I saw it in the month of May, when no rain had fallen for many days; it was then six yards broad, and two feet deep, clear and rapid.

The "causeway" of Irby and Mangles, and the "bridge" of Burckhardt, by which it is crossed at Báuiás, is in reality a massive stone bridge, the lowness of the parapet of which, no doubt, induced the former travellers to give it the name of a causeway. In the parapet are seen fragments of ancient sarcophagi of white marble, with wreaths and other sepulchral devices, in bas-relief. The bridge is of a single very slightly pointed arch.

Lake of the Merj el Man, بركة المرج المن.

Having been informed by the Arabs of a small lake on Mount Hermon (Jebel Sheikh), the waters of which, they said, flowed to the Hásbeiyá river, I went in search of it from Bániás; and succeeded in reaching it after a steep ascent of two hours fifty-seven minutes, E. 10° N. from Báuiás; I found, however, that the overflow, only during the winter season, went to increase the waters of the Jordan. The following are the particulars of the route.

The ascent commences over the basalt rocks, from the S. or left bank of *Wádi el Kíd*. At half an hour the basalt was succeeded by the ordinary marine limestone of the Anti Libanus, which continues farther up to the lake; and thence, probably, to the highest peak of Hermon. At fifty-five minutes from Bániás, passed a spring, and seventeen minutes afterwards another spring, both running westerly. Two minutes beyond the last spring, passed a *walí* (tomb of a Mahomedan saint), and a fine clump of the Surdiyan oak (*Quercus ilex*); and four minutes afterwards crossed the small rivulet of Jabeitá, running westerly. In twenty-four minutes from the rivulet, arrived at the village of Jabeitá جبيتا, and thence ascended the steep and stony valley of Wádí Saab وادي سعب, with craggy and well-wooded sides.

[1] Travels, pp. 286—289. [2] Burckhardt, p. 40.

Reached the summit in thirty-five minutes. Thence, over undulating, well wooded ground, to the lake, forty minutes.

It is situated in the midst of a small elliptic plain, which forms the flat bottom of a basin, girt in by a wall of limestone rocks, wooded in the most picturesque manner, with the Mellúl oak and other trees. The surface of this beautiful isolated spot was covered with a carpet of green turf. At the N.E. extremity rose the highest peak of Hermon, in solitary grandeur—the *Rás el Jebel Zerka* of the Arabs—serene in the clear blue vault of heaven, and radiant with a hundred glaciers.

The lake is a shallow circular pond, 252 paces in circumference, and owes its supply of water to winter rains, and the thawing of the snows and glaciers of this elevated region. It is fringed by a circle of stones, like some moraine lakes: and is said to overflow during the winter. The surplus water finds an outlet at the S.W. extremity of the basin, and flows down Wádí el Assal to Wádí et Teim and the basin of the Húleh.

The plain of the lake is about 900 paces long by 140 broad. The lake Húleh is visible from the rocks which form its sides; and bears (the N.W. angle) S. 40° W.

I observed a vast number of bees gathering honey from the petals of a bright yellow flower, which literally perfumed the air, and whose leaves were glittering with the dew-drops of Hermon. A few Druse shepherd boys were watering their flocks at the lake.

I returned to Bániás by a different route, desending Mount Hermon, by the ruins of Ansúbi, to Majdel, and thence by the sources of Esh Shór—the ruins of Khírbet Mánús—the Phiala lake, and Wádí Haushebi, to Bániás.

Course of the Jordan.—The lake Húleh, identical with the waters of Merom of Scripture and the lake Semechonitis of Josephus, serves as a reservoir to collect the waters of the heads of the Jordan just described. This lake lies in the valley of the Jordan, about seven miles S. from the springs of Tel el Kádhí, and about twenty S. by W. from the farthest source of Hásbeiyá. It is somewhat pear shaped, tapering off to the outlet on the south. It is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles long from N. to S., and about two miles in average width, increasing in the rainy season. Its shape is caused by the mountains on both sides closing in towards its extremity. It lies closer to the eastern than to the western mountains, between the foot of which and the lake is an arable district (Ardh el Khait ارض الخيط), occupied by the Ghawárnih Arabs, who also possess the marshy district called Ardh el Húleh ارض الحوله, which extends from the N. margin of the lake to

the vicinity of Tel el Kádhí. Near the lake this marshy district is covered with reeds, and according to the Arabs, quite impassable. Higher up it passes into fine pasture and culturable land. The rice grounds of the western tract, independently of the springs of 'Ain Mellâhah, at the N.W. angle of the lake, are irrigated by a canal branching off from the Hásbeiyá river below the bridge of El Ghujar. The tract above the spring is called El Mellâhah ملاحة, a name, as Robinson and Smith observe,[1] wrongly extended by Burckhardt, to the whole S.W. coast of the lake, which the same usually correct traveller incorrectly states as being covered by a saline crust. It is quite possible that the spring, judging by its name, may be impregnated by salt; and may leave, in evaporation, a coating of salt in its immediate vicinity. The Húleh is sometimes called by the Ghawárnih Arabs, "the lake of El Mellâhah," or El Khait: hence the mistake of William of Tyre: "circa lacum Meleha" (xviii. 13).[2]

The road from Tiberias to Bániás and Hásbeiyá, passes through El Khait, on the western shore; but I am not aware that there is any practicable road, except in the driest seasons, along the morassy eastern side, between the lake and the mountains.

The waters of the lake are not considered wholesome by the Arabs: in and just after the rains, they spread to the distance of more than a mile over the marshy districts on the N. and are said to extend close to the base of the eastern mountains. The soundings of this lake, of Tiberias, and of the Dead Sea, are desiderata.

The course of the Jordan from the Húleh lake to that of Tiberias, is about S. 5° E., and shut in on each side by mountains. It issues from the southern extremity of the Húleh lake, according to the Arabs, in a rapid stream, about twenty paces wide, unfordable; and after a course of about nine miles direct, expands into the lake of Tiberias, a fine sheet of water, 12 miles long by $5\frac{1}{2}$ broad, formed by the opening-out of the mountains on either side.

It enters this lake near its N.W. angle; and is described, a little above this point, by Robinson and Smith,[3] who saw it in June, as a sluggish fordable stream, from sixty to seventy-five feet wide, turbid, but not clayey; winding between low alluvial banks, from which it washes off portions in one place to deposit them in another; so that the channel would seem to be continually changing. About three miles N.E. from its entrance into the lake, on the left bank, stands Et Tel, a mount taken by Pococke for the remains of Bethsaida or

[1] Bib. Res., III. 341, *note*. [2] Ibid., III. 341.
[3] Ibid., III., pp. 309, 310, 311.

Julias. To this traveller alone we are indebted for details of the Jordan, between the lakes Húleh and Tiberias. He describes the river, between the bridge of Jisr Benát Y'akúb and the Húlch, as passing between the hills over the rocks, with a great noise; the stream being almost concealed by shady trees, chiefly *Platanus*. At its entrance into the lake Tiberias, it has formed a sand-bank, running out from the eastern shore before its mouth, towards the S.W., guiding in that direction the waters of the river. The story related by Dr. Clarke of the waters of the Jordan passing on without mingling with those of the lake, has long been exploded. The outlet is near the S.W. end of the lake, where the mountains on each side, again approaching, wall in the valley, here about 4½ miles wide. Hence to the Dead Sea the valley has the name of El Ghor. Between the lakes Húleh and Tiberias the west side is called Ardh Es Seifereh, ارض الصيفره.

The great oval basin of Tiberias, incompassed in with a wall of lofty mural mountains, is one of the most magnificent features of this sacred river, to be excelled only by the sterner and peculiarly significant scenery around the abyss of the Dead Sea. The lake, as in scriptural times, is still celebrated for the abundance and fineness of its fish. The water is usually delightfully clear and pleasant to drink.

The Jordan issues from the lake of Tiberias, nearer to the S.W. than the opposite angle. From the crest of the eastern mountains near Kefr Rachib, I had a superb view of its entire course, from the lake to the Dead Sea; and subsequently visited the ford below Beisán; those near Jericho; its engulfment in the Dead Sea; and crossed it at the Mejámiah bridge below Tiberias.

At first the stream hugs the western mountains for about ten miles—course serpentine, almost winding. It then flows near the centre of the valley, and turns to the east side until it arrives opposite Kefr Inji in Jebel 'Ajlún, when it again turns to the west side till five miles N. from Jericho, when it bends easterly, and enters the Dead Sea near the N.E. corner.

The general direction of the course of the Jordan, from its farthest source at Hásbeiyá to the Dead Sea, is south, with one or two degrees west. Above the lake of Tiberias, where the descent of the bed is rapid, the course is almost straight; but below this to the Dead Sea, the course is more generally serpentine than winding, but occasionally straight.

Length of the Jordan.—The direct length of the river from the source of Hásbeiyá to the Dead Sea is about 102 geographical miles: a distance which, including the windings, will not be far from that

given as its length by Strabo, viz. 150 miles. Its termination in the Dead Sea is marked, as at its entrance in the lake of Tiberias, by a sand-bank of some extent projecting from the east bank and guiding the stream south-westerly. Here, in the month of March, it presented a buff-coloured, turbid stream, eighty feet broad, unfordable, sluggish, and flowing in low mud banks, covered with canes and reeds.

Affluents.—The only affluents of any note are the Sheri'ah el Mandhúr, and the Zerká. The former river, which is the Hieromax of the ancients, joins the Jordan further east, in the Ghor, about four miles below the lake of Tiberias. This stream brings down the drainage of the Hauran, and the mountainous districts of Jálán and Bathanîya, the ancient Gaulonites and Basan ; and in February presented a muddy, rapid stream, nearly equal in volume to the Jordan itself.

The Zerká, the ancient Jabbok, also joins the Jordan from the east below the side valley of 'Ajlún, about thirty miles north from the Dead Sea, draining the mountains of Gilead and Gerása.

Bridges and Fords.—Besides the bridges north of the Húleh lake, are those of Benát Y'akúb, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of the Húleh lake, on the road from Jerusalem, *via* Tiberias to Damascus by Kaneitarah, at an old ford where Jacob is supposed to have crossed the Jordan on his return from Mesopotamia.[1] The architecture of the bridge, as well as of the old khan on the eastern side, is Saracenic. The bridge is of basalt, sixty paces long by about sixteen feet in breadth, and consists of four pointed arches.[1] This passage of the Jordan was a post of great importance from the earliest ages down to the crusades, and even to the present time. About a mile below the bridge on the W. bank are the remains of a castle built by Baldwin IV., A.D. 1178, to guard the ford.

The bridge of Mejámieh crosses the Jordan about six miles below the lake of Tiberias and about two miles below the junction of the Hieromax, on the road from Jerusalem and St. Jean d'Acre by Beisán (the ancient Bethshean and Scythopolis) and Nawá to Damascus. This bridge is of stone, fifty paces long, and consists of one large central arch slightly pointed, and three small lateral arches, one on the west side of the large arch, and two on the east, with six apertures over the arches as safety-valves against extraordinary floods. On the west bank is a large old khan, now in ruins and deserted. The Jordan was (February) here thirty paces broad, red, muddy, rapid, and unfordable. Its course above the bridge is winding, and divided by two islets into three streams. Below the bridge, it rolls over a ledge of basalt about

[1] Burckhardt, p. 310.

1½ feet high. The western hills come down to the right bank, which like the bed is of black basalt. In the bed lay rolled pebbles of limestone, chert, and basalt. A few hundred yards below the lake of Tiberias, Irby and Mangles describe a ford near the ruins of a Roman bridge of ten arches (pp. 296, 301). This bridge was doubtless on the route from Tiberias and Tarichæa, to Gadara and the Decapolis.

About nine miles lower down is the ford near Beisán, crossed by Burckhardt, Irby and Mangles, and Bankes. Here, on the 12th March, Irby and Mangles found the breadth of the river 140 feet; stream swift, and above the horses' bellies. They crossed at a lower ford in the same month, but were compelled to swim their horses: current very rapid. Mr. Bankes, when he crossed it in January, found the stream easily fordable, flowing over a bed of pebbles. Burckhardt, in July, found the upper ford only three feet deep.

In February, I descended from Kharbi, in the eastern mountains of 'Ajlún, to a ford usually practicable, between that place and Nábalus, but it was then quite unfordable and running with great rapidity. Lower down, opposite Jericho, and still below, near St. John's, where the pilgrims bathe, I found it in April still unfordable; though in summer it is easily crossed at several places in this vicinity. Between this and the Dead Sea is another ford called El Helu.

Inclination of bed.—No satisfactory observations have hitherto been made on this point. Those of MM. Schubert and Berton, which give at least the enormous difference of 500 feet in a distance of about 2½ miles, between the Húleh lake and the bridge of Benát Y'akúb, without the existence of any intervening cataract, can hardly be relied on. The level of the Dead Sea has been carefully and correctly taken by Lieutenant Symonds of the Royal Navy.

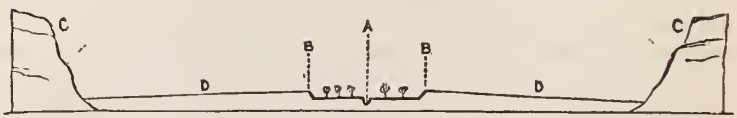
Navigation.—Not a boat is to be found on the Jordan, Dead Sea, or the Húleh lake; and on the Tiberias lake, the sea of Galilee, which seems to have been well supplied with vessels in the time of our Saviour, I found only one little fishing-boat. I had purposed attempting to float down to the Dead Sea in this boat; but its shattered condition would not admit of such an experiment. I heard of no cataracts, or other insuperable obstacles; but, considering the habits of the Arabs, the number of camels and other beasts of burden they possess, the scarcity of timber, the existence of numerous fords, and the difficulty of getting up the stream, it is probable that the Jordan, from the earliest time, has never been regularly navigated.

Periodical inundation.—It has been erroneously supposed that the Jordan, like the Nile and other rivers that have their sources or course within the tropics, is subject to a regular periodical increase

and deflux, and floods not only the lower ancient channel flanking its present banks, but also a considerable portion of the Ghor itself. But a moment's reflection on the extra-tropical situation of this river, and the shortness of its course, is sufficient to annihilate this theory. From what has already been observed regarding the state of its principal fords, we know that during the winter and spring rains, the river is usually fuller than during the summer months: and even after the spring rains have ceased, from about March to April, the supply of water is partially kept up for some weeks by the increased action of the springs, which then begins to operate, the draining of the lakes, and by the melting of the snows on Hermon and Lebanon. When the Israelites passed over Jordan in the time of Joshua, we are told, (Joshua iii. 15) that "The feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the brim of the water, for Jordan overfloweth all his bank all the time of the harvest." And again (I Chronicles xii. 15), in the account of the forces which joined David at Hebron: "These are they that went over Jordan in the first month, when it had overflown all his banks."

Messrs Robinson and Smith are of opinion that the original Hebrew of these passages expresses nothing more than that the Jordan "was full (or filled) up to all its banks," meaning the banks of its channel; it ran with full banks, or was brimful; the same sense being given by the Septuagint and Vulgate."[1]

The real difficulty, however, does not consist in the difference of the translation, but in the determination of what are really the banks of the Jordan as meant by Scripture. The actual present channel of the Jordan is generally from twenty to forty yards wide, hollowed down the centre, or at the sides of another extensive channel which is generally from 1500 to 1000 yards wide, and excavated in the alluvial soil which covers the greater valley of the Ghor. The following diagram (exaggerated) will form an idea of the bed of the Jordan and its banks.



A. Present channel of the Jordan.
B.B. Former extensive channel.
C.C. Cliffs forming sides of El Ghor.
D.D. Alluvium covering bottom of El Ghor.

[1] Bib. Res., II. 262.

Now, if the sides of the channel A, be the banks of the Jordan intended by scripture, I have literally seen them overflowing in the first month of the early Syrian harvest, which, then as now, falls usually about the end of April. The overflow is only partial and occasional, and never fills the wider channel, BB, but occurs where the banks of A are lowest. The banks of BB, are usually sloping, and from eight to sixty feet high. Messrs. Robinson and Smith[1] state that there is no evidence of the inundations having ever extended further than this; but in crossing the Ghor from Taibi, south of the Hieromax, to the bridge of Mejámiah below the lake of Tiberias, I found the whole of its surface, as represented in the diagram at DD, covered with a rich, nearly black alluvium, resembling that of the Nile; treeless, but clothed with a carpet of sweet-scented flowers, and the richest pasture. I have little doubt of this soil being the result of aqueous deposition, but considerable oscillations and alterations must have subsequently taken place in the relative levels of the Ghor: even supposing the lake Tiberias to have once extended so far south. Near Jericho, above the withering influence of the Dead Sea and its saline springs, the soil covering the Ghor is of the same nature, but more mingled with saud.

With regard to the formation of the inner valley, or ancient channel, BB, I conceive it to have taken place during the alteration of the level of the Ghor to its present state, and hollowed out by the waters escaping from the Tiberias lake to the Dead Sea in consequence of the gradual sinking of the basaltic barrier which had caused them to accumulate to a higher level than at the present day.

The valley of the Ghor, CC, which is a vast longitudinal crevasse in calcareous and volcanic rocks, extending from the southern root of Libanus and Anti Libanus, nearly south, to the gulf of Akaba, from 1000 to 2000 feet deep—and from one to eight miles broad, appears to have been caused by the forcible rending and falling-in of the aqueous strata, resulting from the eruption and elevation of the basalt which bases it almost from its commencement to the Dead Sea. On the western shore of the Dead Sea the limestone strata plunge down towards the water at an angle of 40°. Watery erosion or abrasion can have had little influence in the excavation of this most remarkable crevasse.

The great alterations in the surface of the Ghor commenced anterior to the historic period; and terminated, probably, in the catastrophe of Sodom. The Jordan of the days of Joshua remains unchanged, except some trifling alterations in its course, to the present hour, and was

[1] Bib. Res., II. 263.

then, as now, forded even when at full; for we hear of no mention of boats or bridges in the different passages of the Israelites. The venerable trees and thick bushes which now often occupy the wider channel BB, show clearly that a considerable period has elapsed since the Jordan filled it *as a current;* and there is every reason to believe that this old channel has undergone but little alteration since the time of the prophets, when, as now, it was subject to partial inundation. The Jordan, though generally fullest from December to May, and lowest in September, is subject to sudden rises from violent and sudden rains in the mountains around its sources, in some measure controlled by the lakes Húleh and Tiberias, which, as justly observed by Robinson and Smith, may be compared to great regulators, and act like the great lakes of America, which prevent the sudden rise and overflow of the great streams connected with them. The lakes of the Jordan, however, have no influence in diminishing the suddenness of its rise, resulting from the rains which fall in the Haurán and the eastern mountains south of Tiberias; the drainage of which is conveyed to the Jordan below these lakes, by its two greatest tributaries—the Hieromax and Jabbok; and in consequence of which the passage of the river, below the embouchures of these two affluents, is always uncertain and dangerous, especially for troops. Scarcely a year passes without several victims being carried off by the rapidity of the current.

In observing the remarkable richness of the soil in the Ghor near Jericho, the bridge of Mejámiah, and opposite Nábalus the observer is astonished to find that the valley of the Jordan has been from an early period an almost unproductive desert. Barren, saline, rocky, and sandy spots occur in it; but on the whole, it is far more fertile by nature, and better supplied with water, than the table-lands which overlook it. The curse which rests upon it, seems to date with the destruction of Sodom; for, before that event, we are told that when Abraham and Lot divided the land at their encampment between Bethel and Hai, (Genesis xiii. 3, 10—12), "Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar. Then Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan; and Lot journeyed east, and they separated themselves the one from the other. Abram dwelled in the land of Canaan, and Lot dwelled in the cities of the plain, and pitched his tent toward Sodom."

It seems to me highly probable that the ancient occupation, by the predatory sons of Ishmael, of the Ghor, as a fertile pasture land, has operated from the time of Abraham up to the present day, in pre-

venting cultivation, and its being inhabited by a more settled and industrious people.

The excessive heat and insalubrity, complained of by Josephus, have also contributed to its loneliness. It is, however, in general, well supplied with water; and the great inclination of its surface, although the bed of the Jordan is low, renders it at all times easy to throw off the waters of the river for the irrigation of tracts on its banks.

Temperature and character of water.—The temperature of the waters of the Jordan must differ at various seasons. In February, below the lake of Tiberias, it was 56° Fahr.; temperature of air in shade 58°. The water is soft and pleasant to the taste, and contains a small quantity of lime.

Present Inhabitants of the banks of the Jordan.—Besides the unsettled Bedouins, the present inhabitants of the Ghor, and the valley of the Jordan up to Tel el Kádhí, are a mongrel, miserable, sickly-looking race of Arabs called *Ghawárnih* غوارنة (of the Ghor), who dwell in moveable huts made of reeds (Beit Shahr). About twenty or thirty families live at Ríhá (Jericho). The rest are scattered upon the banks, and are most numerous between the Tiberias and Húleh lakes. They occupy almost exclusively the district around the Húleh lake called El Khait, before described, and the Ardh el Húleh—the marshy tract north of the Húleh lake. They live chiefly by the sale of their clarified butter, produce of the cows and buffaloes which they pasture in these marshy districts, and by the sale of reeds, water-melons, canes, charcoal, and firewood cut on the mountainous sides of the Ghor. They subsist chiefly on fish caught in the river and lakes, and on dhurra and rice which they cultivate principally in El Khait, and around Jericho. They are despised and oppressed both by the regular Fellahín and Bedouin Arabs of the Belká, Beni Sakr, and other tribes which periodically descend to the Ghor between Tiberias and the Dead Sea for pasture. In stature and physiognomy they resemble the Arab of the desert more than the Fellah. The women wear the blue dress, ornaments, and tattoo the lip and chin like the Bedouins. The following is a list given me by one of their chiefs, of the Ghawárnih villages around the Húleh lake, with the names of the present Sheikhs. The district of El Húleh is one of the seventeen Mukátas under the Pashalik of Damascus. The population is roughly calculated at 2000 souls.

Villages.		Sheikhs.
Ez Zawíyeh .	الزويه . .	Zamil.
Salahíyeh . .	صلاحيه . .	Hassan ed Dib.

Villages.		Sheikhs.
Naami . .	نعمي	. . Ahmed Sali.
El 'Azází . .	العزازي	. . Khalil Zawi.
Kittíyeh . .	قطيه	. . Ahmed Ismail.
Khálseh . .	خالصه	. . Isa Ibrahim.
Zúk . . .	زوق	. . Hassan Mahomed.
Sambáríyeh . .	سنباريه	. . Júma Zennát.
Laksás . . .	لقصاص	. . Mustafa Ahmed.
Mansúreh . .	منصوره	. . Beshir Selim.
Difneh . . .	دفنه	. . Beshir Selim.
'Azáziyát . .	عزازياة	. . Sheikh Ali.
Dawárá . .	دوارا	. . Mahomed el Hassan.
Khán 'Ais . .	خان عيس	. . Hussain Ahmed.
Kharbih . .	خربه	. . Not known.

The Fellah villages of El Mughar, Furam, El Kulaah, El Wukás, and El Jauneh, belong to El Khait in the Pashalik of Saida, also Melláhah, a Ghawárnih village in the same district. The higher country around the sources of the Jordan at Bániás forms a separate district called the Ardh el Bániás ارض البانياس, in the Mukáta of Hásbeiyá, also within the Pashalik of Damascus; Hásbeiyá and Bániás are immediately under the government of the Emir Saadin, who resides at Hásbeiyá. The population of Ardh el Bániás is composed of Mussulman fellahs, Druses, Greek and Catholic Christians, and a few Nosairis and Metawalis.

The following list, which I obtained at Bániás, corresponds nearly with that given by Mr. Smith.

Villages.		Population.
Bániás . .	بانياس	Fellah and Metawali—a few Greeks, Druses, and Nosairis.
Jabeitá .	جبيتا	Fellah and Greek.
'Ain Fít .	عين فيت	Nosairi.
Zaurá . .	زعورا	„
El Ghujar .	الغجر	„
'Ain Kanyat	عين قنية	Druse, Greeks, and Maronites.
El Majdel .	المجدل	Druse and Greek.

[1] Bib. Res., III. 136; Appendix II.

Ancient Towns on the banks of the Jordan.—Between the Dead Sea and Tiberias, the sites of Jericho, Gilgal, Beth-Hoglah, Beth-Nimrah, Amathus, Succoth, and Bethshean or Scythopolis, are recognised in the present Ríhá, in some foundations between Ríhá and Kasr Hajlá, in 'Ain-Hajlá, Nimrin, Amata, Sukhot, and Beisán; Tarichæa in a mound and foundation west of the outlet of the Jordan from the lake of Tiberias; and Tiberias in the present Tabariyah. Tel Húm, a mound on the western shores of the lake, is said, with great uncertainty, to mark the site of Capernaum upbraided by our Saviour. Bethsaida or Julias exists only in a mound on the east bank of the Jordan, near its entrance into the lake; while Chorazin, equally denounced, is no longer to be traced. Kedesh of Naphtali, a city of the Levites and of refuge, is found in Kedes قدس, a little to the N.W. of the Húleh lake. Golan, the city of refuge in Manasseh, is perhaps to be found in Jolan on the S.E. of the Húleh lake, while the site of Dan, which we are told by Eusebius, is four miles distant from Panias (Bániás) on the road to Tyre, corresponds exactly with the sources of Tel el Kádhí, still called Ed Dán الدان.

The present town of Bániás, forty-five minutes E. 10° S. fromT el el Kádhí, is the ancient Panias, afterwards Cæsarea Philippi, founded by Philip the Tetrarch of Trachonitis. The inscription found here by Burckhardt, already mentioned, proves that the worship of Pan was carried on in this wooded spot: hence the name Panias. It seems highly probable that Bániás was the Baal-gad of Joshua, (chap. xiii., 5), which stood under Mount Hermon at the southern extremity of Mount Lebanon, as the entrance into Hamath marked the northern termination of this celebrated range. It is not unlikely that the statues of the god Pan succeeded the idols of Baal in this high place of Canaanitish abomination. By some, this sylvan god of the Greeks and Romans is considered identical with the Baal Peor of the ancient Syrians. At Dan, was erected one of the golden calves of Jeroboam; and the remains of this idolatrous worship, which prevailed so greatly over the whole of the northern districts of Palestine, may be traced to this day in the secret rites of the Nosairi and Druse sects, in the vicinity.

The castle of Bániás, the Kal'at es Subeibeh of the Crusades, was visited by Burckhardt, who was unable to discover any inscriptions there, though he had been informed that several existed both in Arabic and in the Frank language. My own search after the latter also proved fruitless, but I found two or three Arabic inscriptions with the name of Saladin's son, "Sultan el Melek ed Dhahir." Near the N.W. gate were the following :—

بسن و الا الثل بربر

The name of Berber occurs also on a fragment of marble in the interior. On the S.E. angle is a square stone with an inscription bearing the date A.H. 625. The architecture is partly Saracenic, and partly after the style of the Crusaders. The castle is exceedingly strong by position: it stands about an hour E. 13° N. from the town of Bániás, on a mountain mass of limestone upwards of 1000 feet high; insulated on three sides by ravines and the valley of the Jordan, into which it projects promontory-like from still loftier mountains to the east. The only approach is by a steep path from the N.W., almost choked up by bushes, among which may be seen traces of an ancient causeway leading along the back of a sharp spur with deep ravines on each side, to the entrance which faces the west. The walls (ten feet thick) of the fort encompass the irregularly shaped plateau on the top of the rock, which is about 476 paces long from E. to W. and varying from 53 to 166 paces broad at the west or broadest end. Towards the eastern extremity of the inclosure, the rock rises and is crowned by a citadel, separated by a wall and fosse thrown across this end of the enceinte, about sixty paces square. The walls of the enceinte and citadel are flanked by towers, square and round, of rustic masonry, and springing from pyramidal bases on the south side, which is precipitous, and has no fosse; the walls are double. On the other sides a rock-cut fosse protects the enceinte. A drawbridge appears to have crossed the fosse to the entrance at the N.W. angle, which was defended by a portcullis, the groove for which still remains. On the right of the tower, near the gate, is a turret, from which descends a channel in the masonry, apparently for the purpose of drawing up letters, &c., without opening the gates to admit the bearer. Near this is a subterraneous passage to the dungeons beneath the castle.

In front of the gate, outside the fosse, extends a fine terrace of masonry, beneath which are large cisterns for collecting rain-water. The interior of the castle is a mass of ruins, covering dungeons and cisterns. The doorway of the portal is a pointed arch of bevelled rustic, as at Tortosa. The fortifications were repaired and rebuilt by Baldwin III.

Hence is a magnificent view of the Semechonitis lake, the stern

acclivities of Mount Hermon, and of the mountains and table-land west of the lake, northward up to the steeps of Sunnin.

Bearings taken from the Castle of Bániás.

Castle of Shakíf	W. 31° N.
N.W. angle of Semechonitis lake .	S. 35° W.
'Ain Fít, (apparent distance 3 miles)	S. 18° W.
Zoirah, („ „ 4 miles)	S. 11° W.
Jabeitá	S. 39° E.

According to Abulfeda, this castle was made over with the town, by its Metawali chief, to the Christian knight, Rayner Brus, about A.D. 1130. After several captures and recaptures by the Christians and Saracens, it was taken finally by the celebrated Nureddin from the Knights Hospitallers during the absence of the Constable Honfroy, A.D. 1165. The Crusaders besieged it several times subsequently, but without success. A little south of the town below, are the remains of another castle in a state of much greater dilapidation, with the date of A.H. 607. Near it is a small lake or pond, formed chiefly by rain-water, called, like the lake Phiala, Birket er Rám, about 300 paces in circumference. An old wall, apparently of Roman masonry, composed of small and large hewn stones, in alternate layers, runs westerly down to the defile from this vicinity: it formed evidently, part of the enceinte of the old city. A little west of the present village are many remains of foundations, walls, &c., and Roman sculpture. In the bridge are several fragments of marble sarcophagi; and in the rocks, above the foundation of the temple to Augustus, in ascending to the Walí, I found two or three rock-cut *soroi*. I searched in vain for the remains of the theatre in which Titus, after the fall of Jerusalem, gratified the ferocity of the inhabitants by gladiatorial exibitions in which the captive Jews were turned into the arena to fight against wild beasts. Vespasian visited Cæsarea Philippi; and it was on its coasts that Christ uttered the memorable words (Matthew xvi. 18): "And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," &c. Cæsarea Philippi, three centuries afterwards, became a bishopric under the Patriarch of Antioch, and subsequently resumed its original name of Panias. The woman healed by Christ of an issue of blood is said to have been of this city.

It now consists of only 140 families, chiefly Mussulmans, Metawalis, and Greek Christians, with a few Druses, and Nosairis. A few copper coins of Adrian were here brought to me, and one of Nero, in whose honour the city was sometimes called Neronias. Bániás, and the sur-

rounding country, appear to have been included in the portion of Naphtali. Migdal, which was one of its fenced cities, is probably to be found in the village of Majdel, fifty-eight minutes, (or about three miles) N. 10½ E. from the Phiala lake. At Majdel itself are few remains, but at Ansúbi, a deserted site twenty minutes higher up on the side of Mount Hermon N. by W., I found rock-cut cisterns, foundations, and parts of walls built of large rough-hewn stones; and in the vicinity a few rock-cut sepulchres.

The 'Ain Hazuri of the maps is probably the En Hazor of Naphtali; and Laura, the Ler, a fenced city of the same tribe.[1] Chinnereth has also been recognized in Gennesareth.

The passage of the Israelites over Jordan.—The exact spot where the Israelites crossed the Jordan into the promised land, after their forty years' wanderings and trials in the desert, (type of their present wanderings of nearly 1900 years), is matter of dispute: but doubtless it was right against Jericho in the direction of Gilgal, already noticed, where Joshua pitched the twelve stones which they took out of Jordan; and where he spake unto the children of Israel, saying:[2] "When your children shall ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean these stones? Then ye shall let your children know, saying, Israel came over this Jordan on dry land. For the Lord your God dried up the waters of Jordan from before you, until ye were passed over, as the Lord your God did to the Red Sea, which he dried up from before us until we were gone over. That all the people of the earth might know the hand of the Lord your God for ever." The sites of the city Adam, and of Zaretan, "very far from which," the waters of the Jordan, "which came down from above, stood and rose up upon an heap, and those that came down toward the sea of the plain, even the Salt Sea, [the Dead Sea] failed and were cut off,"[3] are still matters of conjecture.

The twelve stones are said to exist, but I had not an opportunity of ascertaining the correctness of the monkish tradition. It is certain that a church was erected, and twelve stones set up at the supposed site of Gilgal by the early Christians, which were mentioned by Rudolph de Suchein so late as the fourteenth century.[4] I visited the site: it is 4¼ miles W. of the Jordan, between it and Jericho. Nothing but the foundations of a church, and probably a convent, now remain. The site of Bethabara could not have been far distant.

The whole of this interesting part of the Jordan and its valley is overlooked on the west by the craggy limestone cliffs of Mount

[1] Joshua xix. 35, 37, 38.
[2] Ibid. iv. 21, 22, 23, 24.
[3] Ibid. iii. 16.
[4] Robinson, Bib. Res., Vol. II. 267.

Quarantana, the presumed site of Christ's fasting and temptation. The face of the precipice is covered with the grottoes and caves of the early Christian anchorites, who, in commemoration of Christ's fasting, made this desolate spot a place of penance and retirement. A little lower down on the river is the supposed place of our Saviour's baptism by St. John, whence he was led up of the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the Devil. The precise spot where the baptism took place is doubtful: the Latin monks place it opposite the convent of St. John the Baptist, erected in its commemoration, the Greek pilgrims a little lower down.

Vegetation.—While the upper part of the Jordan is shaded with plane, evergreen oak, oleander, and wild raspberry, the lower Ghor exhibits a climate and flora almost Egyptian. Around Jericho, we find in abundance the thorny *Zizyphus lotus*, the *Agnus castus*, the gum-arabic-producing mimosa, the tamarisk, and a variety of Egyptian broom and *Salsolas*: the *Solanum melongena* and the *Asclepias gigantea*. The fruit of the last is generally thought to be "the apple of Sodom." It is about the size and colour of a smooth orange, but hollow inside, with the exception of a small filamentous seed-pod. The fruit of the *Solanum*, which is full of small dark seeds, has been also taken for the apple. Of the palm trees of Jericho, I observed but one solitary remnant. Its opobalsam and roses have vanished, though the Arabs still extract a balsamic oil from the *Eleagnus angustifolius* nuts, and the monks sell a species of *Thlaspi* as the rose of Jericho; absurdly supposed to aid parturition, as the fibres expand when placed in water. The sugar-cane has also disappeared; though the sugar-mills erected by the Saracens and Crusaders, with their aqueducts, still exist near 'Ain es Sultan. The cypress and sycamore trees are no more, but I still observed the *Henna lawsonia*; cotton, rice, and the castor-oil plant are occasionally cultivated on the banks of the Jordan, and wild indigo grows in abundance.

Animals.—The animals common in Syria are found here, and I also saw the Egyptian jerboa. The lions, which formerly came up from the swellings of the Jordan, no longer exist except in the tales of the Arabs, or the doubtful accounts of travellers. Deer, wild hogs, hyænas, jackals, foxes, and a small leopard or panther, were the only large animals I observed.

Such is a feeble and imperfect sketch of the Jordan, a stream almost as remarkable in its natural relations, as it is pre-eminent in sacred and historical interest. Its singular disappearance in the salt waters of the Dead Sea, and the question of its once having flowed on to the Gulf of Akaba, I may discuss at some future opportunity.

Art. III.—*On the Site of Caranus, and the Island of Ar-Ruád (الرواد), the Arvad or Arpad of Scripture.* By the late Captain Newbold, F.R.S., *&c.*

Strabo describes Caranus as the maritime arsenal of Aradus, between Balanea and Enhydra,[1] and Pococke recognises it in "the place to which boats come from the isle of Ruad, which is about half a mile to the N. of the present wall of Tortosa; but the port for shipping," he continues, "is doubtless where it is now—between the island and the continent." Had this learned traveller pursued his investigations a little farther up the sea-coast to the N. he would have discovered the real site of Caranus, in a port and adjacent ruins, about a mile northerly from the landing-place of which he speaks. These ruins are called to this day, by the Arabs, *Caranún* قرنون, a corruption of the Greek Κάρυος: or, what is possible, the Greek name might have been a corruption of the more ancient and original Syrian appellation, to which the Arabs have returned, as they have done in the case of the adjacent island of Ruád, the Arvad or Arphad of Scripture, and which the Greeks converted into Arados, Ἀράδος. The present Arabic name, with the article, which is invariably used with it, would be still nearer the ancient name, for instance, Ar Ruád الرواد. There are many cases in which the Arabs have rejected the names imposed by their Grecian and Roman conquerors on their cities, and returned to the original ones; as in Beyrút, Acca, Bániás, Tidmúr, for Colonia Julia Felix, Ptolemais, Cæsarea Philippi, Palmyra, and many others. Emésa was a corruption for Homs, &c.

The port of Caranún is small, but more sheltered than any other on this part of the coast; and is partly natural, partly artificial. It is formed by a small bay or cove, from the S. horn of which a rocky reef runs northerly, in a parallel direction to the general line of coast, and nearly across the mouth of the bay, leaving an entrance for vessels on the N.W. The reef has been improved by masonry (which has been almost entirely carried off by the Arabs for building purposes), and acts as a breakwater, leaving the water inside perfectly calm and tranquil. Near the N. extremity of the bay the remains of a mole may be traced, running towards the N. end of the breakwater.

The most prominent part of the ruins is a mound from twenty-five

[1] Strabo, xvi. 753.

to thirty feet high, rising from the sea-shore at the bottom of the bay, and about a quarter of a mile in circumference, consisting of fragments of pottery, stones, earth, glass, and sand. Around its base, inland, foundations of cut stone extend to the distance of several hundred yards, but are fast disappearing under the hands of the Arabs, who are digging them up, and shipping the large and finely-cut blocks to various towns on the coast. Fragments of columns, basalt, and mill-stones, are occasionally turned up. The springs of *Ain Caranún*, which supplied the town and port, lie towards the base of the hills at the eastern boundaries of the ruins.

The mound bears N. 6° E. from Tortosa, the *Tartús* طرطوس of the Arabs, from which it lies about two miles. Pococke's landing-place lies nearly midway; its distance from *Tartús* being nearer a mile than half a mile, as stated by that traveller.

The island of Ar-Ruad.—The island of Ar-Ruad, according to the plan given by Pococke, is a rock of an irregular trapezoidal shape, about 1000 paces across its longest axis. It is supposed to have been first colonized by Arvad, son of Canaan, and subsequently by some Sidonians, who had been banished from their own country. A triple colony from Arvad, Tyre, and Sidon, is supposed to have founded Tripoli. Arvad long maintained its independence, like Tyre and Sidon, as a great maritime colony; and subsequently as a republic. Its territory on the adjacent continent extended from Gabala (Jebili) to Orthosia and the river Eleutherus. It was reduced by Sennacherib and the Persians, and shared in the subsequent fortunes of Syria. By the Greeks it was styled Aradus, and, according to Dionysius, was formerly joined to the continent by a bridge, of which I could find no vestige. It had a coinage of its own, several specimens of which are still extant. Its population in Strabo's time was so great that the island was covered with houses, which, as ground-room was scant, were raised many stories high.

In Edrisi's[1] time it was well inhabited, with a very large church, high and strong, with iron doors, like a sort of citadel. In the seventeenth century it was taken by the Maltese, but they were shortly afterwards surprised and expelled by the Turks, who have ever since retained possession, except during the brief occupation of Syria by the Egyptian troops, under Ibrahim Pasha.

This island city, strong by position, and in the bold independent spirit of its industrious inhabitants, enjoyed the privilege of a city of refuge, in the protection of all persons who sought it as an asylum.

[1] French edition, Vol. I., p. 359, where the name of the island is spelt ارواد.

It is still occasionally used as a place of concealment by fugitives from the continent. Its port, which is partly artificial, and situated on the N.E. side of the island, is one of the deepest and most secure between Scanderoon and Alexandria, although small. In rough weather all the native craft of the opposite town of Tartús and other adjacent places along the coast, take refuge here: and it is a great place of resort for vessels engaged in the staple trade of this part of Syria, viz., tobacco and sponges.

Population.—In Pococke's time the population amounted to about 1500. In 1845 it was composed of about 300 Moslim families, and 20 Greek, in all about 1600 souls, under a Turkish Mutsellim, Mahomed Libeidi. Volney appears to be in error in stating the island to be deserted and all the walls razed: "Il ne reste pas un mur de cette foule de maisons qui, selon le récit de Strabon, étaient bâties à plus d'etages qu'à Rome même. Aujourd'hui l'île est rase, et deserte." This error has been copied into more than one work. The island, I am assured, has never been deserted. There is no spring of living water on the island; but there exist large cisterns, some thirty feet deep, cut in the rock, under almost every house; a fact noticed by Strabo (p. 753), who tells us that the Aradians drink the water of their cisterns, which they fill with water brought from the coast of the main. In time of war, he continues, they use the water of a source which springs up in the sea between the island and the main: and which is procured by means of a leaden vessel (κλίβανος) shaped like a bell, with a large mouth, and a small aperture in its upper part, to which was attached a leathern pipe which conducted the water of the spring a little above the surface. The water, which at first ascends, is described as being salt; but afterwards as becoming more and more pure. Volney states that the tradition even of such a spring no longer exists: "La tradition n'a pas même conservé aux environs le souvenir d'une source d'eau douce, qui les Aradiens avaient découverte au fond de la mer, et qu'ils exploitaient, en temps de guerre, au moyen d'une cloche de plomb, et d'un tuyau de cuir adapté à son fond."

Volney, in this instance also, appears to have been misinformed, for, about half a mile south of the port of Caranún, about a stone's throw distant from the shore, in the sea, a spring of fresh water rises to the surface called by the Arabs *Ain el Ibrahim*, and which in calm weather is seen boiling up and displacing the surrounding sea-water. Nearly opposite to it is the fresh-water spring of *Ain el Harún* (Aaron's spring,) which rises in a small creek, and displaces the sea-water around it in a similar manner. I tasted the water near the spot where it rises, and found it perfectly sweet and good; but at a little

distance, it becomes saline. Close in the vicinity several small springs gush out near the edge of the sea. The people of Ar-Ruad at the present day are in the habit of coming in boats, and filling their cisterns in the summer time from these sources.

My fellow traveller, the Rev. Mr. Thomson, American Missionary at Beyrút, copied the following inscriptions from pillars of basalt on the island of Ar-Ruad.

First Column.

ΑΡΙΕΤΩΝ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟΥ
ΙΕΡΑΙΣ ΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ
ΩΡΟ ΒΟΥΛΟΝΤΩΝ ΝΑΥΛΑ
ΣΑΝΤΩΝ ΛΟΥΝΟΣ Υ [illegible]

Second Column.

[illegible] Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ
[illegible] ΔΕΚΜΟΝ [illegible] ΑΙΛΙΟΝ
[illegible] ΛΕΚΜΟΥ ΥΙΟΝ
ΕΠΑΡΧΟΝ ΣΤΟΛΟ [illegible]
ΕΥΝ [illegible] Ε ΕΝΕΚΕΝ [illegible]

Third Column.

Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ
ΑΡΑΔΙΩΝ ΔΑΜΙΝ ΜΝΑΣΕΟΥ
ΑΓΟΡΑΝ ΟΜΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΛΩΣ
ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΩΣ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΖΟΤ
ΕΤΕΙ ΤΙΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ
ΧΑΡΙΝ

Fourth Column.

ΩΥν
ΚΟΜΙΟΛΟ
ΗΠΑΙΟ

Fifth Column.

Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο
ΔΗΜΟΣ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΝ ΔΜΗΟΡΡΟΥ
ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΙΩ [illegible]
ΝΟΣ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑ
ΤΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΑ
ΤΩΣ [illegible] ΤΕΙ
ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ

From Square Block of Trap.

[illegible] Η ΒΟΥΛΗ
[illegible] ΙΝΙΟΝΣΕΚΟΥΝ
[illegible] ΧΟΝ ΣΠΕΙΡΗΣ ΟΡΑ
[illegible] ΩΤΗΣ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΝ Θ
[illegible] ΙΝΑΝΤΕΠΙΤΡΟ
Υ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΑΛ [illegible]
ΑΡΧΟΝ ΙΟΥ ΙΟΥΔΑΙ [illegible]
ΡΩΠΟΝ ΣΥΡ [illegible]
ΩΙ ΛΕΓΕΩΝΟΣ Ε

From Second Square Block of Trap.

Η ΒΟ[illegible]
ΟΔΗ [illegible]
ΜΑΡΚΟΝ [illegible] ΙΤΙΜΙΟΝ
ΜΑΡΟΥ ΥΙΟΝ ΦΑΒΙΑ
ΜΑΓΝΟΝ ΕΚΑΤΟΝΤΑΡΧΗΝ
ΑΙΓΕΟΝΟΣΔ ΣΚ☺ΙΝΗΣ
ΤΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΗΝ
ΕΥΝΟΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ

In the statements of the ancients there is some discrepancy as to the distance of this island from the main. Strabo gives twenty stadia (about two miles), while Pliny makes it only two hundred paces, "ducentos passus a continente" (Hist. v. 17.). How this

difference originated, whether by mistake or by oscillations of the surface of the coast and of the island itself, is difficult to say; but more probably the former. Pococke thinks we had better add two thousand to the two hundred of Pliny, and so make the 200 paces 2200.

By a base-line measured along the coast south of Tartús, I found the island's approximate present distance from the main to be 2950 yards; and its distance from Tartús itself 4237 yards S. 35° W. The rocky islet of *Abeis*, a little south of Ar-Ruad, bears from Tartús S. 11° W.

The geography of this part of the coast of Syria has been laid down in a very unsatisfactory manner by the ancients; and the statements even of more modern travellers, Pococke and Maundrell, are at variance on certain points. The Jerusalem Itinerary, after Bániás, mentions the bounds of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia before Maraccas and Antaradus; while Ptolemy, on the contrary, places Antaradus in the Casiotis of Seleucis: between Antaradus and Tripoli he mentions Imura and Orthosia. In the tables, Orthosia is twelve miles N. of Tripoli, which is the distance at which the Jerusalem Itinerary places Bruttus. Ptolemy places Orthosia and Semyra in Phœnicia; while the Itinerary excludes them, by drawing the northern boundary of Phœnicia south of Aren.

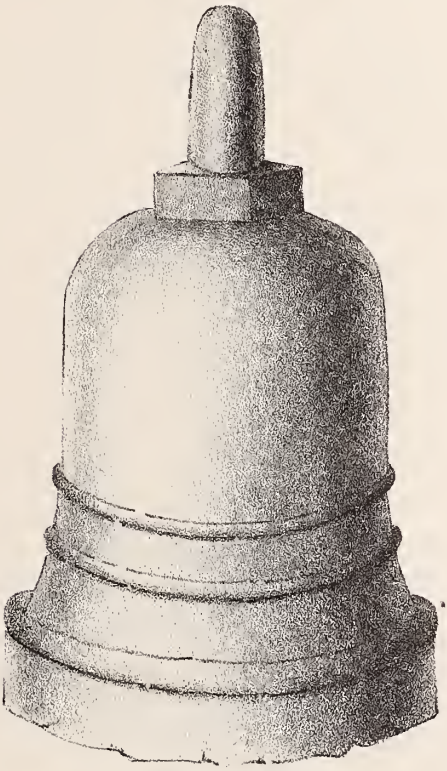
ART. IV.—*On the Miniature Chaityas and Inscriptions of the Buddhist religious dogma, found in the ruins of the Temple of Sárnáth, near Benares. By* LIEUT.-COL. SYKES, F.R.S.

IN a letter received on the 1st March last from Major Kittoe, engaged in antiquarian researches under the Bengal Government, he informed me that in excavating the mound constituting the ruin of the great Buddhist temple of Sárnáth at Benares, he had turned up some scores of miniature chaityas in baked clay, the base of many of them being impressed with an inscription in the early Deva Nágarí characters in a seal form. Some of the chaityas being broken transversely at the base, it was found that an independent seal with an inscription, not in intaglio, but in cameo, was enclosed in the base; and that the seal was first prepared and hardened, and the chaitya then fashioned round it while the clay was plastic, was manifest by the raised letters of the seal having imbedded themselves in the clay, and leaving fac-similes of their forms. Major Kittoe readily discovered that the seals or stamps comprised the Buddhist religious dogma, or confession of faith, "Ye dhama," &c. or "Ye dharma," &c., as it happened to be in Páli or Sanskrit, and he refers their date from the form of the Deva Nágarí letters to the early part of the eleventh century; but why these chaityas, the first of the kind met with, stamped with the confession of faith, or containing a seal with the dogma in relief letters upon it, should have been lodged within the temple, Major Kittoe does not discuss. As the discovery of the chaityas is new in antiquarian research in India, and as there are certain circumstances connected with this confession of faith being met with in different parts of India in mongrel Sanskrit, I have thought that a drawing of a chaitya and of the enclosed seal, together with a few remarks upon the confession of faith, might be acceptable for reference in the Journal of the Society. The drawing (No. 1, Plate I.,) represents one of the chaityas of the natural size in baked clay of a brick-red; the form is that of the chaityas or dágopas which exist in the Buddhist rock-cut temples of Western India, and though there are slight variations in the outline in some of the specimens from Sárnáth, and in the apex, they are nevertheless, substantially, but the miniature representations of the great topes of which Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsang speak, some of them 700 feet high; and of the great existing relic temples at Rangoon (above 400 feet high) and Pegu, and of the ancient Sánchí

tope, still existing in Málwá. Chaitya and Dágopa, in their signification, mean the receptacle or holding-place of a sacred relic, and in this practice of preserving the remains of sanctified persons, the original of the existing Roman Catholic practice is pourtrayed. Drawing No. 2 (Plate I.) represents a transverse section of drawing No. 1, near to the base, showing the seal with its confession of faith in relief letters imbedded. As this religious dogma has only yet been met with in impure Sanskrit, and of a date not anterior probably to the seventh or eighth centuries of our era, a question might be raised whether the confession of faith, which is so obscure and mystical, could be coeval with the propagation of the doctrine of Buddha, when it would have been recorded in Páli, and whether it did not owe its origin to the polemical disputations and heterodoxy into which the Buddhists fell in the early centuries of the Christian era, and have been adopted as a test by the orthodox to determine who were schismatics. The first time, I believe, the confession of faith was brought to notice, was through the instrumentality of Mr. Stephenson, who in 1834, near to the village of Bakhra, in Tirhút, bought from a Hindu fakir, a mutilated image covered with clay and coloured ochre, and on cleaning the image it was found to be a well-sculptured figure, in red sandstone, of Buddha, with an inscription on its base. Mr. James Prinsep gave an account of this image on the 15th January, 1835, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal,[1] and he stated that the inscription caused some interest, as none of the images of Buddha in the museum, whether from Benares or, the Bhagalpur Hills, had any similar characteristic. While this inscription was under examination by Mr. Prinsep, Lieut. Cunningham sent to him from Benares a fac-simile of an inscription on a slab which he had found 10½ feet under the surface, in excavating the Sárnáth tope at Benares. Some of the letters were evidently similar to those of the inscriptions on the Allahabad Pillar, No. 2, [of the eighth century ?] and though the whole differed as much from the Tirhút image form of letters as the Deva Nágarí from the Bengálí alphabet, yet with his accustomed intuitiveness, Mr. Prinsep was led to believe they were substantially the same, and the result proved the fact. The Tirhút inscription differed only in the substitution of two entirely synonymous words, the transposition of two others, and the omission of the particle "hi," "for," united to "avadat:" the result was the "Ye dharma," &c., of which the various forms and readings will be given subsequently. At this period, Mr. Prinsep did not know that the inscription was a religious Buddhist dogma, but he suspected it; he therefore wrote to M. Csoma de Körös, whose extensive Thibetan

[1] Journal As. Soc. of Bengal, IV, 131.

1



Natural Size.

Transverse Section of the Miniature Chaitya near the base, with the imbedded Seal.

2

Natural Size.

readings in Buddhist polemics would probably enable him to pronounce an opiuion upon it. At first M. Csoma did not recognise it, but a search enabled him to discover it in the three volumes of the Kah-gyur collection, being in Thibetan characters; and in the corresponding Sanskrit originals in modern Deva Nágarí, made known to the world by Mr. B. Hodgson, fifteen examples were brought to light. In all these instances it was found to occur as a peroration, or concluding paragraph at the end of a volume. But as there was an ambiguity indicating its having relation to some other matter and wanting a solution, Mr. Csoma was led to further inquiry, and he fortunately found the dogma in Thibetan in connexion with its transcript in Sanskrit, but in Thibetan characters; the whole was,

Ye dharmá hétu prabhavá, hétun téshán Tathágató hyavadat,
Teshán cha yo nirodha évam vádi Mahá Shramanah.
Sarva pápasyákaraui [? am] kushalasyopasapradam,
Sva chittam paridamanam, étad Buddhánushásanam.

Whatever moral [or human] actions arise from some cause,
The cause of them has been declared by Tathágata:
What is the check to these actions
Is thus set forth by the great Shramanah,

No vice is to be committed;
Every virtue must be perfectly practised;
The mind must be brought under entire subjection;
This is the commandment of Buddha.

The text of the last part was not met with in Sanskrit, and the Sanskrit in Thibetan characters has apparently some error.

Dr. Mill's version was:—

"Quæquæ officia *exstant in*-causâ-*quavis*-originem-*habentia*
Causam eorum SIC-PROFECTUS *ille* [Buddhas] quidem declaravit,
Eorumque quod obstaculum *exstat*,
Ita *quoque* dicens MAGNUS ASCETICUS.
Omnis-peccati renunciatio,
Sanctitatis profectus,
Proprii-intellectûs subjugatio,
Hæc est BUDDHÆ-discipliua."

Mr. Prinsep adds, that Dr. Mill's reading was confirmed by the Cingalese Christian convert Ratna Pála, who repeated the whole from Páli from memory, and said that it formed part of the Buddhist daily service in Ceylon. But he gave "upasampadá" [profectus] in the plural, and in the dogma he omitted "hi," and instead of the verb "avadat" or "uvácha," he read "áha." In Páli it was,

"Ye dhammá hetuppabhavá, Tesán hetun tathágato
Áha tesán cha yo nirodha: Evan vádí mahá samana,
Sabba pápassa akaranan: kusalassa upasampadá:
Sa chitta paridamanan: Etan Buddhánusásanan."

In Western India the dogma had not been met with until Dr. James Bird, of Bombay, excavated a tumulus at Salsette, at the celebrated Buddhist rock excavations at Kanari. He found a gold case and a silver case with precious stones, evidently containing the exuviæ of some holy or respected personage, and above the cases he discovered a copper plate with two inscriptions, one in the Láth character, the other in the character in front of one of the caves at Adjunta and not antique, but from the square hollow heads to the letters evidently of the Chattísgurh type; in the latter part of this inscription was the Buddhist confession of faith, as in former instances, where the characters were not of the Láth type, in ungrammatical Sanskrit.[1]—(See No. 3, Plate II.)

Ye dharma hetu prabhava, tesham hetu Tathagata suvacha téshánchа yo nirodha evam vadi Maha Suvana.

"Whatever meritorious acts proceed from cause, of these the source Tathagata [Buddha] has declared; the opposing principle of these, the great one of golden origin has also demonstrated."

The only difference between this and the Tirhut inscriptions is in the substitution of the Páli word Suvana for Sramana.

Professor Wilson, in his Ariana Antiqua, has an engraving of a seal in black earthenware, found in Afghanistan by Mr. Masson. This seal bears upon it an inscription carelessly and blunderingly written in quasi Páli, in Nágarí letters of the seventh century, and which the professor pronounces to be the Buddhist sacred formula; and he translates it:—

"The Tathágata [Buddha] has declared the causes which are the origin of moral merit: what is its obstruction also the great writer has explained."[2]

In this inscription, professing to be Páli, is seen the compound letter *pr*, of the Sanskrit, and which the Láth or Páli alphabet could not express; but the usual Sanskrit word *dharma*, which is in the other inscription, the professor reads *dhamma*.

With respect to this inscription, however, I had impressions taken

[1] Historical Researches on the Origin and Principles of the Bauddha and Jaina Religions, by Dr. James Bird, p. 64.

[2] Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, p. 51.

from it in various substances, and of these Mr. Dowson, who was good enough to examine them, gives me the following account.

"I have carefully compared the different impressions of the seal, and have made a copy of the inscription after collating the whole of them. The result quite answers my anticipations, as I find that the correct reading agrees much more closely with the other versions of the dogma, than the reading given in the Ariana Antiqua. My copy of the legend differs in several respects from that in the Ariana Antiqua: as instances of the differences, compare the last letter in the first line and the fourth and fifth in the second.—(See No. 1, Plate II.) I find also from the impressions what is not shown in the engraving, viz., that the vowel á is properly represented by a small vertical mark on the right hand side of the consonant, exactly in the same manner as it is written on your chaityas. The letter e is represented by a similar mark on the left side of the consonant, and the letter o by a mark on each side. The literal rendering of the whole, line for line as it stands, is

Ya dharma hatu
prabhavá hatum tesha ta
thágata praha teshá cha yo
nirodha eva vádí
mahá samana.

This, however, is very imperfect; and, unless the proper vowels be supplied, is unintelligible. The impressions you have sent to me are so good, and the seal is in such fine preservation, that I do not think it likely that all the necessary vowels were ever inscribed upon it; still these medial vowels and the anuswaras are so minute in size, that considering the great age of the seal, some may very possibly have become obliterated. The vowels and the anuswaras which are deficient may be *added* to the inscription without changing or diverting any of the lines. I think, therefore, we may fairly insert them, and thus remedy the effects of time or the negligence of the engraver—the perfect inscription will then read,

Ye dharmá hetu-prabhavá
Hetun teshán tathágata práha
Teshán cha yo nirodha
Evam vádi Maha Samana

This approaches very closely to the other versions: for *avadat* or *uvácha*, "said, declared," we have here *práha*, "proclaimed;" and for *Sramana, Samana*. The conjunct *r* [as in the word *prabhavá*] is so clear and so deeply cut that it cannot have been obliterated from the seal.

I am disposed, however, to attribute the absence of this and of the medial vowels to the negligence or ignorance of the engraver. Two visargas are also required to make the reading grammatical, one at the end of the word tathágata, the other at the end of Samana, which should be respectively tathágatah and Sramanah; there is no trace of the former, but there are some marks on the seal which may be intended for the latter. The language is Sanskrit, and the word Samana is the only one which is Páli; instead therefore of the language being barbarous Páli, it is really faulty ill-written Sanskrit. The whole engraving being just such a work as might be expected from an artist who was unacquainted with the language of the copy placed in his hands."

Two other copies of the dogma were sent in April 1836, from Burmah, by Colonel Burney, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[1] They were impressed upon two terra-cotta images of Gautama, which were obtained by Captain Hannay from Tagoung, the ancient capital of Burmah, situated on the banks of the Irawaddy about 100 miles from Ava. Colonel Burney suspected the inscriptions to be the Ye dhamma, and his conjectures were confirmed by Mr. Prinsep, who pronounced them to consist of the Buddhist dogma, written however in Mágadhi or Páli. A drawing of one of the images with a fac-simile of the inscription was published, but no transcription into Roman characters was given.—(See No. 6, Plate II.) Mr. Dowson gives me the following notice of it :—

"The inscription on the image from Tagoung is Páli, and agrees with Ratna Pál's Mágadhi Prákrit version. My reading is,

1. Ye dhamá hetu-pabhavá
   Teshá[m] hetu[n] tathágato [?]
2. Teshá[n] cha yo nirodha
   Eva[m] vádí Maha-samana.

The verb at the end of the first line I cannot satisfactorily decipher. Ratna Pál's version gives "áha," but I do not think this is the word—it looks more like uvácha. The vowels in this version are all distinct, but the anuswara is nowhere written—I have inserted it however in brackets in my transcription, as it is necessary for making grammatical sense. This version reads Mahã not Mahá Samana. The characters of this inscription are more modern than those of the clay chaityas and the seal, and may be referred to the tenth century, as they hold a position between the Tibetan form of the seventh century and the Bengali of the eleventh. They closely resemble the forms of the Kutila inscription from Bareilly, dated 992."

[1] Journal of As. Soc. of Bengal, Vol. V., p. 157.

With respect to the inscription on the seals in the numerous miniature chaityas sent by Major Kittoe, I append the notes with which Mr. Norris and Mr. Dowson have been good enough to favour me.

Mr. Norris says, "the last impression you sent to me is quite legible, and confirms the conjecture I formed on the imperfect seal you first sent to me, and on which I commented in my former note ; only three letters are in any degree imperfect. The language is Sanskrit, and the alphabet I should suppose of the eighth or ninth century, but the vowels are unusually made—the á for example being shown by a perpendicular line over the letter."

"Mr. Dowson says—

"The reading of the clay impression on the seal in the chaitya, is as follows :

Ye dharma hetu pra
bhavá het[un] tesh[án] tathá
[ga] to hyavadat teshá[n] cha
[yo] nirodha evam vádi
mahá Sramana.

The inscription is clearly Sanskrit and not Páli, for the compounds *pra* and *sra* are quite distinct. The characters and the inscription are almost identical with those of the Sárnáth slab, the chief difference being that the latter reads *avadat teshám*, with two distinct *t's*, while the impression on the chaitya seal (more in accordance with Sanskrit orthography) joins the two, making a double *tt*. There is no real difference between the clay and Csoma's Tibetan version. The long vowels of *dharmá* and *prabhavá*, the visarga of *Sramanah*, and three consonants, are invisible on the clay, but if these be supplied, the readings are identical. Characters—seventh to ninth century.—(See No. 2, Plate II.)

To facilitate comparison, Mr. Dowson has arranged the various readings in sequence, with a few observations upon their differences.

Csoma de Körös's Sanskrit version :—

Ye dharmá hetu prabhavá, hetun teshán Tathágato hyavadat,
Teshán cha yo nirodha, evam vádí Mahá Shramanah.

Ratna Pála's Páli or Prákrit version :—

Ye dhammá hetuppabhavá, Tesán hetun tathágato
Áha, tesán cha yo nirodha, Evam vádi mahá samana

Páli version, in Mr. Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism :—

Ye dhamma hétuppabhawá, yésan hétun Tathágató,
Aha yésan cha yo niródhó, ewan wadi Maha Samano.[1]

On the Sárnáth Slab.—(Plate II., No. 5.)

Ye dharmá hetu-prabhavá hetun teshán tathágato hyavadat
Teshán cha yo nirodha evam vádi Maha Sramanah.

On the Tirhut Image.—(Plate II., No. 4.)

Ye dharmmá hetu prabhavá teshám hetum tathágata [u]vácha
Teshán cha yo nirodha evam vádi Maha Samanah.

Kanari Copper Plate, as read by Dr. Bird.
(Plate II., No. 3.)

Ye dharma hetu prabhava tesham hetu Tathágata suvácha teshán cha yo nirodha evam vadi Maha Suvana.[2]

Inscription on Black Earthenware Seal from Afghánistan.
As read by Professor Wilson, (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 51.)

Yo dhamma hetu prabhavo hetuh saba tathágata hyáha
Tassa cha yo nirodha eva vádí Maha Samano.[3]

As read by Mr. Dowson :—(Plate II., No. 1.)

Ye dharmá hetu-prabhavá hetun teshán tathágata práha
Teshán cha yo nirodha evam vádí Maha Samana.

On Image from Tagoung.—(Plate II., No. 6.)

1. Ye dhamá hetun - pabhavá Teshá[m] hetu[m] tathágato, . . . [?]
2. Teshá[n] cha yo nirodha eva[m] vádí Maha Samana.

Reading of the Clay Impression on the seal in the Chaitya.
(Plate II., No. 2.)

Ye dharma hetu-prabhavá hetun teshán tathágato hyavadat,
Teshán cha yo nirodha evam vádí Mahá Sramana.

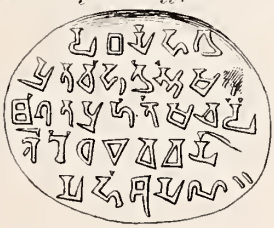
[1] *Translation:*—"All things proceed from some cause; this cause has been declared by the Tathágata; all things will cease to exist; this is what is declared by the Maha Samana [Buddha.]"—Hardy's Manual of Budhism, p. 196.

[2] *Thus translated:*—"Whatever meritorious acts proceed from cause, of those the source Tathagata [Buddha] has declared; the opposing principle of these, the great one of golden origin has also demonstrated."—Bird's Researches, p. 64.

[3] *Thus translated:*—"The Tathágata [Buddha] has declared the causes which are the origin of moral merit. What is its obstruction, also, the great ascetic has explained."

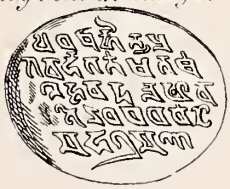
Black Seal from Affghanistan.

1



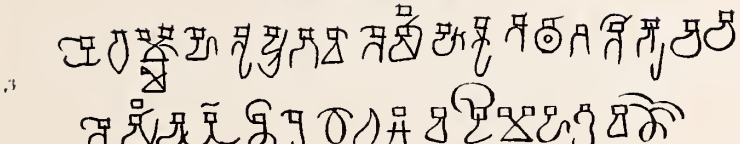
Clay Seal in Chaitya.

2



Kanari Copper Plate.

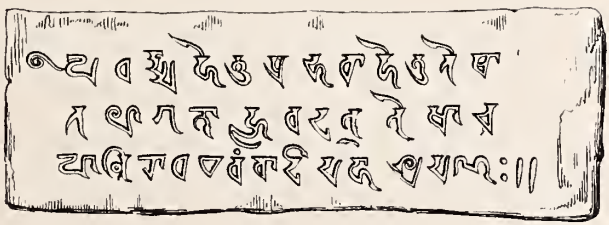
3



Tirhut Image.

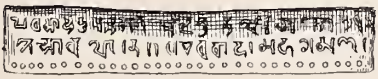
Sarnath Slab.

5



Tagoung Image.

6



W. Z. Bowler Lith.

"The Sárnáth slab was originally read by James Prinsep and Dr. Mill: 'Ayam dharma hetu prabhavo,' in the singular, instead of 'Ye dharmmá hetu prabhavá,' in the plural. But, upon receiving the correct form, Dr. Mill found that this might be read in accordance with it.

"The Tirhut image inscription agrees, with one or two trifling exceptions; the chief difference being the employment of uvácha [second Preterite], for avadat, the first Preterite or Imperfect.

"The inscription on Dr. Bird's Kanari plate is Sanskrit, but I cannot coincide in his reading, particularly in the last word *Suvana* for *Suvarna*, "gold." The initial letter of the word in the inscription is the palatal *s* श, but *suvarna* is properly written with the dental sibilant स. The first character seems to be *sr*, for the tail of the letter is more curved than would be the case if it were *su;* and indeed if the analogy of the conjunct *u* in *hetu* be applicable to the letter *s*, the tail should be turned up the other way, *i.e.*, on the right and not on the left side. The whole word reads *Sravana*, the *v* being probably a mistake for *m*. The words which the learned Doctor reads *Tathagata suvácha*, are literally *Tathágato bhuvecha* or *bhuveva*, but it is difficult to understand exactly what this last word is intended for—it may be a blundering way of writing *uvácha*, or of its variant *úche*, with *cha* or *iva* added."

It might have been expected that a *confessio fidei* would have had a stereotyped character; and as it is in every Buddhist's mouth, as mentioned by Mr. B. Hodgson,[1] a deviation could scarcely have been looked for when it was inscribed, whatever inaccuracies there might be in verbal repetitions; nevertheless, no two of the inscriptions are exactly alike; they are written neither in pure Páli nor good Sanskrit, and not one of them, from the forms of the Deva Nágarí letters used, would appear to be anterior to the seventh century. These considerations might have sanctioned the belief or at least the suspicion that the dogma had its origin at a period long posterior to the promulgation of the Buddhist faith, when heterodoxy was spreading and it was necessary to have a test of a Buddhist's orthodoxy. If, however, the Legends of Buddha, published by the Rev. Mr. Hardy, the Ceylon missionary, from Cingalese authorities, in his remarkable work, the Manual of Buddhism, have any foundation in fact, this test of orthodoxy was contemporaneous with Buddha himself. The legend is as follows:—

[1] Journal Bengal As. Soc. vol. IV. p. 211.

The Two Principal Disciples of Budha, Seriryut and Mugalan.

"There were two Brahman villages, Kólita and Upatissa, not far from Rajagaha, in which two families resided who had been upon terms of intimacy during seven generations; and now each of these families had a prince, called by the same names as their village, Kólita and Upatissa. The former had a retinue of 500 chariots, and the latter of 500 golden palanquins. They were equally clever; they sought the same amusements; what the one did the other did; and thus they were intimately united. But they thought that there could be no release from birth whilst they pursued their pleasures, and that therefore it behoved them to discontinue their pursuits, and seek Nirwána. The question then arose as to what place they should go. There was at this time in Rajagaha a famous paribrájika called Sanga. To him they went, and they remained with him some time, but he was unable to show them the paths. After this they went through all Jambudwípa, asking questions in every place, but no one was able to answer them. In this way they went through the 63,000 kingdoms, and then returned to Rajagaha. It was agreed that if one found a competent teacher he was to tell the other. The residence of Gótama Budha was now at Wéluwana. When the priest, Assaji, had proclaimed through all Jambudwípa that a Budha had appeared, he returned to Rajagaha, and the next day went with his bowl to receive alms. In passing from place to place, he was seen by Upatissa, who greatly admired his appearance, and invited him to go and partake of food. Whilst they were together, Upatissa said: "From what I have seen of your deportment, I infer that you are acquainted with the path to Nirwána; tell me, who was your teacher?" When the priest said that it was Budha, he enquired what where his doctrines; but the priest, under the supposition that the paribrájika was opposed to Budha, replied: "I am only a young disciple, the dharmma is deep; how then, can I tell you?" Then Upatissa informed him that he need not give himself much trouble; if he only gave him a little information upon the subject, he could draw from it a hundred or a thousand inferences. The priest, in reply, repeated the following gátá:—

"Ye dhamma hétuppabhawá,
Yésan hétun Tathágató
Aha, yésan cha yo niródho,
Ewan wadí Maha Samano."

"All things proceed from some cause; this cause has been declared

by Tathágata; all things will cease to exist: this is that which is declared by the Maha Sramana [Budha],"

"On a subsequent night all the priests assembled together, when Budha repeated to them the following gátá :—

Sabba pápassa akaranan ;
Kusalassa upasampadá ;
Sa chitta pariyodapanan;
Etan Buddhánusásanan.

"This is the advice of the Budhas ; avoid all demerit ; obtain all merit ; cleanse the mind from all evil desire." This constitutes the discourse calld Prátimoksha.[1]

Hence then it would appear to be a dogma of the earliest date, but why it should not have appeared amidst the thousands of Páli inscriptions in the multitudinous rock-excavations from the Himalayas to Ceylon, and from Cuttack to Girnár, is unaccountable. And as none of the inscribed dogmas are in a character of a date anterior to the seventh century, the probabilities are against its antiquity.

It now only remains to ask, with what object were these miniature chaityas, with an enclosed seal bearing an inscription of a confession of faith, or with the confession stamped at the bottom of the chaitya lodged in the Buddhist temple of Sárnáth.

It has been suggested from the form of the chaityas, that they were in fact lingas, and that their appearance in the ruins of Sárnáth was indicative of the religious change which was taking place in the supersession of the worship of Buddha by that of Siva ; but the enclosed seal with its Buddhist formula sets that question entirely at rest. It appears to me from analogies in the Roman Catholic Church that these chaityas with their enclosed dogma, were in fact "ex votos." As the Catholic, in cases of accident, distress, or disease, vows to devote as an offering to the Virgin, a wax form of a broken arm or leg, a painting of an accident, or the rising from a bed of disease ; so the Buddhist vowed to devote a chaitya with its dogma enclosed, symbolical of a tomb with a sacred relic, to the temple of Buddha. This may explain also the numerous little chaityas being around the great temples at Rangoon and Pegu. One satisfactory conclusion we can at least come to, that the inscription and promulgation of this dogma, in different parts of India, as late as the early part of the tenth century, increases our confidence in the accounts of the extent of Buddhism in India, by the Chinese travellers Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsang, in the fifth and seventh centuries.

[1] Hardy's Manual of Budhism, p. 195.

Since the above paper was read to the Society, Mr. Dowson has been good enough to call my attention to other instances of the occurrence of the dogma extending as far east as Keddah and Java. It will be desirable to give some account of them. The first, which was found in Java by Mr. Crawfurd, is noticed by Burnouf, in his Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme,[1] as follows :

"Je veux parler de l'inscription en caractères dêvanâgeris, tracée sur le dos d'une statuette de bronze représentant un Buddha, laquelle a été trouvé auprès de Brambanan par Crawfurd. [Hist. of the Ind. Archipelago, vol. II, p. 212, pl. xxxi.) Cette inscription n'est autre chose que la célèbre formule philosophique: *Ye dharma hétu prabhavâh*, etc., qui se lit sur la base et sur les dos d'un si grand nombre de statuettes buddhiques découvertes dans l'Inde. Cette formule est rédigée en Sanscrit, et non en Pâli; ce qui prouve que la statue, ou le modèle d'apres lequel elle a été exécutée, vient du continent indien, et non de Ceylan; si elle était originaire de cette île, la formule sérait indubitablement écrite en Pâli. De cette inscription et de quelques autres monuments de ce genre, qu'il cite, mais qu'il ne reproduit pas, Crawfurd croit pouvoir conclure que les Indiens qui l'ont tracée venaient des provinces de l'Inde occidentale. La forme des lettres de son inscription ne me paraît pas favoriser cette conjecture; c'est un dêvanâgari moderne, qui ne peut guère être antérieur au XII° ou au XIII° siècle de notre ére, et qui affecte des formes Bengalies très aisément reconnaissables. Si cette écriture n'est pas originaire du Bengale, elle vient certainement d'une province voisine, par exemple de la côte d'Orixa; elle offre même une analogie frappante avec l'alphabet qui est actuellement en usage sur cette côte."

Mr. Dowson adds, "This is the most correct version yet found—the reading is (See Plate III, No. 1.)

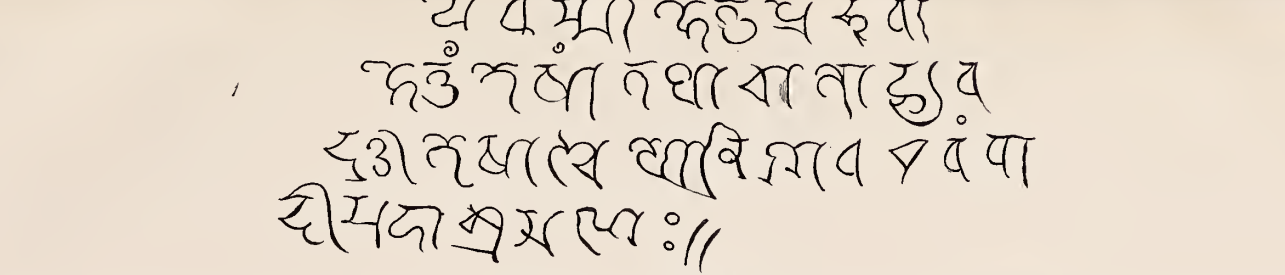
Ye dharmá hetu-prabhavá, hetun teshán Tathágato hyavadat
Tesháns cha yo nirodha, evam vádi Mahá-Sramanah.

The second is inscribed upon an image of Buddha which was obtained by Major Kittoe at Sherghatti, near Gaya. Buddha is represented seated on a kind of throne or chair holding a cup in his lap; and the inscription is placed round the back of the chair immediately within the outer border. Mr. Dowson says: "The legend, which is in characters apparently belonging to the 10th or 11th century, is very clear and distinct, but like most of the other versions it is faulty in

[1] P. 345, note.

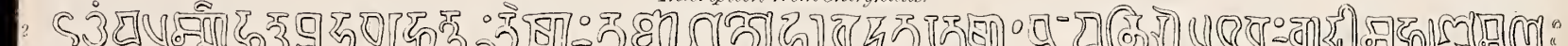
Inscription from Brambanan in Java.

1



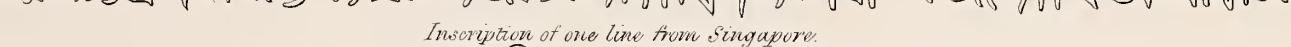
Inscription from Sherghatta.

2



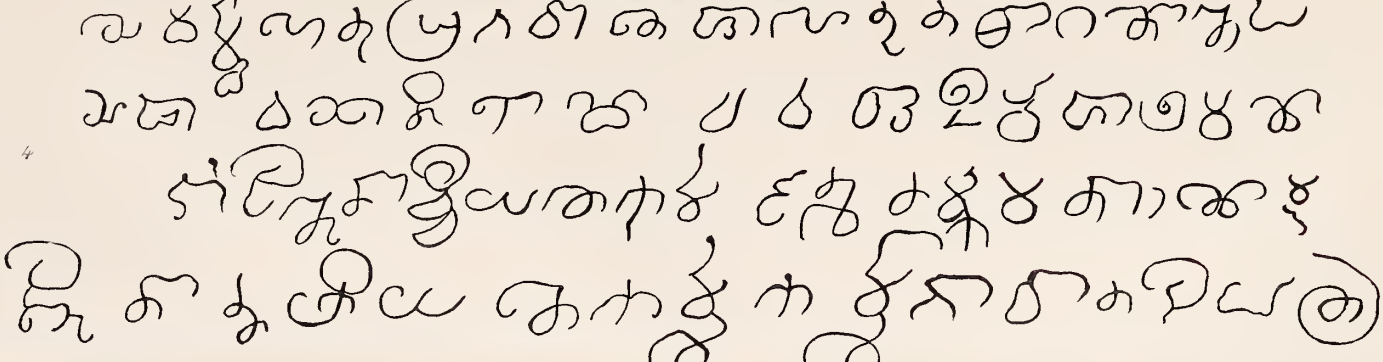
Inscription of one line from Singapore.

3



Inscription from Keddah

4



R.E. Bowler Lith.

the orthography; the letter *e* of *hetu* is left out in both instances (see Plate III. No. 2). It differs from all the other versions in prefixing the sacred monosyllable *om*, but with this slight exception agrees with Csoma's Sanskrit version. Major Kittoe states that "this formula occurs on almost every image in this district, and in various types, down to No. 2 of the Allahabad column."[1]

The other version was discovered by Colonel Low at Kedah, engraved upon a stone slab lying under the centre of the ruins of an ancient brick building. A facsimile was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,[2] with a transcript in modern characters, and a translation by Mr. Laidlay and Bábu Rajendralál. The peculiarity of this version is, that two additional lines are added, which differ from those found appended to the formula by Csoma de Körös, (See Plate III, No. 3.) The transcript and translation given by Mr. Laidlay are:

Ye dharmmá hetu-prabhavá teshám hetu tathágatá
Teshán cha yo nirodha evam vádi mahá-sramana
Pápmanochchíyate karmma janmanám karma káranam
Juánán na kriyate karmma karmma bhávana líyate.

"Whatever moral actions arise from cause, the cause of them has been declared by Tathágata—What is the check to these actions, is thus set forth by the great Sramana. Vice promotes action, and action is the cause of transmigration. He who, through knowledge, performs no action, is not subject to its effects."

A few months previously, Mr. Laidlay, in another paper on inscriptions from Singapore,[3] had published a short inscription of one line, which he found to be identical with the first of these new lines, (See Plate III, No. 4). The reading published at the time was:

Rajonarmmayanikarmma janmanah karma káranam

"[That] Karma (religious action originating in the hope of recompense) which sports with passion, is the cause of transmigration."

Upon these inscriptions Mr. Dowson has written the following observations: "The characters of the inscriptions from Singapore are older than those employed in any of the other versions which have come under my notice. They bear a great resemblance to the Hála Kanara forms made known by Mr. Walter Elliot. Mr. Laidlay considers them to correspond very closely with the alphabet of the

[1] Journ. Beng. As. Soc., vol. XVI., p. 78.
[2] Ibid. vol. XVIII., p. 247.
[3] Ibid. vol. XVII., p. 71.

fifth century, but several of the characters are identical with the forms found in the Guzerat plates of the second century—their date therefore is probably between the second and fifth centuries of our era, unless it can be supposed that the characters employed at the extremity of the Malayan peninsula were not affected by the changes which were operating upon the same characters in India. That, like the alphabets of southern India, and the Tibetan and Bengali in later times, having once been adopted in a particular locality, they were in a measure stereotyped, and only partially and slowly affected by the changes going on in the alphabet from which they were borrowed.

"The additional lines in this inscription fully confirm the statements of Mr. Hodgson and Ratna Pál, that the two lines which Csoma de Körös found added to the formula are not necessarily connected with it.

"As regards the transcription and translation of this version, I am obliged to dissent from Mr. Laidlay in respect of the two new lines: two versions have been given of the first, but we must presume the later to be the revised and approved form. It was unfortunate perhaps that his pundit Rájendralál should have sought to elucidate and explain them by the dogmas of Brahmanical philosophy, when their true meaning ought to have been looked for in the writings of Buddhistical philosophers. Upon attentively considering the additional lines in the Kedah inscription, I came to the conclusion that the letters which stand separate as second and third in the first line, form in reality a compound consonant agreeing with the first letter in the last line; and upon referring to the other version of the first line, I found this conjecture to be correct. It was clear therefore that the word was neither *pápman* nor *Rajo*, as read by Mr. Laidlay. The reading I propose is *ajnánách*, the only difficulty in which is the initial letter: in the one-line inscription it looks very like an *r*, but I think it may be taken for the tail of the letter *a*, and that the upper and distinguishing part of the character may be considered as obliterated. In the second inscription it is certainly neither *r* nor *p*, and I cannot suggest any other reading than *a*. The reading I propose is (See Plate III, No. 3):

Ye dharmmá hetu-prabhavá teshá[m] hetu[n] Tathágato áha
Yeshán cha yo nirodha eva[m] vádi Mahá-sramana[h]
Ajnánách chíyate karma janmanám ka[r]ma káranam
Jnánán na kriyate karmma karmmábhávána jáyate.

and of the one-line inscription, (See Plate III, No. 4):

Ajnánách chíyate karmma janmanah karma káranam,

the only difference between them being that the former reads *janmanám*, genitive plural, and the latter *janmanah*, genitive singular.

"The translation of the two additional lines is: 'Action (karmma) is produced (collected or gathered) from ignorance: action is the cause of birth: action is not produced from knowledge: in the absence of action nothing is born.'

"As regards transcription, the above differs from Mr. Laidlay's only in respect of the first two and the last two words. I have not been able to find the lines in any of the authorities to which I have referred; and as the translation differs considerably, it may be advisable to add a few remarks in illustration. The only uncertainty in the translation is confined to the last sentence, which I have read *karmábhává na jayate*, for the letter *n* ought to have been doubled as in *jnánán na kriyate*, to admit of the construction I have put upon the phrase. This last sentence might also be translated as 'Action proceeds not from non-existence;' but it is more in consonance with the other maxims of the verse, and with the tenets of the Kármmika philosophy to read the words '*Karmábhávát*' as a compound implying 'in the absence of action,' and to supply the nominative which the verb *na-jayate*, 'is not born,' requires.

"The doctrine here enunciated is quite consistent with Buddhist tenets. The Lalita Vistara, as cited by Burnouf, says: 'Quelle est la chose qui existant donne lieu aux concepts, et quelle cause ont les concepts? L'ignorance *(Avidyâ)* existant, les concepts existent; car les concepts ont pour cause l'ignorance.'[1] Mr. Spence Hardy, in his Manual of Buddhism, says: 'The first term in this cycle of generation is ignorance, *avidya*. It is an abstract quality producing another abstract quality, merit and demerit, *karma;* which *karma* produces a third abstraction, consciousness; and this consciousness is endowed with physical power, and produces body and mind, in which is included all the particulars that in their aggregation form what is called a sentient being.'[2] Burnouf further says: 'Le point de départ de toutes les existences est l'*Avidyá*, qui signifie à la fois le non-être et le non-savoir.'[3] Mr. Hodgson defines *Karma*, as 'any act of the sentient principle.'[4] *Karma*, according to Mr. Hardy, 'includes merit and demerit: it is that which controls the destiny of all sentient beings.'[5]

"I cannot attempt to penetrate further into the intricacies and mysteries of Buddhistical speculation, to prove the correctness of the trans-

[1] Burnouf, Introd., p. 488.
[2] Burnouf, Introd., p. 488.
[3] Manual of Budhism, p. 392.
[4] Burnouf, Introd., p. 485.
[5] Journal Beng. As. Soc. v. 30.
[6] Manual, p. 445.

lation of this passage, or to illustrate its meaning ; but if the import of it as above given be generally correct, it supports Mr. Hodgson in the interpretation he put upon the dogma 'Ye dharmá.' Respecting the word *dharma*, he says: 'The substratum of all form and quality in the versatile universe, the sustainer of versatile entity, mundane substances, and existences physical and moral: in a word, *all things*.—Such is the *general* meaning of *dharmá*.'[1] Thus interpreting *dharmá*, he considers the literal rendering of the dogma to be:—

"'Of all things proceeding from cause; the cause of their procession hath the Tathágata explained. The great Sramana hath likewise declared the cause of the extinction of all things,'—or, as construed with the help of the Commentators, 'The cause or causes of all sentient existence in the versatile word, the Tathágata hath explained. The great Sramana hath likewise explained the cause, or causes of the cessation of all such existence.'[2] Taking the dogma in this sense, we may suppose that the additional lines in the Singapore formula were added by some follower of the Kármmika sect of philosophy, to make known that 'cause,' which the dogma itself states to have been declared, but which it does not enunciate.

"The truth probably is, that the dogma originally consisted of two lines only, and that these were impressed by the priests upon the minds of their followers as containing a great mystery, of which they possessed the key. If so, it was natural that attempts should be made to unravel the meaning of this mystical couplet, and to interpret it for the benefit of the votaries of Buddha. Taken up in a philosophical spirit, the word *dharmá* might be considered as implying 'all things,' and the dogma would then be understood as referring to the mystery of existence. In such case the exponent would seek to make known the 'cause' which is hinted at, and would add that which his philosophy taught him to be the 'cause,' as in the Kedah Inscription. If, on the other hand, the dogma was examined in a practical and religious light, *dharma* would then be interpreted as 'moral actions,' and the mystery involved would be understood as consisting of some moral directions, by which the adherents of the faith of Buddha might obtain salvation. The religious teacher would then attempt to give such directions as his religion inculcated, as the means of accomplishing that end, and the result would be a short addition to the dogma, similar to that found by Csoma de Körös, and quoted from memory by Ratna Pál.

[1] Journal Beng. As. Soc., IV, 214.

[2] Ib. 211.—This interpretation has been accepted by Csoma de Körös, in his analysis of the Dulva. See Asiatic Researches, vol. xx, p. 52.

"One other point is worthy of observation. The various versions of the dogma differ chiefly in respect of the verb, which is found in four different forms, *avadat*, *uvácha*, *áha*, and *práha*. The lines, which are in the common sloka or anushtubh metre of sixteen syllables, are complete without the verb, and the metre is destroyed by its introduction; hence it is impossible not to suspect that the verb has been added subsequently to the composition of the verse. If the first line be read

'Ye dharmá hetu-prabhavá hetun teshán Tathágatah,'

then some verb must be understood as governing the word *hetun* in the accusative case, and the verb 'declared' has accordingly been supplied, probably in consequence of the word *vádi*, of similar import, in the second line. But if the word 'cause' was originally in the nominative case (*hetuh* or *hetus*), and without a verb, the noun will naturally take the nominative case, and the line will have a different meaning, and signify 'Of all sentient existence [or 'of all moral actions'] proceeding from cause, the Tathágata (Ádi Buddha) is the cause.' In this form the dogma has frequently been met with by Mr. Hodgson, who has stated his opinion that no complementary verb is necessary.[1] The redundancy of the verb as regards the metre, and the various forms in which it appears in the inscriptions, seem to settle the point conclusively in favour of his view."

Note.—In making my acknowledgments to Mr. Dowson for his research, and the critical acumen he displays, and concurring generally in his opinions, I must make an exception to the date he is disposed to give to the Inscription from Kedah. The whole character and aspect of the Inscription, together with the forms of individual letters, so manifestly refer to the period when the Devanagari was changing into the rounded forms of the Telugu and Tamil, that it evidently could not be earlier than the date when those changes were taking place in India: moreover, as Buddhism, according to Fa Hian, did not exist in Java in the fifth century, and as no inference is made to its existence in the Archipelago, the Kedah Inscription could not date before the fifth century; but it is probably as late as the ninth or tenth. The preservation of a few Láth letters in it would only prove that the progress in the alteration of form was not so rapid at Kedah as in the peninsula of India.

W. H. Sykes.

[1] Journal Beng. As. Soc., IV, 211; Illustrations of Buddhism, pp. 158, 163.

ART. V.—*Description of an Execution at Canton, by* T. T. MEADOWS, ESQ., *Translator and Interpreter to Her Majesty's Consulate.*

THE place used as the execution-ground at Canton is in the southern suburbs, about midway between the forts known to foreigners as the Dutch and French "Follies." It is, however, some distance back from the river, being about halfway between the southern wall of the city, running parallel to the river, and the latter; distant from each 120 or 130 yards in a straight line. There is no street leading directly to it either from the river or the city. There is a dense population all around, composed, towards the north and west, of the inmates of shops and dwellings, respectable in its immediate neighbourhood, and getting more wealthy as the foreign factories (distant about a mile) are approached. To the south and east the suburb is, generally speaking, poor, inhabited by low and even criminal classes. The execution-ground itself is a short thoroughfare or lane, running north and south, about fifty yards in length, eight yards in breadth at its northern end, and gradually narrowing to five yards at its southern extremity, where the projection of a house-corner reduces it to a mere passage of one yard and a half in width, and five in length. At the end of this latter is a high strong door, closed and guarded during executions. The eastern side of the ground is bounded in its whole length by a dead brick wall, of about twelve feet high, forming the back of some dwellings or small warehouses. Against this wall, at about an equal distance from each extremity of the lane, a rack is erected, always containing a number of human heads in different stages of decomposition. Further towards the north end a shed runs along a portion of it, in which the executioners, &c. stand while awaiting the appearance of the criminals. The western side is composed of a row of workshops, where the coarsest description of unglazed earthenware is made. The doors and the small openings, which serve as windows to these places, open into the lane, which when no execution is going on, is partially filled with their earthern manufactures, drying in the sun. The narrow passage, at the southern end of the lane, leads into a filthy square, surrounded by similar pottery workshops; while its northern end is crossed at right angles by a tolerably decent street. The portion of this latter which is open to the lane has a tiled roof carried over it, and under the shed so formed the superintending mandarins sit during executions, the shop

behind being closed, and the street on both sides blocked up by their attendants. A screen being placed between them and the sufferers, they never actually see what passes.

In this lane, not larger than the deck of a hulk, and almost surrounded by dead brick walls, upwards of four hundred human beings have been put to death during the past eight months of the present year. It is fetid with the stench of decomposing heads, and rank with the steams raised by the hot sun from a soil saturated with human blood. Sometimes the bodies of such criminals as have friends, are allowed to remain till these remove them for burial. The first time I entered the place I found four bodies so left, lying in various attitudes as they had fallen, their heads near them, and two pigs moving among them, busily feeding in the pools of blood that had gushed from the trunks. At the distance of about seven yards, and facing this scene, a woman sat at the door of one of the pottery workshops, affectionately tending a child on her knees, of one or two years old: both stared hard, not at a sight so common as pigs feeding among human bodies on human blood, but at the strangely-dressed foreigners.

Having heard, on the evening of the 29th July, 1851, that thirty-four rebels or baudits were to be executed on the following day between eight and ten o'clock, I went to the ground at about half past eight with two English residents at Canton, who had not previously witnessed any execution. We found only a few of the lowest official attendants on the spot. A hole in the ground, near to which a rough cross leant against the wall, showed me that one man at least was going to suffer the highest legal punishment, cutting-up alive, called *ling che*, "a disgraceful and lingering death." A few steps in advance of the shed at the north end, under which the mandarins sit, a fire of fragrant sandal-wood billets was burning on the ground. Knowing that it was customary to exclude at the time of executions, all but the officials from the place, I deemed it advisable to prepare for maintaining our ground by taking up a position on a heap of dry rubbish in the southern corner of the lane, from which slightly elevated stand we should, besides, have the best view of the proceedings. After waiting thus a long time, making liberal distributions of eau-de-cologne over our handkerchiefs and jacket collars, the maiu body of officials at length began to arrive. The cross was placed and secured in the hole prepared for it, and the police runners began beating out the refractory of the crowd with split rattans. One man motioned to us to leave, but on my telling him quietly in Mandarin that we should not do so unless specially required by the officers, we were no more interfered with. The door at the southern end was now closed, and a

guard stationed within; soon after which the criminals were brought in, the greater number walking, but many carried in large baskets of bamboo attached each to a pole and borne by two men. We observed that the strength of the men so carried was altogether gone, either from excess of fear or the treatment they had met with during their imprisonment and trial. They fell powerless together as they were tumbled out on the spots where they were to die. They were immediately raised up to a kneeling position and supported thus by the man who stands behind each criminal. The following is the manner of decapitation. There is no block, the criminal simply kneels with his face parallel to the earth, thus leaving his neck exposed in a horizontal position. His hands, crossed and bound behind his back, are grasped by the man behind, who, by tilting them up, is enabled in some degree to keep the neck in the proper position. Sometimes, though very rarely, the criminal resists to the last by throwing back his head. In such cases a second assistant goes in front and taking the long Chinese tail or queue (otherwise rolled into a knot on the criminal's head) by dragging at it pulls the head out horizontally.

The executioner stands on the criminal's left. The sword ordinarily employed is only about three feet long, inclusive of a six-inch handle, and the blade is not broader than an inch and a half at the hilt, narrowing and slightly curving towards the point. It is not thick; and is in fact the short and by no means heavy sabre worn by the Chinese military officers when on duty. The executioners, who are taken from the ranks of the army, are indeed *very frequently* required by the officers to "flesh their maiden swords" for them; which is called *kae kow*, "opening the edge," and is supposed to endue the weapon with a certain power of killing. The sabre is firmly held with both hands, the right hand in the front, with the thumb projecting over and grasping the hilt. The executioner, with his feet firmly planted some distance apart, holds the sabre for an instant at the right angle to the neck about a foot above it in order to take aim at a joint: then, with a sharp order to the criminal of "Don't move!" he raises it straight before him as high as his head, and brings it rapidly down with the full strength of both arms, giving additional force to the cut by dropping his body perpendicularly to a sitting posture at the moment the sword touches the neck. He never makes a second cut, and the head is seldom left attached even by a portion of the skin, but is severed completely.

On the present occasion thirty-three of the criminals were arranged in rows with their heads towards the south, where we were standing. In the extreme front the narrowness of the ground only left space for

one man at about five yards from us: then came two in a row, then four, five, &c. At the back of all, about twenty-five yards from us, the chief criminal, a leader of a band, was bound up to the cross. The executioner, with the sleeves of his jacket rolled up, stood at the side of the foremost criminal. He was a well-built vigorous-looking man of the middle size: he had nothing of the ferocious or brutal in his appearance, as one is led to suspect, but on the contrary had good features and an intelligent expression. He stood with his eye fixed on the low military officer, who was the immediate superintendent, and as soon as the latter gave the word *pan!*[1] "punish!" he threw himself into the position above described, and commenced his work. Either from nervousness or some other cause he did not succeed in severing the first head completely, so that after it fell forward with the body the features kept moving for a while in ghastly contortions. In the mean time the executioner was going rapidly on with his terrible task. He appeared to get somewhat excited, flinging aside a sword after it had been twice or thrice used, seizing a fresh one held ready by an assistant, and then throwing himself by a single bound into position by the side of his next victim. I think he cut off thirty-three heads in somewhat less than three minutes, all but the first being completely severed. Most of the trunks fell forward the instant the head was off; but I observed that in some three or four cases, where the criminals were men apparently possessing their mental and physical faculties in full strength, the headless bodies stood quite upright, and would I am certain have sprung into the air had they not been retained by the man behind; till, the impulse given in the last instant of existence being expended, a push threw them forwards to their heads. As soon as the thirty-three were decapitated the same executioner proceeded, with a single-edged dagger or knife, to cut up the man on the cross, whose sole clothing consisted of his wide trousers, rolled down to his hips and up to his buttocks. He was a strongly-made man, above the middle size, and apparently about forty years of age. The authorities got him by seizing his parents and wife, when he surrendered, as well to save them from torture as to secure them the seven thousand dollars offered for his apprehension. The mandarins, having future cases in mind, rarely break faith on such occasions. As the man was at the distance of twenty-five yards with his side towards us, though we observed the two cuts across the forehead, the cutting-off of the left breast, and slicing of the flesh from the front of the thighs, we could

[1] In the language of criminal procedure this word means "to punish;" in ordinary language its signification is "to do," "to transact," &c.

not see all the horrible operation. From the first stroke of the knife till the moment the body was cut down from the cross and decapitated, about four or five minutes elapsed. We should not have been prohibited from going close up, but as may be easily imagined, even a powerful curiosity was an insufficient inducement to jump over a number of dead bodies and literally wade through pools of blood to place ourselves in the hearing of the groans indicated by the heaving chest and quivering limbs of the poor man. Where we stood we heard not a single cry; and I may add that of the thirty-three men decapitated no one struggled or uttered any exclamation as the executioner approached him.

Immediately after the first body fell I observed a man put himself in a sitting posture by the neck, and with a business-like air commence dipping in the blood a bunch of rush pith. When it was well saturated he put it carefully by on a pile of the adjacent pottery, and then proceeded to saturate another bunch. This so-saturated rush pith is used by the Chinese as a medicine. When all the executions were over, a lad of about fifteen or sixteen, an assistant or servant I presume of the executioner, took a sabre, and placing one foot on the back of the first body, with the left hand seized hold of the head (which I have already said was not completely cut off) and then *sawed* away at the unsevered portion of the neck till he cut through it. The other bodies were in the mean time being deposited in coffins of unplaned deal boards. When that was nearly finished, the southern door being opened, we hastened to escape from a sight which few will choose to witness a second time without a weighty special cause. Some years back it fell to my lot to be ordered by Sir John Davis, at that time Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary in China, to witness officially, in company with a detachment of troops, the execution of four Chinese, for the murder of British subjects; and it was in a great measure as a matter of duty that I went to the execution just described, being desirous to inure myself in some degree to these sights (which I may be called upon to witness officially) as well as to watch closely the ordinary legal mode of procedure.

T. T. M.

22*nd August*, 1851.

ART. VI.—*Remarks on the connection between the Indo-Chinese and the Indo-Germanic Languages, suggested by an Examination of the Sghā and Pghō Dialects of the Karens. By* J. W. LAIDLAY, ESQ.

MORE than a quarter of a century has elapsed since Wilhelm von Humboldt, in the introduction to his immortal work *Ueber die Kawi Sprache*, impressed upon orientalists the high philological importance of the Indo-Chinese dialects, from an enlightened study of which that eminent scholar anticipated results of the highest value for the illustration of the philosophy of language in general. Since the death of that illustrious and lamented writer, although the exteusion of our political and commercial intercourse, and the uutiriug zeal of the Christiau missionary among the tribes of the eastern peninsula have given rise to many excellent treatises upon their various dialects, among which I may mention in particular the admirable works of my friend Colonel Low, the Rev. F. Mason, and Captain Latter; yet there still seems wanting a comprehensive and philosophical survey of these tongues, not merely with reference to their own internal structure and the singular mental idiosyncrasies of which these peculiarities are the exponents, but with reference to the light they throw upon languages in general, even upou those from which they most widely diverge, and with which their connection is indeed very faint and indistinct. For while all the other nations of the earth are being gradually associated into one family by their linguistic affinities, and even the long-silent Egyptian has from many an ancient tomb and many a mysterious epigraph put forth his claim to relationship with the Semitic stock, little or nothing has been done towards bridging over the cheerless gulf that still divorces *philologically* the simple-minded speakers of the intonated mouosyllabic tongues from their Indo-Germanic brethren, whose copious and highly-polished languages constitute at once the proudest monument and the most efficient instrument of their civilization.

Without pretending for a moment to fill up even any portion of the outline I have thus hastily sketched, or attaching any undue weight to the following remarks suggested by a careful examiuation of the vocabulary of the *Sghā* and *Pghō* dialects of the Karens, I think it may be as well briefly to record the conclusions I have arrived at, as these may serve to evince the pregnant interest of

tho subject, and may induce others, better able than myself and more happily situated for the purpose, to prosecute an enquiry which cannot fail to reward their labours with many new and important results. I may premise that the vocabulary and its attendant investigations were undertaken during a brief visit to Maulmein to beguile the tedious hours of convalescence from a severe illness, and were originally intended, not for philological but for ethnological purposes; to assist, in fact, however humbly, those researches on the aborigines of our own and the neighbouring territories which my indefatigable and accomplished friend, Mr. B. H. Hodgson, is prosecuting with such admirable zeal and success.

The tribe, upon whose language my studies have been engaged, is in many respects an extremely remarkable and interesting one. It is found scattered in isolated groups over many parts of Burmah, Siam, and probably the interior parts of the Malayan peninsula: preserving its nationality, language, and strikingly peculiar religious tenets, uncontaminated by intercourse with the numerous and powerful peoples among whom it has found an asylum. Though obviously a foreign and immigrant tribe, their origin is involved in the deepest obscurity, and has hitherto eluded the research of the ablest enquirers. The learned and judicious Lassen, upon apparently very slender grounds, refers their primitive home to Karaian, a country visited by Marco Polo, and identified by Marsden with the district of *Yun-nán*, in China Proper. Were this conjecture well founded, however, we might expect to find a much closer analogy than really exists between their language, both in etymology and syntax, and that of China. But though a very striking analogy is undeniable, the Karen is much more remote from that grand type of the intonated tongues than such a theory would seem to require: added to which the Karen has no written medium whatever, either alphabetic or ideographic; a circumstance tending but little to confirm the hypothesis of Lassen.

A more probable origin for these people may, I think, be gathered from their own uniform and well-defined traditions, which, as explained to me by my friend the Rev. Mr. Mason (long resident among them and critically acquainted with their language), describe them as coming originally from across the *river of sand*, entering the Burmese territories from the north-west, and bending their footsteps southward till they found an asylum on the banks of the Sálwín and the Irawadi, or in the remoter valleys of the Meinam. Now, though nothing more than the name of this *river of sand* is preserved, I think that there need be little hesitation in identifying it with the great desert of Central Asia, known from time immemorial to the Chinese and surrounding nations

by the same singular appellative; a name given, not as, from a careful consideration of Chinese texts, I am inclined to think, in a metaphorical or poetical sense, but apparently from a conviction of the actual though slow flux of the stones and sand. No other region, so far at least as my geographical knowledge extends, is similarly characterised or named; but this desert has been thus distinguished from a very early period. Fá Hian, the Bauddha pilgrim who traversed it in his route to India A.D. 399-400, speaks of it by this name. In the apocryphal letter from Prester John to Alexius Comnenus, it is similarly characterised; and to this day the roving Tatar excites his sluggish fancy by the image of a vast floating sea of sand overlying the subterranean currents of the Hoang-ho. Further, were similarity of sound to have any weight in determining questions of this kind, my position might perhaps be strengthened by identifying the original country of the Karens with that of the Caratæ of Ptolemy, "juxta Jaxartem;" in whom we have the ancestors of the Karaits of more modern authors; but I do not insist upon this etymology.

But another circumstance tending more strongly to corroborate this view is the remarkable character of the religious tenets of the Karens. These are not less striking from their contrast with the opinions of the Bauddha population of Burmah and Siam, than for their singular coincidence with the moral and historical portion of the Jewish and Christian scriptures. It is not my intention to speculate upon this curious subject, which has been handled at some length in an interesting little work, intitled "The Karen Apostle," recently published by my friend the Rev. Mr. Mason of Maulmein; but I may briefly mention that these legends and traditions are so various and so singularly conformable with scriptural text, that there is no rational mode of explaining their existence, except by derivation from the latter. How then, when and where were they so derived? Not surely in Burmah, where, until lately, there never existed any source from which such sentiments might emanate. May not these rather have been imported from Central Asia, where, at a very early period, "the missionaries of Balkh and Samarkand pursued without fear the footsteps of the roving Tatar," and Nestorianism, finding a refuge on the banks of the Sellinga, contested for supremacy with the doctrines of Sákya?

Finally, the Mongolian features of the Karen equally proclaim his northern origin. As these have been already described by others, I shall not dilate upon them further than to state that they are of a more pleasing and intelligent character than those of the Burmese: the zygomatic arches are less prominent, the eyes larger, the nose

more elevated, and the general expression has less of coarseness and platitude.

With this brief notice of the people themselves, let us now, however, proceed to the consideration of their language; or rather to those speculations suggested by it, which form the principal object of the present paper.

Their language, as I have already intimated, is monosyllabic and intonated, and is divided into two dialects; the *Sghā* and the *Pghō*. Whence arises this distinction I was unable to ascertain; but the difference between the dialects is verys light, rarely vocabular, most frequently only tonic; that is, the words are often identical, but pronounced with a different intonation. Of the words themselves, a fair proportion are identical with those of similar import in the Tibetan, Mech, Bodo, Dhimál, and other languages spoken on our northern and eastern frontiers; many with the Burmese and Siamese; and some few with the Chinese; thus proclaiming by etymology as well as by unmistakable similarity of structure, their affinity with that well-defined class of languages known by the designation of "the Indo-Chinese."

Of all these tongues, the distiuctive peculiarity is *monosyllabism*. In some, indeed, for instance the Burmese and the Tibetan, there is a strong tendency to polysyllabism, arising from a cause that will be touched upon presently: but in no degree does this tendency obliterate the original character of the language; which indeed, as we shall see, it rather tends to confirm and illustrate. In languages of this class the number of vocables must, from the very nature of the case, be extremely limited. Ring the changes as you will upon all possible bi-literal or tri-literal combinations, such must unavoidably be the case in any circumstances; but especially so among those nations whose organs of speech, whether from original or from educational defect, are incapable of enunciating certain consonants or combinations of letters. Thus in the Chinese, the most polished and perfect of the monosyllabic tongues, the number of words does not exceed four hundred and eighty; and in many of the Indo-Chinese dialects the number of enunciated vocables may be even fewer: an inconvenience which, unless means were found to remedy it, would unfit these tongues even for the few and inartificial reqnirements of barbarism, far more for the use of a cultivated and intellectual people.

Expedients, however, have not been wanting to remedy this primary defect; and it is in these that the grand divergence between the monosyllabic and the polysyllabic tongues originates. While the families of mankind who are distinguished by the use of the latter

would appear to have adopted the expedient of adding an additional syllable to that already in use, when new ideas called for new modes of expression, the Indo-Chinese tribes resorted to the quaint and limited assistauce derived from the use of tones. By means of these the brief catalogue of vocables is increased in the Chinese to about twelve hundred, and to a number less easily defined in the cognate and less polished dialects. Then again, the syntactical *laws of position* in several of these tongues, more particularly in the *Kou-wen*, or ancient and literary dialect of the Chinese, by enabling each word to play many parts in turn, as noun, or adjective, or verb, or adverb, or expletive, or even enunciated comma or semicolon, immensely extend the capabilities of this limited vocabulary.

Nevertheless, with all these and similar expedients, the number of homophones of different signification would give rise in the ordinary intercourse of life to constant perplexity and doubt, were it not for another contrivance, neither grammatical nor phonetic, to which, for want of a better, we may apply the term *tautologism;* it consists in applying two or more terms of similar or nearly similar signification, but of different sound; and is used only in speaking; being wholly unnecessary in the written tongue, where the ideographic sign confers all the precision that can be required. Thus, in Chinese, the sound *táo*, means "a path," "reason," "to govern," and many other ideas, each of which has a distinct emblem in the written form; but when, orally, there may be doubt on the part of the hearer which of these ideas the speaker would imply, this inconvenience is removed by the subjunction of another word of similar siguification, for instance, *lú*, which amongst other significations, means also "a path," and the union of these words *táo-lú* renders it impossible for the hearer to misunderstand the speaker.

A similar expedient is resorted to in the Karen language, with this difference, that the supplementary or adjunctive word is not necessarily of similar, but is often, on the contrary, of coutrasting signification; and is not chosen at the caprice or option of the speaker, as in Chinese; but is determined by a fixed law of the language. For example: the sound that signifies "moon" in Karen, is *lá;* but *lá* also signifies "a leaf of a tree," and sundry other things. To obviate ambiguity, if "moon" be the idea signified, the laws of the language prescribe, when required, the subjunctive word *mó*, which signifies "sun;" and the combination *lá-mó* is held to mean "moon," without room for ambiguity. If, on the other hand, "leaf" be signified, the word *thé* is adjoined, when the compound unmistakably indicates "leaf," *folium*.

Such are some of the simple artifices by which man in a primitive condition of society, such as the use of a monosyllabic language would seem to imply, endeavours to confer some degree of precision upon the signs employed for the intercommunication of thought. The expedients most characteristic of the Indo-Chinese tongues, namely, intonation and tautologism, cease to be requisite the moment that language becomes polysyllabic and flexible. But as to the latter of these, may it not reveal the mode, or at least one of the modes, in which we may suppose language in its early stages to have passed from a primitive monosyllabism to the copious and musical polysyllabism of the Semitic and Indo-Germanic races? I was forcibly impressed with the thought; and on endeavouring to test its truth by as copious an induction of illustrative facts as my limited opportunities permit, I am induced to believe that the investigation, ably followed up, would even yet enable us to recover the long-lost thread of connection between these now widely divergent classes of languages.

I should here premise, that while I for one hold it to be equally true in sound philosophy, as it undoubtedly is in theology, that there was a time when "the whole earth was of one language and one speech," I deem it idle to affect any precision in determining what the affinities of that language were. Nevertheless, I think we need have no hesitation whatever in deciding that it must have been strictly adapted to the wants of the people who spoke it, and *nothing more:* and that therefore it could not be the Hebrew, as some have fondly imagined, far less any dialect of the exquisitely polished Sanskrit, two of the most ancient tongues that have been preserved to the present day. I for one cannot bring myself to believe that our early progenitors conversed in sesquipedalians, nor, while about a third of mankind, including some of the most polished nations of the East, are fulfilling to this day, with monosyllables, not only all the wants of social intercourse, but building up with them (as the Chinese) a vast literature, abounding in works in every department of human knowledge, can I allow the probability of our primæval ancestors having employed any other form of language. Many philological considerations point to the same conclusion; the simpler ideas are in all languages expressed in monosyllables; and besides this, if our assumption be true that there was *once* but one language common to mankind, then one or other of these propositions must be true also:—either that the primitive language was monosyllabic and was gradually improved into polysyllabism:—or that it was originally polysyllabic, and by a retrogressive movement relapsed into monosyllabism; a supposition

so extremely improbable that I think we are justified in dismissing it at once as unworthy of further investigation.

Another point which I incline to consider as incontrovertible is this:—that ideographic preceded alphabetic writings; or conversely, that the backward step from the phonetic to the ideographic is not a probable one, unless indeed we suppose the former to have been at any period lost, and graphic signs to have been invented anew by the nations that use them. In proof of this, besides analogy and history, we have venerable testimony in the ancient system of Egyptian hieroglyphics and phonetics, and in the *nomenclature* of the Hebrew alphabet, which bears unmistakable evidence of its ideographic origin.

When once, however, a language has firmly acquired its impress as phonetic or as ideographic, and made a considerable advance towards perfection in either direction, its genius becomes fixed and unchangable; and it can no longer assume the opposite characteristics without a complete breaking-up and destruction of its original organism.

With these cursory remarks I shall now proceed to the consideration of the case more immediately before us. It is very easy to perceive, that in favourable circumstances, the additional expletive syllable employed in the monosyllabic languages to avoid ambiguity, would eventually become permanently attached to that which it contributes to define, and constitute in fact a second syllable. In the Chinese we have seen this adjunctive word chosen entirely at the caprice of the speaker: in the Karen a further step towards polysyllabism is evinced in the determinate selection of the word employed. In the Burmese and Tibetan languages, to which an alphabetic system has been applied, this tendency to polysyllabism is, as I have hinted before, more strongly evinced, though not in such a degree as to obscure the original character of the language. On comparing, therefore, a vocabulary of words in these various languages, we may expect to find an original syllable common to all of them attached to various exponents peculiar to the several dialects; or, in other words, one *dominant* syllable running through many of them, but combined with a variety of prefixes and affixes, constituting one or more additional syllables. And such I find, or imagine I find, is in reality the case; for instance, not to multiply examples, LA-*mo* (the moon) becomes in Tibetan LA-*vo*, *z*-LÁ, &c.; MÓ-*lá* (the sun) becomes *ni*-MA, and so on.

It is very easy to understand how in this way the original character of a primitive dialect might undergo a gradual change, that after the lapse of ages would render its recognition extremely difficult and

doubtful. Such would be the effect, sooner or later, of an alphabetic system; but, fortunately for philological speculation, it is otherwise, when ideography has conferred unchangability upon a language. It is thus, I conceive, that the Chinese may present to us vocables—preserved in its ancient ideography like mummies in their cerements —that may have issued from antediluvian lips. I by no means intend by this view to inculcate that the Chinese, or any of its cognate dialects, is the primitive or the most ancient tongue; far from it, although it most certainly bears unmistakable evidence in its structure of an antiquity more nearly approaching to the primitive than any other language, not even excepting the venerable Egyptian, with which we are at the present day acquainted. This is not the place to enter upon so extensive a disquisition, which would indeed require volumes for its exhaustion[1]. While all other tongues, in floating down the stream of time, have undergone perpetual commixture and change, this alone has resisted the mighty *débâcle*, bringing to us in its rigid and frozen masses, the fresh, but strange and bizarre elements of a primitive language and an infant civilization. It is true that the perpetually increasing wants of society have greatly modified and extended this language even within the historical times of its literature; yet all these changes have but tended to confirm and perpetuate its primitive character. Whilst, for instance, the *natural* tendencies in the *spoken* language of the present day are strongly in favour of polysyllabism, the artificial restraints of ideography are in an opposite direction, the pencil of the scribe is incessantly divorcing the combinations of the speaker, and preserving for future ages the primitive monads of the language in their original and immemorial integrity.

The question now is, what can be made of these? Can they be turned to etymological account? If the theory I have hinted at of the construction of polysyllabic words be founded in truth, can we *dissect out* the formative monads, and refer them to a common, though unknown source?

One thing is clear, that, in this transcendental philology, the structural peculiarities of language can in no wise assist us: this research extends beyond that primitive divergence which these peculiarities mark. Nor is it less evident that an extensive comparative vocabulary is not to be expected; words expressive of only the most *simple* ideas are the organs that can be employed for the purpose;

[1] The general reader may consult a brief article by Rémusat, "Sur les plus anciens caractères qui ont servi à former l'écriture Chinoise."—Journal Asiatique, March, 1823; W. von Humboldt, "Lettre à M. Rémusat."

all others, whatever be their similarity of sound and meaning, should be rejected at once, as only leading to fallacious results. If we depart from this obvious rule we shall at once fall into the grossest absurdities, and with Klaproth collate the English word *teaching* with the Japanese *tá tchin* (doctrine)!

The class of words then in which we should seek for evidences of relationship among the languages of the general family of mankind are such as the names of the various *parts of the body;* of *common objects;* of the *elements;* of *domestic animals;* and the like; to which may perhaps be added a few names expressive of a *Superior Being.* A limited vocabulary truly; but not more so than the nature of the case prescribes. Nor should we deem ourselves unsuccessful if we can but trace what may be safely taken as evidence of the primitive connection of languages, and their transition from the simplicity of the monad state to the full majority of Indo-Germanic developement. This indeed is all that can be expected; few vocables can be supposed to survive the revolutions of ages: in the beautiful words of the poet,

> "Ut silvæ foliis pronos mutatis in annos,
> *Prima cadunt:* ita *verborum* vetus interit ætas."
>
> De Art. Poet. v. 60.

Of each of these classes of words then I shall give a few examples such as, in the absence of my usual works of reference, I can most readily recall to memory.

Parts of the Human Body.

The Head..	*Hĕ, hĕp*	Chinese.
	Kap-ála	Sanskrit.
	Κεφαλη	Greek.
	Cap-ut	Latin.
	Khaf	Coptic.
	Koofe	Japanese.
	Kopf	German.
	Afe	Coptic.
	Ap	Oldest Egyptian.
	Vu	Tibetan.
	Kapalla	Javanese.
Ear	*Œrh*	Chinese.
	Aur-is	Latin.
	Ohr	German.
	Ear	English.

	Or-ecchia	Italian.
	Or-eja	Spanish.
	Or-eille	French.
	Ar-ak	Amharic.
Eye	*Yăn*	Chinese.
	Nayana[1]	Sanskrit.
	Ain	Hebrew.
	Ain	Arabic, Persian, &c.
	An	Egyptian.
Mouth ..	Kheo	Chinese.
	Kha	Tibetan.
	Khád	Sanskrit (to eat).
	Kháná	Hindi (to eat).
	Kaka	Old Egyptian (to eat).
Tongue ..	*Shí*	Chinese.
	Jih-va	Sanskrit.
	Jíbh	Hindi.
	Jí	Tibetan.
Foot	Pŏ	Chinese (to step).
	Pá	Sanskrit.
	Πoῦs	Greek.
	Pad	Bengal.
	Fat, pat	Coptic.
	Paw, foot	English.
	Pes, pedis	Latin.
	Pti	Egyptian.
Face	*Mín*	Chinese.
	Munh	Hindi.
	Miene	German.
	Mien	English.

[1] The duplication of the *n* need give no concern; it is quite common, and the Arabic *ain* is often pronounced *nain*, at least in India.

It is curious that in almost all Oriental languages this word or its correspondent means also "source," "spring," &c.; thus—

Tibetan	*Tsin mi*, "eye of water."
Arabic	*Ain.*
Persian	*Chashmah.*
Hebrew	*Ain.*

Man	*Yan, jin*	Chinese.
	Jana	Sanskrit.
	Ἀν-ηρ	Greek.
	Ján? (life)	Persian.
	An? (life, living being, alive, &c.)	Egyptian.

Common Animals.

Dog	*Kœn*	Chinese.
	Κυων	Greek.
	Can-is	Latin.
	Kukkura, shun, shwan[1]	Sanskrit.
	Chien	French.
Cow	Ngó	Chinese.
	Go, gav	Sanskrit.
	Kuh	German.
	Kau	Egyptian.
Hog	*Shí*	Chinese.
	Esho	Coptic.
	Shu-kara	Sanskrit.
	Su ar	Hindi.
	Sus	Latin.
Horse	*Má*	Chines .
	Mo ri	Mongol.
	Ma re	English.
	Ma ehre	German
	*Ma*nnus	Latin.
Sheep	*Yang*	Chinese.
	Agnus	Latin.
Pigeon	*Pa* Kŏ	Chinese.
	Pa-ravata, *Pa*-vata } *Ka* pota	Sanskrit.
	Pa-lumbus Co-lumba	Latin.
	Πατται Κο λυμβὶς	Greek.
	Ka butar	Hindi and Persian.
Goose	*Yan, ngan*	Chinese.
	Hansa	Sanskrit.
	Gans	German.

[1] This is the ordinary alteration of the *k* or *c* into *sh*, as *carus, cher*, &c.

	An-ser	Latin.
	An-as	
	Hen(?)	Egyptian.
	Gan-der	English.
	Ngáng-ba	Tibetan.
	Χηυ	Greek.

Superior Being.

God	*Ti*[1]	Chinese.
	Θεος	Greek.
	De-va	Sanskrit.
	De us	Latin.
	De mon	
	Dhe	Tibetan.
	Τίειν? (honorare)..	Greek.
	Ti-mor? (fear)	Latin.
	Δεος? (fear)..	Greek.

Elements and Common Objects.

A Stone ..	Shí	Chinese.
	Shi-la	Sanskrit.
	Si-lex	Latin (la-pis).
	She	Ancient Egyptian.
	Selâ	Hebrew.
Water ..	*Shwei*	Chinese.
	Su..	Turkish.
	Ussu	Mongolian.
	Υ-δωρ	Greek.
	Tsin	Tibetan.

[1] The Chinese have very obscure ideas of God, and no really definite name for him; the word I here give is, I am confident, the correct *ancient* one, though now appropriated to the Emperor. Much discussion has arisen on this subject among Chinese scholars and missionaries; and great difficulty has been experienced in finding a fitting term for God in translating the Scriptures into Chinese. See some learned papers on this subject by Mr. Medhurst and Dr. Boone (Chinese Repository, February, March, April, and May, 1848), which will amply repay the psychological as well as the philological reader. To prevent all mistakes, those who use *Ti* for "God," prefix *sháng*, "up" or "upper"—*sháng ti*, "upper ruler." In the Imperial Dictionary I think *Ti* is defined as originally meaning "God," and explained *Thían chí shin*, "the spirit of Heaven." See also, M. Kurz, Nouv. Jour. Asiat., June, 1830.

Wind.. ..	Fung	Chinese.
	Phúnk-na	Hindi.
	Vent-us	Latin.
Fire	*Hŏ* and *Fŏ*	Chinese.
	Ag-ni	Sanskrit.
	Ag	Hindi.
	Πυρ..	Greek.
	Feu-er	German.
	Feu..	French.
	Ig-nis	Latin (*fo*-cus).
Sea	Yang	Chinese.
	Yam	Hebrew.
	Yom	Coptic.
	Iuma	Egyptian.

Such, then, is a short specimen of the vocabulary I have characterized. The number of words might be indefinitely extended, were we to admit all such as possess mere analogy of sound and meaning; but as I confine myself on the present occasion rather to an indication than to an exposition of the whole subject, our time may be more profitably employed by a very few cursory remarks on the comparative list here exhibited.

A considerable number of the words expressive of the simplest ideas are in all languages monosyllables; and such will be found to be the greater part of the foregoing. These, therefore, afford no means of testing the theory I have propounded of the transition to polysyllabism, although I think they evince an affinity among the languages quoted, of which we cannot refuse to admit the probability, if nothing more. There are a few, however, to which I would direct the reader's attention as throwing some light upon the theory in question. Thus the mouad for "stone," *shí*, in Sanskrit acquires an additional syllable, and becomes *shí-lá*. What is the *lá?* Can we trace it in any other combination? I think we cau; in Greek we have λᾶ-*as* and ψῆφ-ος; in Latin, *la-pis;* and I make no doubt these have their etymons in Sanskrit, though in the absence of works of reference, I am unable at present to determine. But if so, here we have in the Indo-Germanic tongues a dissyllabic word formed precisely after the model of our old friend *lá-mó* (aute).

Another very good example may be noticed in the names of "pigeon" or "dove." These in the supposed primitive are *ko* and *pă*, dominant or persistent syllables, which we find preserved in the

leading Indo-Germanic tongues combined with other syllables, of the meaning of which we are now ignorant; and, what adds greatly to the force and weight of their evidence, is the remarkable fact, that the same secondary syllables are applicable to *either* of the primitives: thus, *lumba*, whatever that means, may be subjoined to either *ko* or *pă*, and we have in Latin *co-lumba* and *pa-lumba*. In Sanskrit, we subjoin another set of syllables, *vata*, *pata*, *ravata*, with precisely the same result, and have *pa-vata*, *ka-pota*, &c. In Greek we can, I think, trace only one of these primitive syllables in *πατ-τα*, an obvious abbreviation of the Sanscrit *pa vata;* while in another direction, the *ko* is preserved, and the *pa* lost—thus in Persian, ka-*bútar* whatever the last two syllables may have originally purported.

It is time, however, to bring these somewhat hasty observations to a conclusion. They are perhaps not altogether *à propos* to the vocabulary which has suggested them; but if they prove suggestive of further research in this most interesting department of philology, I shall have no reason to regret either my *maladresse* or temerity. The subject is replete with profound interest, not merely to the philologist and ethnologist, but to the theologian and general scholar. Its difficulties are confessedly great, but not altogether such as should deter us from further research, or lead us to decide with the illustrious Jones, that while all other nations of the world had one common origin, testified by their lingual affinities, the same cannot be predicated of the Chinese and their congeners. What we have now advanced may tend perhaps to open up other views, and throw a faint glimmer of light over that (to borrow an expressive term from another science) *eocene* period of the human mind which necessarily precedes the dayspring of history.

ART. VII.—*Remarks on the present state of Buddhism in China. By the* REV. DR. C. GUTZLAFF. *Communicated by* LIEUT.-COL. W. H. SYKES, F.R.S., &c. &c.

PREFATORY REMARKS BY COLONEL SYKES.

[THE following paper upon the present state of Buddhism in China, by the late Dr. Gutzlaff, was drawn up at my request, and was received by me scarcely a fortnight before the intelligence of his death arrived. He appears to picture the practice of Buddhism as it now meets the eye in China, rather than as inculcated in the precepts of its founder; and in consequence both clergy and laity testify to the corruptions which have gradually disfigured its primitive character. Dr. Gutzlaff's very strong language with respect to the ignorance, selfish habits, chicanery, mendacity, mendicancy, and idleness of the priesthood (mendicancy and contemplation, however, being ordinances of Buddhism), contrasted with his conflicting statements that the priesthood is generally despised yet popular, may have been influenced by his religious enthusiasm, which, although he had ceased to labour as a missionary, manifested itself to the last in his connexion with the Chinese Christian Union. Dr. Gutzlaff does not give much that is new with respect to Buddhism, but the paper is interesting as a *resumé*, and affords corroborative evidence to the writings of others. His account of the Páli works in Chinese characters discourages us from the expectation of learning much from them; but in case a few of them could be transcribed according to the sounds into some known character, they would become legible to a good Páli scholar. But he says there are a few works in a character originally used for writing Páli, and they may be considered faithful transcripts of the earliest writings of Buddhism. That they are looked upon as being sacred, full of mysteries, and high signification, and therefore as the great precious relics of the founder of the creed; that with the *letters* of the *alphabet* (used in these books), the priests perform incantations, expel demons, rescue souls from hell, &c.; and the priests maintain that the very demons tremble at the recitations. We have examples of such letters in the To-lo-ne, or Book of Incantations, which accompanied this notice; and several columns of the letters appeared in the Chinese Junk, which lay for so long a time in the Thames: these letters the Chinese on board said were so sacred that they would not give copies of them to any one, and Professor Wilson only obtained copies by

employing a European. Now if the most ancient Páli books in China are written in this alphabet, it may be supposed that it was the character used by Fa Hian in transcribing the Buddhist sacred books; and that these books in India were in this character, and that it should therefore be the Páli alphabet of the time. Such does not appear to be exactly the case. The letters have a certain Láth alphabet aspect, but we have obtained too few of them to form a proper opinion upon their phonetic value; and for the solution of the question we must look to the good fortune of obtaining one of the volumes from China, of which mention is made by Dr. Gutzlaff. It is to be regretted that Dr. Gutzlaff could not obtain any numerical details of the temples, monasteries, and priesthood, from which an approximate judgment might have been formed of the real position of Buddhism, at present, in China; and for which his own vague estimates afford no assistance. It is known that Buddhism is not the religion of the state; but it is generally supposed in Europe that the people at large profess Buddhist doctrines; but if Dr. Gutzlaff's opinion be well-founded, Buddhism is not the creed of the people, and its rites are only occasionally had recourse to for personal objects. Had Dr. Gutzlaff also furnished us with more elaborate and specific details of the precepts and practices of Chinese Buddhism, we should have had the means of comparing them with the precepts and practices of Ceylon Buddhism so minutely and graphically detailed in the Rev. Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism and Monachism of the East. Dr. Gutzlaff's paper is nevertheless an interesting contribution, which is peculiarly acceptable at the present time, when a religious revolution is in progress in China.]

The idea prevalent in this country respecting the rise and progress of Buddhism is perhaps scarcely to be accounted for, unless the Chinese character is taken into consideration. The original importation of this superstition into China, from India, is of itself an extraordinary event. It was in the first century that this event took place, at the suggestion of an emperor, who had dreamt that the Holy One, of whom the ancient native odes had made mention, and to whom Kung-foo-tze had referred, was born in the west. Yet from the foundation of the Chinese monarchy until that day, the princes as well as the people cared nothing for the events of foreign lands: all foreigners were distinctly ranked amongst barbarians, sunk in ignorance and mental darkness, of whom nothing could be learnt. If civilization was to be anywhere introduced, it must be by the principles of Chinese wisdom, without which everything was absurdity. In this instance (and this is the only one), the Chinese deviated from their unalterable

principles: they introduced a foreign creed as distinct from their own ideas and existing systems as it was possible for any tenets to be.

China, at that time, had received the doctrines of Kung-foo-tze as the only true ones to be depended upon. A short persecution of the literati under Che-hwang-te (246 B.C.), had rather strengthened the adherence of the nation to those axioms. Gradually they came into such repute that only those who professed them were eligible to office, and considered capable of ruling the nation. Whenever emoluments and honours attend the profession of certain principles, we may rest assured that the followers will be numerous, and that they will express their disdain of other opinions, which, no doubt, are below their notice. This pride and self-sufficiency was, at that time, general amongst all the literati, and is so up to this moment, presenting perhaps the greatest bar to the introduction of foreign systems. According to the ideas of Kung-foo-tze, all nature was deified; in every part of it some spiritual being was found to preside; and heaven and earth were the great moving bodies by which all things were produced. If we add to this the adoration of one's own species in the worship of ancestors, the whole system will be placed in its true light. Quite an opposite direction took the rationalists. Their great leader, Laou-Keun, had introduced them into the vagaries of an invisible world of his own creation: they saw nothing but spirits and hidden agents; and theirs was a polytheism according to which all parts of nature were peopled by beings that claimed the homage of the human race. But their doctrines were mysteries, ill fitted for the great mass of the people, and denounced as absurd by the literati.

The apathy of the Chinese nation towards all things that are beyond the senses is proverbial: whatever they cannot feel, see, taste, or hear,—whatever gives not immediate enjoyment or advantage, is despised and rejected, and will never attract their attention, or engage their sympathy. The Chinese know only things as they exist for the present, and are wilfully ignorant of the future. All speculations upon this point are discarded as useless vagaries by the sages, and denounced as mere phantoms.

Yet under all these disadvantages Buddhism gained ground. At first it was the weakness of an effeminate court that favoured the foreign superstition. Subsequently, however, the common people accepted its tenets; and the religion spread, notwithstanding all the learned could say against it, over a very great part of the Empire. It passed through many vicissitudes, yet retained its original features, strongly tinctured with Chinese national sentiments. The Chinese are a people far superior in their civilization to the Hindus, whom they

despise with all their heart: yet they held religious tenets which were discarded even in India at a remote time, whilst feeling that they were fables incongruous to their rational mode of thinking. Hence arises the most anomalous state in which a nation can possibly be found; viz. the profession of a religion, on the one hand, which they ridicule on the other. In judging of Chinese Buddhism we ought never to lose sight of this peculiar feature in their belief.

I shall now succinctly detail the doctrines, the institutions, and the influence exercised by Buddhism on the Chinese nation.

The doctrines are taken from the Prákrit, and are contained in the King, or sacred books (Sútra); the Keae, or Keaou Heun (Vinaya); and the Discourses, Lun (Abhidharma). They are also comprised under the name of San Tsang (three whole, Tri-Píthiká), and constitute an immense mass of books, which exceeds perhaps ten thousand. So far as we have been able to examine these books, they are, in the main, the same, and derived from the same source, as similar works in Páli, circulated in Ceylon, Siam, Burmah, and amongst the Laos, Tibetans, Mongols, &c. Most of the writers set at defiance all the rules of composition, and write an unintelligible jargon, which we much fear they themselves cannot comprehend. I have questioned the most learned and rational of Buddhist priests, who spend nearly their whole lives in studying these books, and they have honestly confessed that they have got themselves into a labyrinth from whence it is impossible to extricate themselves. The first promoters of Buddhism in China seem not to have been acquainted with the literature of this country, and gave themselves little trouble to translate their ideas into the language of the land. All they did was to convey the sound of their sacred books into the Chinese characters; and as these are pronounced as monosyllables, and the Páli is the very opposite, having words of ten and twenty syllables, the most extraordinary jargon ever invented by rational men was thus produced. It is scarcely readable, because, the Chinese sounds being few and ill-adapted to express those of the Páli language, it constitutes a dialect in itself, which has this peculiarity—that no one understands it. As it is, however, considered holy by the priests, and diligently taught by the friars, and recited with the greatest earnestness, it has kept for centuries its ascendancy; and books of this description exist in hundreds of editions. Their mode of writing, however, had a powerful effect in abridging the large original volumes, for to convey all their contents in the mode described would have required thrice the space. Much is therefore omitted; perhaps, on an average, three-fourths of the whole contents; and to render these volumes at least in some way attractive, there are passages

in Chinese interspersed to throw some light upon the contents, and communicate a few aphorisms of Buddhism. The above distinctions are carefully preserved, and the classical or sacred volumes are distinguished as such by sundry epithets. Most of them are entirely in Páli, and only read by the priests. The second class, or precepts, are partly translated, and the general principles given with a commentary. The third is the richest, and comprises an immense mass of legends and tales of such a wonderful nature that only India could have produced them. They are likewise in Páli, though often interlined with Chinese; and the little one can understand of them is sufficient to give a distaste for the other unintelligible parts. In the above are included formulas for prayers, incantations, the various missals, prayers of every description, supplications for delivering souls from purgatory, &c. Notwithstanding the diversity of their contents, there is unity in the whole from first to last; and the same books are used in all the temples of the empire. Having made many inquiries, I have not yet found a single priest capable of explaining the meaning. Some of the common words, the very shibboleths of Buddhism, were known to them; but the whole system, in all its bearings, and the essential tenets of their creed, appeared to them riddles. A few works are found in a character originally used for writing the Páli; and may be considered as faithful transcripts of the earliest writings of Buddhism. They are looked upon as very sacred, full of mysteries, and deep significations; and therefore as the most precious relics of the founder of their creed. With the letters of this alphabet, the priests perform incantations to expel demons, rescue souls from hell, bring down rain on the earth, remove calamities, &c.: they turn and twist them in every shape; and maintain that the very demons tremble at the recitation of them.

It is very doubtful whether the Chinese language could convey all the metaphysical nonsense which Buddhism contains; even if an attempt to translate it were made. What is known of this creed in China is of a more tangible shape, and has reference to something essential in life, to stimulate self-interest, and afford profit to the votary. A nation like this has very little consideration for other things; and here these are brought forward in very strong relief, so as not to be mistaken. One very general advantage held out by the priests to the common people is the high gradation to which they may attain after death by way of the metempsychosis. To be rich and powerful, to be born again with the command of vast revenues, is not to be slighted. Hence the frequent application to the Bonzes to ascertain by what means this end may be attained; and hence the many gratuitous promises given, on the payment of alms, to the liberal

believer, that he will assuredly attain his wishes. Another advantage professed by these charlatans must be added: they maintain that they have full and undisputed influence with the King of Hell; and that by the recitation of sundry incantations and prayers the souls of the doomed escape punishment. Whenever, therefore, a rich man in China dies, the priests invariably repair to his relations, and tell them in what a situation the poor departed soul is to be found. There are few people who are not touched with compassion in regard to those who were near and dear to them, and that will not willingly give a sum of money to have them rescued. Now begins a bargaining; so much money is paid down—the prayers commence—are continued for some time; and the King of Hades nevertheless remains unmoved. More money must be given—greater sacrifices be made—the incantations are renewed—whole Páli works are recited—the mystic alphabet is brought forward—and, behold! the priest declares that Rhadamanthus shows some compassion—various demons fly—and the tormentors leave off their practices. They have perhaps steeped the body in boiling oil —the misery experienced is extreme—and now the myrmidons that held it down remit their tortures—the head of the culprit emerges! Perhaps some demons saw the body asunder (for every soul coming into Hades is clothed with a new body)—now the supplication of the priest is heard—and they stop their operations. Still the situation of the condemned is perilous in the extreme—the torture is likely to be resumed the moment the prayers lose their efficacy—and hence the necessity of more fervent supplications. These are then not wanting; but money must in the end do the business: the greater the sum paid down to bribe the otherwise inexorable Lord of Hades, the more rapid the deliverance. Perhaps two days and three nights are spent in these mummeries; sum after sum is given; all stratagems to extort more are exhausted; and the wretched sufferer finally emerges from hell. Now, however, it becomes a question what to do next; he cannot remain in this intermediate state; and there is the nine-storied heaven—the lotus flower—the Paradise of the blessed—to which also access may be had, on due payment to the priest. Would the relatives not wish that the dear departed should enjoy those privileges? Yes; a little more money, and the object may be attained. Now a set of prayers is recited by another set of men; but the progress of the released is very slow until a round sum is given to speed the ascent. When such is the case, the praying is irresistible; and behold the man, destined to everlasting misery, now in the possession of bliss, at once pure and abiding!

Several European authors have written a great deal, and with

considerable tact, upon Buddhist metaphysics; and their superior education and knowledge have brought out an excellent digest of the doctrines. An examination of the original treatises and the commentaries leaves a very sad blank; and leads to the conviction that, with few exceptions, they constitute an impenetrable mass of nonsense. The writer, after the most careful and impartial examination of men and books, in China as well as in other countries that profess Buddhism, has come to this result.

The idols are many, and do not merely comprise those of countries where Buddhism is the religion of the state, but a great many more, because the priests admit any and every one for general adoration. The canonized founders of temples, heroes deified by the Chinese government, adored worthies, and strange gods, are promiscuously placed with those of Buddha. In one instance, a statue of Napoleon was put into the Pantheon, amidst a number of genii and hobgoblins. If any man has interest with the priest, he can, after his death, receive a place in the temple.

The principal idols most generally met with are three Buddhas—the past, present, and future; the latter is the most revered, for his advent and reign is soon expected. They are often represented in colossal forms, with negro features, curled hair dyed a light blue, thick lips, and flat, broad noses. In larger temples this triad is surrounded not only by ghastly, demon-like adjutants and messengers, but also by the disciples of the saint, in all possible positions, with every diversity of expression on their countenances, to depict horror, wrath, quiescence, benevolence, peace of mind, joy, &c. These figures, which are taken from life, and not worshipped, are often executed in the most masterly manner, and would not dishonour a Phidias. The writer once saw sixteen in a large building; they were admirably placed, and so full of life and vigour, that he does not remember to have met anything similar in all Asia. The idols are generally represented in the most unnatural manner, the painting being a mere daub, and the execution of the figures clumsy; but there are often found images representing events in the idol's history, which are executed with a considerable share of genius. Men arrayed in battle, snorting horses, crouching tigers, and fierce lions, are represented to admiration. In one of the temples the writer saw, in beautiful stucco, the scene where Kwan-yin, the Goddess of Mercy, looks down from heaven upon the lonely Noah in his ark, amidst the raging waves of the deluge, with the dolphins swimming around as his last means of safety; and the dove, with an olive-branch in its beak, flying towards the vessel; nothing could have exceeded the beauty of the execution.

Kwan-yin, the Goddess of Mercy, so well known in Hindu mythology, is very generally worshipped. She is the patroness of child-bearing women, and of all people in distress; always kind, and ready with her many arms to do good to any one. Her grim companions, generally fierce-looking, ruffian-like warriors, present a strange contrast to her. To her many miracles are constantly ascribed. She has also places of pilgrimage which myriads visit, and whither votive offerings are brought; indeed, she may be said to be the most popular of all idols, and obtains great credit for her deeds. For instance, during the war with England, her temple at Canton was used as a powder-magazine. On this occasion, she is reported by the commissioners as having received congreve rockets and shells in her lap, and thus saved the city. She was therefore promoted several steps by the Emperor, who holds, as the Son of Heaven, the control of all the gods and genii. Almost equal with her, though of Chinese origin, is the Queen of Heaven, Ma-tsoo-poo, "the holy mother," whose worship was introduced into the country some centuries ago. She is so strikingly alike, in her whole character and figure, to the Virgin, that the Chinese at Macao call her Santa Maria de China. The sailors make her especially an object of adoration; and there are very few junks that have not an image of her on board. She is also accompanied by very dismal satellites, the executors of her behests.

The gods, strictly speaking, are divided into four classes, an arrangement very imperfectly attended to:—Gods of the World, who have a very powerful influence upon human affairs; Gods by Birth; the Gods of Purity; and the Gods of Justice, or Bodhí-Satwas; they are all promiscuously called by the Chinese "Poosa." Men can rise to these stations by observing the law, by attaining certain perfections, by contemplation, by suppressing the desires so as to arrive at a state of apathy, and by translations, or preparatives of sublime enjoyment. Then there comes the whole catalogue of superior beings, who are exalted above men, such as the celestial dragons, devas or inferior gods, &c. The inventors of these absurdities seem to have nominated at pleasure the host of adorable beings, and to have invented at random stories to adorn their fictitious creations. But all seem to have forgotten that there must be an originating cause, and that without this influence and direction, the condition of the world would be mere chaos. It is heresy to talk of a causation, or a primary author, for all things have existed since numberless kalpas, and by their natural tendency return to annihilation. Why, then, so much trouble, so many changes; or a priesthood, or form of religion? This is a question frequently put, but never satisfactorily answered.

The Buddhistical Fau-lau-ma appears to be the Indian Brahma. Much power is ascribed to him, and his influence not only extends to those who study purity, and endeavour to obtain translation, but likewise over invisible beings. Many gilded images, very like those in Siam, are found in various temples, representing this idol. Then comes the celestial emperor (Indra); he is the lord of the abode of thirty-three gods, and possesses considerable power, which is, however, somewhat restricted, and very little concerns mankind. He has a band of musicians, who perform in the heavenly orchestra, and stand very high in regard to their skill, being genii endowed with great powers. On the other hand, it is remarkable that the gods are thought to partake of mortality; the virtuous and austere, when born again, ascend higher, and become an Indra or Brahma, only if they have followed Buddha's behests; on the other hand, if they have not attended to his injunctions, they are hurled back by irresistible force to the world of desires, and become even worse than common mortals. The gradations are therefore not fixed, and each being may rise to the highest dignity. The question, Who arranges all these changes, who rules and directs? remains unanswered. It is a grand machinery, without an intellectual propelling power. Buddha has something to say, but he is not supreme; there are many Buddhas—every one can become one; and the whole system seems to be an instinctive, revolving chaos. Time and space are in an equal manner most inhumanly, if we may use the expression, married; kalpas, with millions and billions of years, are spoken of; and the human spirit is transported into immensity to lose itself in fathomless absurdities.

To please the Chinese, Buddha's priests have adapted their mythology to the genius of the nation. There are gods of the different classes of traders, mostly deified worthies; gods of riches, gain, war, &c. They do not, strictly speaking, belong exclusively to the creed, but are found in most temples associated with others of Indian origin. The Pantheon, according to the Chinese taste, is an extraordinary medley, of which no traces exist in Siam or Ceylon. The Bonzes have amalgamated all idolatrous ideas in their own chaos, and, to please all, present every variety of objects for adoration.

The worship of these statues, which are generally made of clay, some gilded, some daubed with colours, depends mostly upon the priests; the common people partake little in the rites, and, if so, it is not exclusively to Buddhism that they show their veneration. An incense-stand is on every altar, and a quantity of sandal-wood and other perfumes, in the shape of small sticks, are constantly burnt, attended by the beating of a great drum, or th ringing of a bell in

the larger temples, to rouse the attention of the gods. The injunctions of Buddha to preserve life are treated with mockery, as the Chinese bring many offerings of meat and pastry, as well as of fruits and liquors; all are well prepared, and are ready to be eaten after they have stood in the temple for some time. They show an especial fondness for whole pigs, varnished of a deep yellow hue; or a he-goat, with the horns on, neatly adorned. These things remain then for a short time before or on the altar; the priest murmurs a few prayers; the devotee prostrates himself and kneels; and the whole is then taken away to be devoured by the guests who attend the ceremony. These offerings are brought only on great festivals, and the temples remain forsaken at other times, being tenanted by idle boys, gamblers, and travellers. Many of the temples have a stage opposite, on which, at certain occasions, pieces are performed for the amusement of the community at large.

Strictly speaking, there are no festivals celebrated exclusively by the Buddhists, except perhaps the birthday and ascension of Kwan-yin, the birthday of Foo-lae (Buddha), and a few others, in which the nation takes a share. But the priests are by no means particular, and mingle in the festivities of all other sects; wherever there is merry-making, whatever the pretence or circumstances, they are sure to be found present. Their temples are always open; every one may have prayers offered there, if he only pay, for whatever object he pleases: there is no limit to devotions. And if any one, from opposite feelings, should wish to desecrate a temple for a time, the priests would not object to it, if it were only paid for. All is pay—no other consideration but that is ever taken into account. Travellers of rank, who happen to take up their lodging in a temple, very frequently order the idols, which they deem inferior in dignity to themselves, to be taken down during the time of their abode. When whole communities, on account of some public calamity, go to a temple to call upon Buddha, or other saint, and when their prayers and supplications remain without an answer, they often turn against and destroy the images, dragging them with ignominy through the streets, and annihilating them, so that not a single trace remains. The priests plead not for their preservation, but avail themselves of the next opportunity to collect money for the construction of a different set of images, more to the taste of the community.

The ten precepts are only binding upon the priests; for the vulgar no specific rules are given: but these are embodied in a very popular work, "The Whole Duty of Man," containing many things which are useful and excellent, drawn from original Chinese laws, mixed with

much which is ridiculous and absurd. The four first commandments —not to kill any living being, however small the insect or worm; not to steal; not to commit adultery; not to lie—are for the whole world. The six others are more especially for the priests, viz., not to drink wine, because the juice of the grape, and every spirituous liquor, becomes in hell a stream of liquid fire, which the drunkard has to gulp down; not to sit on a raised seat; not to have a gaudy dress; not to be fond of the vanities of the world; not to wear ornaments of gold and silver; and not to eat in the afternoon. But for the mendicants and friars there are two hundred and eighty other rules that lead to perfection, and are considered of the utmost importance for those who wish to rise to a sublime state of contemplation. Most of them are of the most trivial nature, and adapted to a life of idleness. The mendicants hold a very high rank in the creed, because they are holy men, who have in so far subdued their passions as to care no more for the goods of the world. They must, however, not apply for alms to bad women, kings, butchers, tavern-keepers, or play-actors. The Chinese in general, who consider them as idle vagabonds, pay very little respect to their sanctity; and many a mandarin has frequently obliged them to work hard, in order to gain a livelihood for themselves.

The precepts themselves appear under three heads:—Rules for self-control of one's passions (*Polo thi moo sha*, in barbarous Chinese Páli); the *Pene* (*Vinaya*) for regulating the desires; and the *Shelo*, or prohibitions. These are considered very sacred, and worthy of the most careful practice. To submit self to reason, and to extinguish desires, seems to be the end of all teaching. Man becomes unhappy because he follows his passions; man becomes happy in the same degree as he masters them; their total absence is the highest state of bliss; to root them out entirely the principal endeavour of the devotee. A quiescent state, in which nothing can affect the human breast, a state approaching even to total insensibility and apathy, a gradual change of the vital soul of man to a mere automaton, is the aim of the various moral injunctions with which Buddhistical ethics abound.

For an individual totally unacquainted with the maxims of Buddhism, the stupid, unmeaning look of its votaries, and their total unfitness for the duties of life, except the performance of mere menial service, seem a riddle. But it is the extinction of all desires, of every mental effort, of every thought, that constitutes the very acme of perfectibility, or, rather, Buddhistical wisdom. It is partly on this account that the priests are so much despised, and treated with sovereign contempt.

They, however, indemnify themselves by impressing on the multitude that they hold some control over the metempsychosis, to which all living beings are subject. Now, as it is no matter of indifference whether the soul enters a spider, or becomes the tenant of an elephant, or is born as a god in paradise, or even becomes a Buddha, the minds of the credulous votaries are constantly kept alive to aim at one object, viz., to escape being born again in some wretched form, such as a hungry demon, or a hump-backed beggar. It is extraordinary to witness the delusion of the human mind, and the confidence with which such vagaries are received as truth. The human mind is disturbed—awful sentiments arise—and amidst the vague uncertainty of future existence, the priests manage to make the souls of men captive.

No attention is shown to the great precept of Buddhism, to maintain life. The Chinese are an omnivorous race; few living beings escape being made food for men, and are slaughtered and eaten without the least scruple. But to show some regard for life, notwithstanding, they now and then dedicate some pigs to Buddha, which are permitted to live their natural space of life, and are never killed. These fat monsters are kept as sacred animals; and many a butcher considers himself exempt from all sin when he presents a porker to the priest. There are other atonements made for occasioning loss of life; and even a mosquito or a cockroach finds now and then a scrupulous murderer, who feels deep repentance for having caused the death of vermin. Some Buddhistical hermits, to expiate the transgressions of mankind, allow vermin of every description, even the most loathsome, to feed upon them, and often show their devotion by exhibiting to the populace these crawling insects. The common sense of the Chinese, however, reprobates such disgusting exhibitions, and laughs at the idea that killing creatures for man's use or comfort is a sin.

The institutions of the Buddhist priesthood are very numerous, and all, with the exception of a few temples in the capital, on the voluntary principle. Their temples are spread over the whole country, and are generally built on the most romantic sites that can be found, in order to make an impression. The most common are one story high, with a single bell, and a set of idols, varying according to the patron in honour of whom it was built. At the door are very commonly some colossal guardians, grotesque figures, with spears and other weapons, modelled according to the fashion of ancient Chinese warriors. In many fanes is a small stage, on which the play-actors, at festive occasions, appear, to perform their dramas in honour of the gods. There is an altar on which an incense-stand is placed, generally

a tripod for burning gilt paper, and behind that is a row of idols. On the walls historical or natural scenes are often painted, and the idol shrine is adorned with artificial flowers, and other trifling ornaments. At the side there hang strips of yellow paper, with sentences in rhyme: these are duly ticketed, and when a devotee draws a lot from a bundle of bamboo slips, he seeks the solution of the oracle in these pieces of paper. This is a very common mode of divination. Another mode is for the votaries to throw two pieces of wood, shaped like kidneys, and to determine, by the manner in which they fall, what will be their fate. The larger temples have from five to six halls after each other, every one having a different idol in it, and often a whole row of the same. In most the Negro features prevail. There is abundance of decoration, bridges, pillars, tanks with lotus flowers, and other ornaments descriptive of Buddhistical mythology, or of the adumbrating nine-storied heaven. In the larger fanes there are likewise numerous representations of demi-gods, worthies, heroes of the past, &c., who stand modestly either at the entrance or in the background. Great ingenuity is shown in placing fanciful objects within the view of the spectator, unnatural figures generally being placed in the foreground. Most of the images are of clay, very brittle, and do not last any length of time. The temples are generally built of brick, without a ceiling, with dragons in the roof, and now and then, in imitation of the imperial palace, with yellow tiles. Near to many of these edifices there are pagodas of various heights; the most conspicuous is a prototype of heaven, of nine stories. They have been so frequently described as not to need here any further notice. The temples stand the whole day open; to some, priests are attached, to others not. When the latter is the case, they chant in a monotonous manner in the morning and evening, beat with two sticks upon a piece of hollow wood, and repeat the name of their god. In larger establishments the gong is beat, and mass regularly read, at which ceremony a great number of priests attend. The tapers are lighted, incense burnt, prostrations performed, and the crowd retires. Few, if any, of the common people attend at these ceremonies; they are only for the priesthood, not for the laity: these only come there on festive occasions, to bring their offerings, to induce the priest to recite a prayer, and to bow down in rotation before the idols. Some women also go thither, to dedicate their children to the images; others to ask favours in time of need; and some regularly to perform worship; but this is generally done in the houses, according to the principles of the ancient Chinese.

The priests live generally in the side apartments, and have a very

sombre-looking abode, where they pass their time. Many are, for the greater part of their time, absent on begging expeditions, and only return when they have collected a store. The whole establishment is on the mendicant principle. The Bonzes are taken young into the service; and if there are no volunteers, young boys are bought; their heads are then shaven; they wear a yellow dress; and commence the recitation of short prayers; whilst, at the same time, they perform the duties of scullions and menial servants. Finally they are ordained. There are several gradations, according to the degree of sanctity; but in all large establishments the Chinese Government chooses the high priest, and does not allow any one to hold that supreme command in a monastery except by its express order. Nearly all the priests belong to the lowest orders of society, often to the very scum. They are without education, and understand merely the routine of the ceremonies, and nothing else. Few can read, excepting their breviary. They walk generally barefoot, or with wooden sandals, without any leather on them; with the ample robes of Buddhist priests as worn in foreign countries, and without a covering for their shorn heads. In the estimation of the common people they are below the barber—a profession much despised; and even a peasant would not allow one to sit down with him in the same place. In the temple itself they perform all the menial offices of tavern-keepers, whenever guests happen to come. As there are not many hotels in the country, the temples are the most decent lodgments to which a traveller can go; and the attendance, as well as fare, is of the best description. In many places, temples are the refuge of gamblers, vagabonds, and thieves, who assemble there regularly; and it is very difficult to avoid being robbed when once within their clutches. The larger establishments, where many devotees assemble, have regular refectories, with commodious apartments, in which pilgrims are received and well entertained.

Many of the temples have land, and there are some which may be called rich, like the large building of the Honan establishment at Canton, or the Kin-shan, the Yang-tsze-Keang, and Pooto, near Chusan, with many others. The property consists of lands bequeathed by devotees. It might perhaps be sufficient for the maintenance of the numberless priests attached to the service, if the superintendents were not in the habit of embezzling most of the possessions, which forces the fraternity to keep religiously the vows of poverty. There is no temple which does not send out its mendicants; many of the priests, in fact, are nothing but beggars, and seldom perform the duties of their station. As the Chinese in general are very averse to

have anything to do with such vagrants, they frequently affix a notice to their doors, denying them admission, and drive them away. Theirs is therefore a hard life, and were it not for the compassion of the women, they would fare still worse. It is, however, by no means a rare circumstance to see them starving by the roadside. They seem to have an unconquerable aversion to labour, as mendicity is recommended to them by their founder, who considered the life of a beggar a holy one. The nuisance of their begging expeditions becomes often so great that Government interferes, and forces them to exert themselves. They are then turned into the fields, and must either cultivate the ground or starve. Otherwise, even the gardens attached to their convents are planted by laymen, and they do nothing but keep the vigils. A begging priest is considered as one of the highest proficients in this branch of his functions; and the cunning, deceit, and extraordinary energy they display may well excite the wonder of the beholders.

They do not exactly make a distinction between a priest and a friar, and both enjoy the same privileges. The latter, however, live in large communities, generally in neatly-built houses, constantly engaged, when at home, in some spiritual work. There are convents containing from fifty to one hundred, whose sole occupation consists in reading mass and observing vigils. They do their best to pass their time agreeably. Their cells are roomy, often neat; and they possess the common comforts of life. Vegetable diet is common, but many refrain from onions, garlic, &c., as too strong and too dainty. Rice is the prevailing nourishment, which they take in large quantities: otherwise, however, the brotherhood is by no means scrupulous about eating, and they will devour large pieces of meat if they can only get them, but the means are often wanting to satisfy their desires: when these, however, are to be obtained at the expense of others, no scruple exists. In this respect, they distinguish themselves from the Bonzes of Siam and Burmah. When entertaining strangers, they will not object to prepare a morsel of pork, or a fowl, and finish the remainder themselves; all this in the way of business. The theory is quite a different matter.

At most temples of any magnitude there are libraries; the most famous is on the island of Kin-shan; it was presented to the large monastery there by the Emperor Kang-hi. There are many works consisting of one hundred volumes, published by subscription; and there are perhaps few works of Páli literature referring to Buddhism that have not found a transcriber in Chinese characters. A printing establishment is now and then added to the temple; and one may buy

several works, such as legends, breviaries, prayers said with beads, &c. Instruction, however, is nowhere communicated; and the only teaching that exists is a little smattering of Buddhism.

In talking of friars, we must not imagine that they are men who have made an irrevocable vow. Though under the promise of celibacy, many have been previously incontinent, and others leave their priesthood, without any legal impediment, and return to a secular life. Nor are the monks secluded during their abode in the convent; they can go out whenever they wish, and receive visitors at pleasure.

As a quite distinct race that have sprung from the latter, we must mention the hermits—persons that find immeasurable charms in repeating the name of Buddha, and that can look with extacy upon their navel for hours, yea, for days, and get into a state of mind in which they exhibit the most unheard-of vagaries. Such individuals frequently withdraw entirely from all contact with human beings, and repeat the words "O me to fŭh" (*Om mane padme hom*) incessantly, day and night. The author himself has visited several of these emaciated beings, who, day and night, were thus engaged, and allowed themselves scarcely any rest, whilst living upon the most sparing food, being fully content with a little rice and vegetables that any charitable person may put before them, or fasting all night, if that be withheld. By a peculiar aberration of the mind, they seem to be lost to all outward impressions, living in a world of self-created fancies. This contemplative life is highly recommended, and nothing is considered such a high state of bliss as when a man, without moving, can sit for hours like an image, and lose himself. There is to them something bewitching in fixing their looks upon the navel, and in dreaming away their time, without once paying attention to exterior objects.

There are nunneries, yet not so numerous as the monasteries, and the inmates are comparatively few. The rules are nearly the same, adapted to the peculiarities of the sex. The women generally belong to the lowest classes, and are not seldom strumpets, who go there as the best refuge; otherwise, the abbesses buy young girls, who at a very early age are taught some prayers. The nuns employ themselves principally with their own sex, practice prognostication, write charms, say prayers, and endeavour to fix the ideas of women upon Buddha. In many places they have prayer-meetings, at which they preside, the devotees appearing with rosaries, and repeating the most unintelligible words. They also engage in intrigues of every description, make matches, nurse children, and make themselves now and then very useful. Still they share in the general ignominy of the priests, and the name of *Ne-Kao*, "nun," is a bye-word and term of

reproach. Whenever Government perceives that they grow too numerous, they force them to marry, and destroy their honses. Poverty is likewise their lot, and any change of life mnst be welcome to them, as they have to lead the life of beggars.

No statistical retnrns have ever been made regarding the number of Buddhist priests. In stating it as one per cent. of the whole popnlation, and their religious establishments at two-thirds of the whole of the religious edifices thronghont China, we are probably not far from the mark. The Buddhists are decidedly the most popular and numerous sect; yet to inclnde the whole popnlation as Buddhists amongst whom there are a few temples erected, or even all those who contribute secretly towards the maintenance of the Bnddhist worship, wonld be a misnomer. Those are only, strictly speaking, Buddhists who live in the temples; the mass of the people perform or neglect the rites quite at their pleasure. Few, from habits of devotion, cleave to the temples, bnt they never fail to shave their heads, and become Buddhists in every other respect.

The influence of the priests npon the people is very decided; though they are mere mendicants, they are nnmerous; and though neither learned nor revered, still they have not failed to establish some kind of ascendency. This is principally to be ascribed to their holding the doctrine of existence after death,—a tenet not clearly demonstrated in the national system. Man has naturally a leaning to immortality, and no sophistry can ever uproot this deep-seated yearning. Though learned men may wantonly assert that the soul takes its flight with the body, and dissolves like all matter, there is a belief nnconquerable, a certainty that no shallow arguments can eradicate, that the human being continnes to exist, whatever may be the various vicissitndes of life, and the destination of the body. Whilst, therefore, the prevailing philosophy leaves an ntter blank, the Buddhist priest supplies it, and says to the immortal spirit, "There is a very long life before you, and we give yon the assurance that yon may some day become a god, a Buddha, in immeasnrable happiness, if you will listen to our suggestions." There are few who refuse such a boon when held ont to them with earnestness and persnasion. They grasp at it; and thongh, after much reflection, doubts may arise as to adopting such vagaries as Buddhism presents, still they think that it is much better to abide by them than to have nothing to rely on: thus the error is propagated and maintained, often with great pertinacity, so as to be a rnling principle of life.

The inculcation of polytheism, the creation of numerous idols, the keeping the people in spiritual bondage, and the multiplying of objects

of worship, may indeed be laid to the account of the Bonzes. Without their constant appeal to beings of their own creation, that are said to have influence over the destiny of man, it is not very probable that there would ever have been in China so much gross idolatry. These vagaries are constantly in their mouths, and they talk about innumerable gods that claim the adoration of man; and hint that a faithful votary may rise to an equal rank. These things are not lost upon the vulgar. Wherever there is a nook, they erect an altar, or build a niche; there is not even a large green tree without some incense-stand; and the priests exclaim, "Behold, here your god resides!" As might have been expected, the priests have stultified the human mind, and made it a slave to the vilest superstition. The heart is hardened, turned away from the living God, and bows, against reason and better knowledge, before images of clay. Even here common sense greatly disapproves and reprobates the custom of the vulgar; and many Chinese laugh at the observance of rites which they at other times themselves perform. The learned have exerted their eloquence in dissuading the people from believing such absurd legends, which are moreover of foreign origin; yet the Chinese at large nevertheless listen. A stronger proof of a fallen nature could perhaps not be adduced.

The priests are mainly instrumental in making everything that appears under the name of religion ridiculous. They are in most instances poor, and must have recourse to the arts of charlatans to maintain themselves. However much this may be disguised, the facts are known to every one. If, therefore, this system is viewed as a mountebank's tale, it is not to be wondered at. The common people having once been accustomed to view a religion, the widest-spread amongst them, in that light, must naturally suppose that all other creeds contain the same vagaries. Hence, a contempt of all things beyond the senses, a ridicule of spiritual objects, and total aversion to listen to such matters.

In many instances, when Buddhism was in its glory, it often happened that the number of monasteries increased, and thousands became friars to spend a life of ease and comfort. Respecting such aberrations, the Chinese authorities are very sensitive. They reason that if every one puts not his hand to some work or other, there must arise starvation; for so many mouths are to be fed, and so many hands must work to do this. These institutions have thus been frequently destroyed, and the priests have been forced to turn their hands from the book to the plough. The effects of laziness, so much complained of in Siam and Burmah, arising from the most able-bodied men leaving

their occupations, and enlisting in the priesthood, is therefore not perceptible in China. Nor have they any influence in restraining the consumption of animal food, and promoting vegetable diet, which they so much advocate.

In every other respect, they may be considered as exercising no influence upon the people at large. If they were taken away bodily, their absence would probably not be regretted by any. They are the drones of society, useless and, in many instances, injurious appendages, and on that account of little moment. Their superstition has for a long while outgrown the nation; the temples are now mostly deserted and in a state of ruin, the votaries fewer and fewer, and the offerings very sparing. Large establishments, that were formerly in a very flourishing condition, have been partly abandoned, and stand entirely empty. China has in this respect, during the last twenty to forty years, undergone a very great change, and is still verging to a more important crisis. Had the priests learning, they might render themselves valuable instruments in promoting instruction; and did they profess any art useful to man, they might turn it to advantage, and appeal to the services which they had rendered. But they can show nothing but Buddhism and its concomitant evils, and can never, therefore, exercise a powerful ascendancy. The Government treats them with the utmost contempt. All men of learning look down upon the priests as the very dust of their feet; and even the ordinary man views them as a necessary evil. Yet, in the hour of death, under heavy calamities, and the decease of a loved relative, their assistance is called in to smooth the way to eternity, and give peace to the rebellious conscience. Even men in the higher ranks of life, who have sneered at their delusions, often beseech them for a place and a dignified station in the metempsychosis.

Impartiality should prompt a writer to say all that he can in favour of adverse sects. But from the obscuration of the Bouzes, their stupidity, and their endeavours to retain others in the darkness of the grossest superstition, they find little favour with those who have the well-being of their fellow-creatures at heart. Some negative virtues, however, ought not to be denied to them. They have nothing obscene in their images or worship; the main charge that can be brought against them is that of being burlesque and unnatural; nor have they any cruel, unnatural rites, nothing which may not be performed in open daylight, before a multitude of people. As they exercise no moral influence, and are generally in the lowest grade of depravity, they cannot affect the manners of the people. The Bonzes, however, have one good point—they are very hospitable; they like

to wait upon strangers, and show those attentions in which a wayfaring man, when tired of his journey, so much delights.

Such is the actual aspect of Buddhism in China: the time perhaps will soon come when it will be spoken of as a religion that was. It will be a benefit for the Chinese nation to shake off this yoke of absurdities and sinful idolatry, and to bow before the only true God and Jesus Christ the Saviour.

[The writer of this paper died on the 9th August, 1851.—Ed.]

Art. VIII.—*On the Winged Bulls, Lions, and other Symbolical Figures from Nineveh.* *By* E. C. Ravenshaw, Esq., M.A.S., F.G.S.

[*Read April* 2, 1853.]

The monster bulls, lions, and other winged figures found at Nineveh, which have lately been erected in the new Hall of the British Museum, naturally excite the curiosity as well as the admiration of the public—curiosity to learn the meaning of these colossal myths of a nation which flourished some 3000 years ago, at the earliest dawn of art, and before the period of authentic history. It is desireable, therefore, that some attempt should be made to solve the problem.

A cursory inspection of these mysterious figures will satisfy the observer that they were not merely architectural ornaments, analogous to those which are used, at the present day, to decorate some Gothic church or palace constructed in the mediæval style; but were designed to symbolize certain mysteries, and pourtray certain ceremonies of the primeval religion of Assyria. So remote, however, is the era, and so obscure are the traditions which have been handed down to us in the Jewish, Persian, and Grecian histories, that any conclusions at which we may arrive must be attended with much difficulty and uncertainty. It is with the view rather of inviting the attention of others to the subject, than in the expectation that any theories of mine will be received, that I venture to lay before the Society the result of my speculations.

Cardinal Wiseman, in his recent lecture at Leeds, in defending the conduct of the Inquisition towards Galileo, is reported to have said that Galileo was not imprisoned for maintaining, merely as an hypothesis, that the earth moved round the sun, but because he asserted it as a fact, in opposition to the Scriptures. Profiting by the mistake of Galileo, I would premise that if anything in the following observations should appear to be unorthodox, I hope it will be understood that it is only advanced as an hypothesis, not asserted as a truth.

The principal objects among the Assyrian sculptures having a mythological character, are: 1st, the winged bull with a man's face; 2nd, the winged lion with a man's face; 3rd, the winged man with a fir-cone in one hand, and a square basket, or vessel, in the

other; and, 4th, a man, with the head and wings of an eagle or hawk.

The hypothesis which I propose to maintain with respect to these figures, is, first, that they are, as has been already surmised by Mr. Layard, the originals of the Cherubim of Ezekiel; that they were likewise the originals of the apocalyptic beasts of St. John; and that, slightly modified, they were afterwards adopted, and are now used, as the symbols of the four Evangelists. Secondly, I shall endeavour to show that they were originally invented by the Magi and Chaldæans, as astronomical symbols of the equinoctial and solstitial points; that they represent, in fact, the four seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter; perhaps, also, the four winds, and the four elements.

To those whose ideas of cherubim are derived exclusively from the observation of the winged heads on tombstones, or from the paintings of a Guido or a Raphael, it may be somewhat startling to learn that there is no authority in Scripture for these bodyless infants; and that the face of a cherub, instead of being the face of a baby, was in reality the face of a bull.[1]

It may be proper, however, before proceeding to the visions of Ezekiel, to give a brief account of all that is related of the cherubim in the history of the Jews.

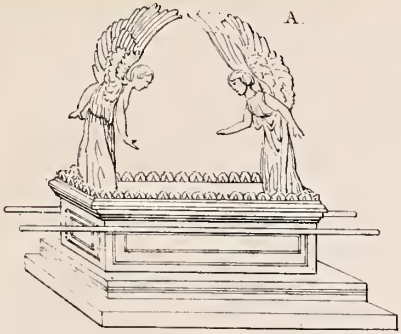
The first notice to be found of cherubim is chap. iii. v. 24, of Genesis where it is related[2] that God "placed at the east of the garden of Eden, Cherubim, and a flaming sword which turned every way to keep the way of the tree of life." It will be remarked that no mention is here made of the form of the cherubim.

It is a singular fact, that there is no further allusion to the cherubim until the time of Moses,—a period of about 2512 years. After the passage of the Red Sea, while Moses was on Mount Sinai, he directed the Israelites to make an ark (or chest) to hold the stone tables of the law, two cubits and a half long, a cubit and a half broad, and a cubit and a half high; and a lid of corresponding size, which was called "the mercy seat." He proceeds (Exodus xxv. v. 18,): "And thou shalt make two cherubims of beaten gold in the two ends of the mercy seat, one cherub on the one end, and one cherub on the other end. And the cherubims shall stretch forth their wings, and their faces shall look one to another; towards the mercy seat shall the faces

[1] Ezekiel x. 14; 1 Kings vi. 27.

[2] The French translation of the Vulgate has, "il mit des cherubins devant le jardin de délices, qui faisaient étinceler une épée de feu, &c." Josephus, in his History, does not allude to the cherubim in the garden of Eden.

A



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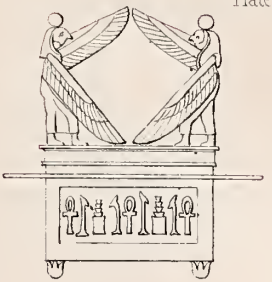

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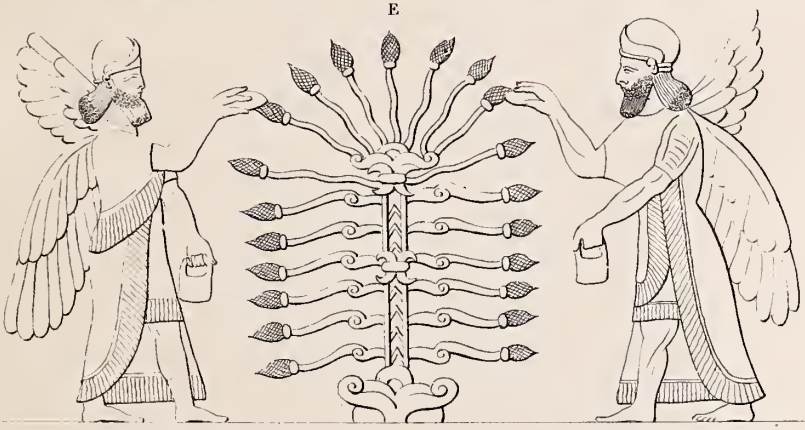

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P.E. Bowler del et lith

of the cherubims be."—"And there [said the Lord] I will meet thee, and commune with thee from above the mercy seat, from between the two cherubims which are upon the ark of the testimony," &c. Not a syllable is here said of the form of the cherubs: it was evidently assumed that the Israelites were so familiar with their appearance that no further instructions were necessary.

It is curious, however, that no tradition of their forms should have reached even the days of Josephus, who declares (Antiq. III. 6) that they resembled no animals that were ever seen by man, and that their form no man knew in his time. The modern representations of the ark and cherubim made by artists and scholars[1] (prior to the discoveries of the Egyptian antiquities) from the descriptions in Exodus, are very similar to the arks or boats of Osiris, which contained the emblems of life and stability; or the sacred beetle, overshadowed by the wings of two figures of the goddess Thmei, or Truth and Justice. (Compare Figs. A and B, Plate IV.)

The ark, borne upon two poles, accompanied the Israelites in all their wanderings until they reached the promised land. For about 370 years it remained at Shiloh, whence it was brought, under the designation of "the ark of the covenant of the Lord of Hosts who dwelleth between the cherubim," to Ebenezer, to support the Israelites in a battle with the Philistines. The latter, however, were victorious; captured the ark; and carried it to Ashdod. There it destroyed the image of Dagon, the fish-god; and after causing many other calamities to its captors, the Philistines were too glad to restore it to the Israelites at Kirjath-jearim, where it remained twenty years. From this place it was conveyed, about 1016 B.C., to Jerusalem, with great pomp and ceremony, by David.

The design of David to build a house for its reception was not carried out until the time of Solomon, 1012 B.C., and about 480 years after the Exodus. In the construction of his celebrated temple, a dark room, without windows, called "the oracle," twenty cubits, or thirty feet square, was prepared for the ark; and within the oracle Solomon made two cherubim of olive-wood, each ten cubits high, "five cubits was the one wing of each cherub, and five cubits the other wing of each cherub, and from the uttermost part of one wing to the uttermost part of the other was ten cubits; and they stretched forth the wings of the cherubim, so that the wing of one touched the one wall, and the wing of the other cherub touched the other wall; and their wings touched one another in the midst of the house; and he overlaid the cherubims with gold."

[1] Vide Biblical Encyclopædia. Arts. CHERUBIM and ARK OF THE COVENANT.

At the time of the dedication of the temple, the priests brought the ark of the covenant into the oracle of the house "to the most holy place, even under the wings of the cherubim. For the cherubim spread forth their two wings over the place of the ark, and the staves thereof" (1 Kings, ch. viii. v. 7). This was not difficult, for, as before stated, the ark was a chest only two cubits and a half long, by one cubit and a half broad and high. It does not appear whether the two small cherubims of beaten gold made by Moses were still upon the ark, or whether the larger cherubims of olive-wood, made by Solomon, were substituted for them. The former appears the more probable; first, because there is no mention of their having been removed; and secondly, because the size and the position of Solomon's cherubim were totally different. Instead of being on either end of the ark, and looking down on the mercy seat, they were standing erect on the ground on either side of the ark, and the right wing of the one touching the end of the left wing of the other; so that the four wings, spread in a straight line, reached twenty cubits, from wall to wall.

It will be observed in this, as in the preceding passages, no allusion is made to the forms, or heads of the cherubim. In 2 Chronicles, chap. iii. v. 13, it is stated: "The wings of the cherubims spread themselves forth twenty cubits, and they stood on their feet, and their faces were inwards." Here we are informed that at any rate they had feet and faces; but whether of man or beast, bird or reptile, is not stated; but, I may here remark, that if they had more than one face, it would certainly have been mentioned.

Solomon himself appears to have considered the ark and the cherubim merely as symbolical objects, towards which the faces of the Hebrews should be turned in prayer, as the Mahommedans turn to their Kiblah, the temple of Mecca. In his beautiful song, or prayer, dedicating the Temple (1 Kings, ch. viii. v. 27), he says:—"But will God indeed dwell upon earth? Behold, the heavens, and the heaven of heavens cannot contain Thee, how much less this house which I have built. But hearken Thou to the supplication of thy servant, and of thy people Israel, when they shall pray towards this place, and hear Thou in heaven, thy dwelling-place; and when thou hearest, forgive."

Great, however, as was Solomon's piety, and magnificent as was the temple, yet in a short time his 700 wives, and his 300 concubines, turned away his heart after other gods than Jehovah. On his death, the ten tribes of Israel revolted from his son Rehoboam, and ceased to worship at the temple. About twenty years after, it

was plundered by Shishak, king of Egypt; and about 400 years after that, it was finally burnt to the ground, with the ark and the cherubims, by Nebuchadnezzar, in 588 B.C.

After this period there is no mention of the cherubim, except in the dreams or visions of the prophets. Some have supposed that the seraphim of Isaiah are identical with the cherubim. In chapter vi, which is unconnected with the preceding or subsequent chapter, the prophet abruptly exclaims :—"In the year that King Uzziah died, I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train [1] [that is, garments] filled the temple. Above it [2] [the throne] stood the seraphims: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly." It is evident they had also hands, as in v. 6, he says :—"Then flew one of the seraphims unto me, having a live coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar."

In Gesenius's Hebrew Dictionary, the word is derived from שָׂרַף "sharaf," *to burn*, as seraphims were "angels that appeared like a flaming fire."

We now come to the visions of Ezekiel (chap. i).

It was by the river Chebar,[3] in the land of the Chaldæans, in the thirtieth year of the captivity, that the hand of the Lord was upon him,[4] and he saw visions of God. "And I looked, and behold a whirlwind [5] came out of the north, a great cloud and a fire infolding itself, as the colour of amber. Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures.[6] They had the likeness of a man, and every one had four faces, and four wings, and their feet were straight feet, and the sole of their feet was like the sole of a calf's foot, and they had the hands of a man under their wings. As for the likeness of their faces, they had each the face of a man [in front], the face of a lion on the right side, the face of an ox on the left side, and the face of an eagle [probably behind: the Vulgate says, "au

[1] "Vêtements" in the French Vulgate.

[2] In the Vulgate, "round about it stood the *cherubim*." Bib. Ency., Art. CHERUBIMS.

[3] "Chobar," in French Vulgate: supposed to be the Khaboor, which forms a junction with the Euphrates at Carchemish, about 225 miles N.W. from Babylon. At Arban, on the banks of the Khaboor, Mr. Layard discovered winged bulls and lions (p. 276, Second Expedition.)

[4] "La main du Seigneur agit sur lui."—Vulg.

[5] A similar whirlwind, without the cherubims, is described in p. 294 of Layard's Second Expedition.

[6] "Animaux."—Vulg.

dessus"—above]. And their wings were stretched upwards, two wings of every one were joined one to another, and two covered their bodies, and they went every one straight forward, and they turned not when they went." By each of the four creatures was a wheel full of eyes, and the spirit of the living creatures was in the wheels. Stretched forth over the heads of the creatures was a firmament, as the colour of the terrible crystal, and under the firmament were their wings straight, the one towards the other. Every one had two, which covered on this side, and every one had two which covered on that side, their bodies; and when they went, I heard the noise of their wings, as the noise of great waters; when they stood, they let down their wings. Above the firmament was the likeness of a throne of sapphire stone, and upon the throne was the likeness of a man of fire the colour of amber, and a brightness shone round about him like that of the rainbow. This was the glory of the Lord.[1]

The Lord then gives Ezekiel a book to eat, which enables him to prophecy against Jerusalem (chap. viii). In the following year, the hand of the Lord again fell upon him, and lifted him up by a lock of his hair, and carried him in a vision to Jerusalem, where he sees the abominations of the Israelites,—the image of Jealousy at the gate of the altar, and every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel pourtrayed upon the walls round about in the chambers of their imagery. The temple and ark having been destroyed, it seems that the Israelites adopted the idolatrous practices of the surrounding nations, and amongst others, probably, those of Assyria.

In chapter x, Ezekiel, in his dream or vision, sees the temple as it was before its destruction; and goes on to describe the cherubim in the sanctuary exactly as in the 1st chapter, and ends by saying:—"These were the living creatures I saw under the God of Israel, by the river of Chebar, and I knew that they were the cherubims."

This is important, as in chapter i, they were only called "living creatures;" but here we are told distinctly that they were the cherubim.

There is one part of this description which is valuable, as it goes to show the meaning attached to the word "cherub." In verse 14, he says:—"Every one had four faces, the first was the face of a cherub, the second was the face of a man, the third the face of a lion, and the fourth the face of an eagle." Now, as in the previous description it was stated that the first face was that of an ox, while the other three faces were the same, it is clear that the word

[1] The "Farah-i-Ized" of the Persians.

cherub meant an ox. It is not apparent, however, why they should have been called *cherubim*[1] (ox-headed), in preference to *nusrim* (eagle-headed), or *arim* (lion-headed).

In a subsequent version, in which "the man of brass" describes the pattern after which the new temple was to be built, on the return of the Jews from their captivity, (chap. xli, v. 18,) it is ordered that the walls of the temple should be covered with cherubim and palm-trees; "so that a palm-tree was between a cherub and a cherub; and every cherub had two faces, so that the face of a man was toward the palm-tree on the one side, and the face of a young lion toward the palm-tree on the other side." This is directly at variance with the former description. To add to the difficulty, in 1 Kings, ch. vii. v. 29, it is stated that, on the borders of the molten sea, made by Hiram, were "lions, oxen, and cherubim;" from which it would appear that the cherubs were something different from either lions or oxen; and that if they had anything in common with the visionary cherubim of Ezekiel, it must have been the head of an eagle, and of a man. An endeavour has been made to reconcile these discrepancies by the supposition that when represented on a flat surface, only two heads would appear, and that any figure having two of the above heads and four wings was called a cherub. This is a plausible conjecture. It is evident, however, that the cherubim of the visions were very different from the real historical cherubim of Moses and Solomon. There is no reason to suppose that the latter had more than one face and two wings, or that they had other than human feet and faces; while tho former had four heads and four wings, and calf's feet, and four wheels full of eyes.[2] As it has been conjectured[3] that the cherubim of Moses were derived from the figures of truth and justice on the arks and breast-plates of the Egyptian priests, so it may be plausibly surmised that the cherubim of Ezekiel were derived from the winged bulls, lions, and eagle-headed figures of Babylon and Nineveh. On this subject Mr. Layard observes, in his "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii., p. 464 :—"The resemblance between the symbolical figures I have described, and those seen by Ezekiel in his vision, can scarcely fail to strike the reader. As the prophet had beheld the Assyrian palaces,

[1] The word is derived by some from "Charab," "to plough;" by others, from "Karab," "near,"—signifying those who were near the throne of God. (Hyde). In Psalm xviii, v. 10, cherub signifies "the wind :"—"He rode upon a cherub, and did fly; yea he did fly upon the wings of the wind.

[2] Mitra and Serosh, two of the Izeds or angels of the Persians, were said to have 10,000 eyes.—Dabistan.

[3] "Ancient Egyptians," Bibl. Encyc. Article Ark of the Covenant.

with their mysterious images and gorgeous decorations, it is highly probable that when seeking to typify certain divine attributes, and to describe the divine glory, he chose forms that were not only familiar to him, but to people whom he addressed—captives like himself in the land of Assyria. Those who were uncorrupted by even the outward forms of idolatry sought for images to convey the idea of the Supreme God. Ezekiel saw in his vision the likeness of four living creatures, which had four faces, four wings, and the hands of a man under their wings on their four sides. Their faces were those of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle. By them was a wheel, the appearance of which 'was as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel.' (Ezek. i. 16). It will be observed, that the four forms chosen by Ezekiel to illustrate his description—the man, the lion, the bull, and the eagle, are precisely those which are constantly found on Assyrian monuments as religious types. The 'wheel within wheel,' mentioned in connexion with the emblematical figures, may refer to the winged circles, or wheel, representing at Nimroud the Supreme Deity. These coincidences are too marked not to deserve notice; and do certainly lead to the inferences that the symbols chosen by the prophet were derived from the Assyrian sculptures."

I may here remark that winged objects were unknown to the simple religion of the Jews, which did not recognize graven images, or the likeness of anything in heaven or earth. It is generally supposed that angels have wings, because painters and poets have so described them, but there is no authority for it in the Bible. All the angels who have appeared, either in dreams or daylight, have assumed the simple form of man. There is no mention even of female angels.[1]

Winged figures, however, were common in the mythology of Assyria and Egypt, whence they were successively adopted by the Greeks, Etruscans, Romans, and Christians.[2]

It seems to be now generally admitted that a hierarchy of angels, good and bad, formed no part of the Jewish faith until after the captivity; while it is well known to have been a principal feature of the Chaldæan and Zoroastrian systems. Daniel is the first who mentioned the angels Gabriel and Michael[3]; and the Rabbins state

[1] In the Magian religion, the Farvardigan, or Izeds of the five intercalary days of the year, were female angels who spun celestial robes for the saints in Paradise.

[2] Vide illustrations of Botta, Layard, and Sir G. Wilkinson. See also figures resembling our modern angels on the sculptures of Behistun.

[3] These are possibly Semitic names of the Amshashpands or angels, called

that these names were derived from Babylon.[1] Indeed, the word "Satan," which in Hebrew means "an opposer, or adversary," is possibly a translation of the Zend word "Ahriman," which (from p. 356, vol. i, Dabistan) appears to have the same meaning. In one of the Izeshnes (p. 2, tome ii. of the Zendavesta) Ahriman is addressed as "*Schetan* Ahriman;"[2] and an ancient Greek writer Theodorus in Photius, calls the Persian Arimanius by the name of Satan.[3] Under the name of "Shaitán," the evil principle is still recognized throughout the East. Both the name and the idea of Satan, therefore, may be thought by some to have originated with Zoroaster, or to have been adopted by him from some earlier tradition. The writer of the Apocalypse, in chapter 20, gives an account of Satan's career and ultimate fate, not very dissimilar from that in the Zendavesta:—"I saw an angel come down from heaven who laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years;" during which the saints will reign with Christ; after that period Satan must be loosed for a season (1,000 years?) and shall go out to deceive the nations; but ultimately he shall be cast into the lake of fire, together with Death and Hell.

According to the Zendavesta, Ormazd is to reign alone during the first 3,000 years after the creation. During the next 3,000 years, his operations will be blended with those of Ahriman. The subsequent 3,000 will belong entirely to Ahriman; and in the last 3,000, Ahriman, that *lying serpent*, shall be purified *by fire*, as well as the earth be freed from the *dark abode of hell*. Then the resurrection shall take place; and Ormazd and Ahriman, accompanied by all the good and evil genii, shall sing the praises of the Author of all good. (Vide Dabistan, vol. i, p. 357).

The war in heaven between Michael and his angels, with Satan and his angels, bears a striking analogy to that between Ormazd and

Bahman and Ardebehisht, two of the seven spirits which stood around the throne of Ormazd.

[1] Bib. Ency. Art. Chald. Phil. Rosh Hashoneh, p. 56.

"Les noms des anges et des mois, tels que Gabriel, Michel, Yar, Nisan, &c., vinrent de Babylone avec les Juifs."—Talmud de Jerusalem.

Beausobre, Hist. du Manich. tom. ii, p. 264, maintains that the saints of the calendar were imitated from the 365 angels of the Persians. "Yamblique (Iamblichus) dans les Mystères Egyptiens (sec 2. cap. 3) parle des Anges, Archanges et Seraphins comme un vrai Chrétien." Quoted by Volney, vol. ii., p. 355.

[2] It is curious that on one of Mr. E. Thomas's Sassanian Gems, (No. 21, Vol. XIII., p. 419, Journal of Royal Asiatic Society,) is a winged bull with the Pehlvi legend: "Satan atoore," or "Assyrian Satan."

[3] Cudworth's Intellectual System, vol. i, p. 354.

his Amshaspands, with Ahriman and his Divs or Darujs. The war of Jupiter with the Titans; and of the Surs and Asurs of Hiudn mythology, have been conjectured to have a similar origin: and Bentley supposes the whole to be founded on an astronomical allegory of the ascending and descending nodes of the constellations; the angels of light or summer, as opposed to the angels of darkness, or winter.

The Jews, on their return from exile, had forgotten their own language, and adopted that of Babylonia; and, with the language they had acquired also much of the astronomy and mythology of the East, which was handed down from generation to generation until the time of John, who seems, from the above coincidences, to have been familiar with the writings of the Magi.

Before attempting to explain the symbolical meaning of the cherubim, it will be proper to consider what is stated regarding them in the Apocalypse.

In chapter iv, v. 7, four beasts are described as being "round about the throne, full of eyes before and behind; and the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had a face as a man, and the fourth beast was like a flying eagle; and the four beasts had each of them six wings." The writer does not call them the cherubim; but though he has omitted the wheels, and given them only one head each, instead of four, it is obvious that the whole description, including the throne, and him that sat thereon, is derived from the vision of Ezekiel.[1]

At an early period of the church these winged animals were adopted as the symbols of the four Evangelists. The winged lion was assigned to St. Mark, as the symbol of strength; the winged ox to St. Luke, as the symbol of sacrifice; the eagle and chalice to St. John, as the symbol of contemplation; and the winged man, with a cup and hatchet, to St. Matthew, as the symbol of power,—"la puissance."[2]

In the Journal of the Archæological Association for 1845-6, vol. i., pp. 191-2, it is stated that the Gospels of St. Columba, dated in the sixth century, furnish an illumination of a cross with the Evangelistic symbols at the four angles.

In the British Museum there is a copy of the Latin Vulgate, written about 800 A.D., in the frontispiece of which is a picture of

[1] Gesenius's Hebrew Dictionary—Art. KARAB—identifies them with the cherubim.

[2] Annales Archéologiques, vol viii. p. 6.

St. Matthew, surrounded by the winged bull, eagle, lion, and man. The winged lion of St. Mark on the pillar of the Piazza, is familiar to all who have been at Venice, or admired the pictures of Prout and Canaletti. The same figures are to be seen carved on the façades of the churches at Poictiers, Chartres, &c., in France, built about the eleventh century; and they may be now found on the altar-cloths and painted windows of many modern churches, built or ornamented in the mediæval style. Irenæus was of opinion that they were emblematical of the four elements, the four quarters of the globe, and the four Gospels.[1]

It is curious to think that the recent excavations of Nineveh should have revealed the originals of these remarkable symbols, which have been handed down to us from generation to generation for upwards of thirty centuries; and still more curious is it to think that the various nations who have been instrumental in their preservation should have been almost totally ignorant of the meaning which they were intended to shadow forth to the followers of Mahabad, or the disciples of Zoroaster.

The figures of the winged bull, however, are not confined to the locality of Nineveh, but have also been found at Persepolis, the capital of ancient Persia. Among the ruins of the temple or palace called the "Takht-i-Jamshid," or "throne of Jamshid,"[2] there are some magnificent winged bulls with human heads, a drawing of which is given in Ker Porter's Travels, page 591; and the capitals of the columns of the Chihal Minar are formed with bulls' heads. At Ali Nakshi Rustam,[3] at each end of an altar or sarcophagus, supposed to be the tomb of Darius Hystaspes, there are figures having bulls' heads and lions' feet. The capitals of the pillars are formed by two bulls' heads looking different ways, which Ezekiel would probably have called cherubim. It is remarkable, that bulls with human heads are mentioned by Berosus the Magian, among the monster animals which existed at the period when the earth was covered with darkness and water, before Belus separated the light from the darkness.

When the winged bulls of Persepolis first became known in Europe, Anquetil du Perron supposed them to be a symbolical representation of Noah; though the connexion is not obvious. Mons. De Sacy, on the other hand, considered them to be representations of Kaiomars, the first king of the Peshdadian dynasty; and derived the

[1] Adv. Hæres., iii. 2.

[2] Date of Jamshid B.C. 800 according to Sir W. Jones; B.C. 3429 according to Firdúsi.

[3] Ker Porter, p. 516.

name of the king Kaiomars from the Persian word "Gao-mard," signifying "the bull-man." The Persians believed that the first animals created were a man and a bull, the former called Kaiomars, and the latter Aboudad; and the bull was sometimes designated as "the man-bull." (Vide Zendavesta, tom. ii., p. 253, Note). It is not unreasonable to infer that the Nineveh bulls are the embodiment of this myth.

Sir G. Wilkinson has expressed an opinion[1] that the sphinx of Egypt, which is a lion with the head of a man, is a representation of the sovereign. It is not improbable that the sphinx of Egypt,[2] and the man-lion of Assyria, were identical in origin; the only difference being that the one is crouched, without wings, while the other is erect, with wings. But it does not appear to me that sufficient grounds are advanced for inducing the belief that they were typical of the sovereign. Heeren supports the opinion that they are symbolical of the monarch, chiefly because the head-dresses are similar[3] to those worn by the kings. It may be asked, however, of what particular king could they be the type; and if the man-lion is the type of one king, the man-bull must be of another, and so on of the other monsters. These monsters, be it observed, are usually found placed as guardians at the entrance of palaces or temples; while on the walls of temples are found the portraits of the kings, sculptured in their natural form. At the temple of Karnak, at Thebes, there are avenues of lions and rams substituted for sphinxes. These could not all have been representations of the king. Besides, Heeren admits that wings always indicate a spiritual or symbolical being. The figures, therefore, are much more likely to symbolize the union of wisdom and power, which are the natural guardians of religion and government, than the qualities of any one particular monarch. Berosus (who was one of the Magi) says that similar figures were represented in the temple of Belus, at Babylon; and we know that they were abundant at Nineveh. The inference is, that they were symbolical ideas, which were recognized in common by the Persians, Babylonians, Assyrians, and Egyptians. Heeren[4] has expressed his belief that the Persians derived their architecture and religion, together with these, and other

[1] Ancient Egyptians, vol. i., p. 416, Second Series.

[2] There were three kinds of sphinxes in Egypt: 1. the Andro-sphinx, or man-lion; 2. Crio-sphinx, with the head of a ram and body of a lion; 3. the Hiero-sphinx, with the head of a hawk, and the body of a lion.

[3] The head-dresses are different: some have one horn, some two, and some three. Some have round caps, and some square.

[4] He says there are traces at Ecbatana, the capital of Media, of the same style of architecture.

symbolical figures, from Media and Bactria, the country of Zoroaster and the Magi,[1] to whom has been ascribed the invention of astronomy, and the star-worship founded thereon. Sir W. Drummond, Ker Porter, Heeren, Volney, and others who have given their attention to the subject, are agreed that the worship of the bull arose from the circumstance of that animal having been selected by the framers of the Zodiac as the symbol of the constellation Taurus, with which the year commenced at the vernal equinox. Great festivals were held at this period, both in Persia and Egypt, in celebration of the *nauroz*, or new year, of which the bull was adopted, first merely as a symbol, but finally as an object of veneration, if not of worship, by all the eastern nations,—in Egypt, under the name of Apis ; in India, under that of Nandi;[2] the golden calf of the Israelites; the heifer Baal of the Babylonians. The constellation of the bull engraved on the cylinders of the Chaldæans, denotes the same origin.[3] Among the Yezidis of the present day, white oxen are dedicated to the sun (sheikh shams). Among the Druids of Wales, the bull or ox was the symbol of "Hu," or "Huan," the sun.[4] The ox-stall was called "the sanctuary of Hu." The yellow ox of spring was the sign Taurus, into which the sun entered when the Druids celebrated their great mysteries. It is worthy of remark, that their god was called "Hu, with the expanded wings;" which suggests the idea of a globe with wings, like those of the Assyrians and Egyptians. When the sun was in the constellation of Leo, "Hu" was called, "the lion of the greatest course."[5] The eagle was one of his symbols, which was carried aloft in their religious processions, like the strange bird carried by men, depicted on the Assyrian marbles (vide Layard). Pendragon, "the god of war, the ethereal,"[6] is described by the Druids as having a rainbow for his girdle; which brings to mind the image of the Ferohar, or guardian spirit, which is seen on the marbles, hovering in the air over the head of the king, and bending a bow against his

[1] The Greeks, Aristotle, Eudoxus, Hermippus, Hermodorus, &c., place Zoroaster about 6000 B.C. Moreri, Bayle, &c., say that he ruled in Bactria in the time of Ninus (2200 B.C.), D'Herbelot, in the age of Feridún (1729 B.C.) According to Firdúsi, a Zoroaster, the last of his name, lived in the time of Gushtasp, about 590 B.C. according to some, 800 B.C. according to others.

[2] In India, however, the year never began with Taurus. The Indians borrowed the symbol, with the rest of the Zodiac, from the West.—Bentley's Hindoo Astronomy.

[3] Layard, vol. i., p. 290.

[4] Davis's Mythology of the Druids, p. 139.

[5] Ibid., p. 219.

[6] Bahram was the Ized of victory among the Persians.

enemies. Ancient and modern writers are agreed that the religion of the Druids prevailed in the east of Europe, and accompanied the Celtic races in their migrations to the west. It is curious that هُوَ *Hu*, is one of the names of God in Arabic.[1] It signifies, "He is," —the Self-Existent. It is very similar to the Hebrew name יהוה which, without the vowel-point is *Ihooh*, or יהוא *Ihoo*,[2] "God is," which is still nearer. It is not impossible, therefore, that the Cymry —Cimri—Cimmerians, may be identical with Cymry (pronounced Kymry) of Wales; and that the ancient faith of the aborigines of England may have been derived from the plains of Shinar, or the hills of Media. The Cimbrians carried a brazen bull, as the image of their God, when they overran Spain and Gaul;[3] and "Thor" of the Scandinavians means, in their language, a bull, as it does also in Chaldee.[4] The Latin name Taurus is probably derived from Thor (which is usually pronounced Tor by continental nations), with the usual termination *us*.

Mr. Landseer, in his "Sabæan Researches," page 7, says, with reference to the figures on the Babylonian cylinders:—"The heads of the lion and bull allude to the zodiacal places of the summer solstice and vernal equinox. The Hebrew astronomers adhered to the ancient cherubic signs (which I assume to be astronomical), and to the system which had ordained Leo and Aquarius, 'the lion and the man' of Ezekiel, as signs of the solstices.[5] The fact of the bull, or Taurus, having been selected as the symbol of the vernal equinox, shows that the point now called Aries must, at the period of forming the Zodiac, have coincided with the first degree of the constellation Taurus, and enables us to fix approximately the date on which the Zodiac was invented.

Mrs. Somerville, in page 182, of her "Mechanism of the Heavens," published in 1831, and probably written in 1830, observes that "the point ♈ Aries, has not coincided with the vernal equinox for 2230 years." If we deduct 1830, this will give us 400 B.C.[6] for the period when they did coincide, that is, when the sign ♈ corresponded with the first degree of Aries. Now the precession of the equinoxes being

[1] Vide Richardson's Dictionary.

[2] Hence Iov, Jove, Jupiter?

[3] Payne Knight's Inquiry into the Symbolical language of Art and Mythology, p. 22–3.

[4] תּוֹר *Tor*: Ezra, vi. 9. 17; Daniel, iv. 25.

[5] Landseer appears to have thought that the Eagle occupied the place of Scorpio, or the autumnal equinox, in the earliest zodiacs.

[6] Volney says 388 B.C. (tome i., p. 332).

at the rate of seventy-one years and a half to a degree,[1] or 2145 years to a sign of thirty degrees, it follows that 2145 years antecedent to 400 B.C., *i. e.* in the year 2545[2] B.C., the point ♈ or vernal equinox coincided with the first degree of Taurus, and may therefore be assumed to be the date of the invention of the Zodiac. The first astronomers would naturally describe the constellations, and the position of the solstices and equinoxes as they appeared to them at that time.[3] Thus the vernal equinox being in Taurus, the autumnal would be in Scorpio, the summer solstice in Leo, and the winter solstice in Aquarius. Accordingly, the Bull was worshipped in spring, the Lion in summer, and Aquarius in winter, under the form of a man pouring out two streams of water from a vase, which signified the Euphrates and Tigris, issuing from Mount Taurus. (Vide Plate IV. F). It does not appear that Scorpio was worshipped either in Egypt or Assyria. The reason may be, that this was the period at which the nights began to lengthen,—the commencement of the reign of darkness, *i. e.* of Typhon or Ahriman, when Osiris was supposed to die. It was therefore a season for lamentation instead of rejoicing. There was, however, a festival on the twenty-second day of the month Paophi, called "the nativity of the staves of the sun,"—intimating that the sun was becoming weaker, and required staves to support him.[4]

As it required seventy-one years and a half for the equinoxes to move one degree, it is probable that the precession was not discovered until several centuries after the Zodiac was framed. When, however, after a lapse of 2145 years, the equinoxes had receded a whole sign, the astronomers could not fail to observe the phenomenon; and it became necessary to modify their system. The point ♈, or the first degree of Aries, was then selected as the commencement of the year, as it coincided with the vernal equinox; and the Ram or Lamb (Ammon) was substituted for the Bull as the object of public veneration at the annual festival. Cancer, represented either by a crab or a scarabæus,

[1] Mechanism of the Heavens, p. 396.

[2] This would be about 200 years before the Flood according to Usher's calculation, or 2340 B.C.; but 600 years after it, according to Hales, Jackson, and the Septuagint. Pliny, Hist. Nat. VII., 57, says that astronomical observations were found at Babylon by Alexander, and sent to Aristotle, of a date corresponding to 2200 B.C. Menes, first king of Egypt, reigned 2320 B.C. Ancient Egypt, vol. i., p. 41.

[3] M. Jomard, in his Description d'Egypte, tome i., p. 260, says there is a tableau in the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, with the equinoxes exactly in this position.

[4] Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii., Second Series. p. 315.

in Egypt,[1] supplanted the lion as the symbol of the summer solstice; and Capricorn, represented by a goat with a fish's tail, was venerated as the symbol of the winter solstice. The date of this change may fairly be ascribed to about 400 B.C., being the period at which the vernal equinox coincided with the first degree of Aries. The ascertainment of this date is important, as all writings which allude to the vernal equinoxes being at the first degree of Aries, must be more recent than 400 B.C. I say the first degree of Aries, because, as the equinox retrogrades, or moves in an opposite direction to the sun in the Zodiac, the vernal equinox really entered that constellation in 2544 B.C., that is, the year after it quitted Taurus. In like manner, the sign ♈ entered the thirtieth degree of Pisces in 399 B.C., and moving backwards, reached the first degree in 1745 A.D. (See Plate V. Fig. A). Accordingly, the Fish ought to have taken the place of the Ram, in public estimation. But habit is all-powerful; and nations, like individuals, are long in unlearning what they have been taught in their infancy. Virgil, who wrote in the first century of our æra, and several hundred years after the vernal equinox had ceased to be in Taurus, still followed the ancient mode of expression :—

> "Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum
> Taurus."

After the foregoing observations, little doubt can remain that the colossal bulls and lions of Assyria, Persia, Babylon, and Egypt, were symbols of the sun in the constellations of Taurus and Leo, and consequently of the seasons of spring and summer. The period of the new year,—of the new birth of nature after the long night of winter, when Typhon or Ahriman—the spirit of darkness and death, held sway, was naturally a season of rejoicing; and the figure of the bull (Apis, in Egypt), Cherub, perhaps, in Assyria, was held up as the proper object of public veneration. In summer, when the sun reached his greatest height and vigour at the solstice, when the snows melted, and rains fell on the mountains of Central Africa, and the Nile began to rise, and spread fertility over the lands of Egypt, the lion was the appropriate object of adoration. The human head of the bull, like the human head of the sphinx (or man-lion), was merely the image, or avatar of the sun, combined with the image of the constellation. The sculptors, in compliment to the monarch of the time, probably gave to the sun the likeness of the king, who in Oriental language is still called, "the shadow of God," ظل الله. In the

[1] Vide oblong zodiac of Dendera; also, Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii, Second Series, p. 257. The worship of the Scarabæus was therefore the worship of the sun at the summer solstice.

Zoroastrian system, every man had his Ferohar, or celestial spirit, of which he was the copy or shadow, on earth. But the Ferohar, again, was the shadow of a light more resplendent than itself; and so on up to Mez (Ormazd).[1]

The figure in the winged circle on the Persian and Assyrian monuments, at Ali Nakshi Rustam, &c., generally resembles, in feature and head-dress, the king who is offering up his prayers before the fire-altar below.[2] This is probably his Ferohar and guardian angel, who also goes before him in battle with bended bow; and returns, after victory, with his bow unbent. The human figure is sometimes omitted, leaving the circle and wings; when it is almost identical with the figures of the winged globes on the temples of Egypt.

The figure of the man contending with a lion or bull, probably indicated the sun passing through or conquering the signs of the Zodiac. It has been conjectured by Dupuis that the twelve labours of Hercules were in like manner a myth, founded on the annual labours of the sun. Sometimes the sun is represented by an eagle or hawk's head, instead of a human head; and is always victorious in his contests with the lion, bull, &c. The griffin, which is formed by a hawk's head on the body of a lion, is probably only a different mode of representing the sun in the constellation of Leo. In Egypt, Horus, a name of the sun, was represented with the head of a hawk.[3] Bentley, in his explanation of the oblong zodiac of Dendera, (p. 253) says, that "the day on which the sun enters a sign is sometimes marked by the figure of a man with a hawk's head, as a symbol of the sun." The figure of Horus, in Plate 88 of Sir G. Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians (see Plate IV. Fig. C.), where he is presenting a soul to Osiris after the final judgment, is strikingly similar to the hawk-headed figure on the Assyrian marbles. (See Plate IV. Fig. D). The latter, as already observed, is found on a Babylonian cylinder in juxta-position with the figure of Aquarius, but walking from it, representing, apparently, the sun just quitting that sign, and about to enter Pisces. (See Plate IV. Fig. F). The same figure, with the exception of the wings, will be seen preceding the figure of Aquarius in the oblong zodiac of Dendera. (See Plate IV. Figs. G. and H.)

Some have identified the eagle-headed figures with Nisroch, in whose temple Sennacherib was slain, from the circumstance of Nisr in Hebrew signifying an eagle; but Colonel Rawlinson states that the

[1] Ker Porter, p. 688.

[2] The ring or circle in his hand, is the symbol of dominion; and the girdle, the costi or cincture of a priest. Heeren, p. 216.

[3] Ancient Egypt, vol. i, p. 398, Second Series.

name of the god in the Nineveh inscription is distinctly "Assarac;"[1] and that in the Septuagint version of the Bible the name is Ασαραχ, not Nisroch, from which he infers that the latter may have been an error of the early copyists of our Hebrew version. Assarae[2] was the god peculiar to Assyria, and is called in the inscriptious "the father and king of gods." It has been conjeetured that Assarac may be identical with the biblical Assur, "who went forth and builded Nineveh" (Gen. x), and may have been afterwards deified by his subjects. It seems that every province had a separate deity; but the god of the king of Assyria was of course considered the king of all the gods,—the "Jehovah Elohim." According to Berosus the Magian, Bel was the god of Babylon, and corresponded with Ormazd of the Persians, in his character of creator and governor of the world. In 2 Kings, chapter xvii, v. 30, it is stated that "every nation made gods of their own: the men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth (the Pleiades), the men of Cuth made Nergal (Mars), and the men of Hamath made Ashema." It is probable that the names of these local deities were those of the stars, planets, and constellations, which were selected by each tribe or nation, as its guardiau angel. In the Akhtaristan, it is stated that according to the Sepasian teuets, "the stars and the heavens arc the shadows of incorporeal effulgenees." On this account they erected the temples of the seven planets,[3] and had talismans of metal and stone suitable to each star. This accounts for the figures of the constellations which arc found upon the cylinders discovered at Babylon and elsewhere. Every individual, as well as nation, had his "bright, particular star," which presided over his birth, whose spirit watched over his safety, whosc name or image was engraved on his signet, and on whom he called for aid in time of trouble.

Reverting, however, to the hawk-headed figurc, so far as we cau judge from the Assyrian sculptures, he would appear to be rather

[1] Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII., p. 426.

[2] In the iuscriptions of Behistun, Darius, being a Persian, declares all his couquests to have been made with the aid of Ormazd.

[3] The Persian names of the planets were :—

Kaiwan	Saturn.
Hormuzd	Jupiter.
Bahram	Mars.
Har	Sun.
Nahid	Venus.
Tir	Mercury.
Mah	Moon.

The twelve months, and the thirty days of each month, had also their Izeds, or Angels; but their names seem derived chiefly from those of the planets, and the four elements. Vide Dabistan.

the performer of some act of worship, than the object of worship himself. He is generally represented with a square vessel in one hand, and a fir-cone in the other; or he is standing before the sacred tree, and placing a fir-cone on one of the branches. (See Plate IV. Figs. D. and E). Sometimes he follows the king, as if to assist him in some ceremony. It is not unlikely, therefore, that he may be a symbol of the season, the festival of which the king is in the act of celebrating; and as we find this hawk-headed figure associated with the constellation of Aquarius, both on the oblong zodiac of Dendera, and on the Babylonian cylinders, there is a strong probability that he is the symbol of the sun at the winter solstice, as the lion was of the summer solstice.

Athanasius states that pine-cones were offered in sacrifice to idols by the pagans. (Encyclical Epistle, vol. xiii, p. 6. Library of the Fathers.) The fir-cone is generally believed to be the emblem of fire; and the square vessel probably contained the holy-water, which in the Zendavesta is called the water of "zor," or "force." His wings may have represented the air; and his body, the earth;—the four elements, which were the objects of veneration in Persia and Egypt.

There remains then for consideration, only the fourth figure, or winged man, holding a fir-cone in one hand, and a square vessel or basket in the other.

As the other three figures with which the winged man is associated have been shown to represent the solstices and the vernal equinox, it is not unreasonable to infer that this figure was intended to symbolize the autumnal equinox. Indeed, in some notes which I made several years ago, before the Nineveh marbles were discovered, from a quarto book by Le Noir, published in Paris in 1811, on the Egyptian origin of Freemasonry, I find it distinctly stated that these four figures,—the winged bull, the winged lion, the winged man, and the eagle, were the guardians of the four gates of heaven, viz.: the equinoxes and solstices; but as the work is only to be found in the hands of a Freemason of the degree of the Rose Croix, I am unable to refer to it to ascertain upon what ancient authority the statement is made. This is the more to be regretted, as such an explanation, found in any ancient Greek work, would satisfactorily settle the question. From the Zendavesta it appears that in the astronomical system of Zoroaster, which was probably similar to, though not perhaps identical with, that of the Assyrians and Chaldæans, there were also four guardians of the four quarters of the heavens, viz.: Taschter,[1] of the East; Sativas, of the West; Venand, of the South;

[1] This name is very like "Twashtri," one of the seven Adityas mentioned in

and Haftorang, of the North. The meaning of these names is unknown to me; but it is certainly unlikely that Venand represented the man-lion, for it is a most remarkable fact, that the lion is never mentioned in the Zendavesta or Bundehesh among the different species of animals created by Ormazd. The same silence is observed with respect to cats, tigers, and all the feline tribe, which is a strong confirmation of the northern origin of the Magian cosmography. Indeed, it was at Balkh, the capital of King Gushtasp, that Zoroaster is said to have promulgated his doctrine, about 500 B.C.[1] Neither are lions to be found in Egypt; but they are still found on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, as they were in the days of Sardanapalus, if we may judge from the hunting-scenes of the Nineveh marbles. I am inclined to think, therefore, that we owe the constellation of the Lion, as well as of Aquarius, to the Assyrians.

It is not easy to understand, however, why the winged man[2] should have been selected to represent the autumnal season, in preference to Scorpio, which was the sign in which the autumnal equinox was situated when the vernal was in Taurus. It is possible that this sign among the Assyrians may not have been invented at that period, or that it may have had a different name. The wings of the figure evidently denote either a fabulous or spiritual being. It may, therefore, have been intended to represent either Kaiomars, the first fabulous king of Persia, who in their legends, is connected with the primordial bull, or one of the Izeds or angels of the months or days. For instance, Mihr, alias Mithra, appears to have been the Ized of the seventh month, or September; and may therefore not unreasonably be supposed to have symbolized the autumnal equinox. This Ized was supposed to traverse the space between heaven and earth, bringing the light of the sun to the globe, directing the course of the waters, ripening the fruits of the field, and maintaining the harmony of the world. There is, however, another Ized called Serosh,[3] who performs

the Rig Veda. Mitra, one of the Persian Izeds, also appears as one of the 'Adityas. Bishen, one of the twenty-eight Persian lunar mansions, may be the Bishan or Vishnu of the Hindus; and Oziren, guardian of the third hour after noon, is not unlike Osiris.

[1] Niebuhr, in his Lectures, says, that Gushtasp cannot be identified with Darius Hystaspes, so that this date is very uncertain. Heeren thinks the date should be 800 B.C. if not earlier.—Vol. i, p. 241.

[2] In the ancient Egyptian planisphere given by Kircher, Typhon, or a man with legs terminating in a fish's tail, and supported by two staves, is represented in place of Scorpio. Sir W. Drummond, in his Œdipus Judaicus, p. 126, says that the Jews substituted the eagle for the scorpion, the latter being a sign accursed.

[3] Hyde, p. 261; and Dabistan, vol. i, p. 287.

a conspicuous part in the angellogy of the Persians. This Ized is said to stand at the entrance of the "Chinivad Pul,"[1] (or suspension-bridge which spans the gulf of hell, between heaven and earth), and to hold in his hand a balance, in which the good and evil deeds of the dead are weighed against each other, while the Ized Rashni Rast records the result for the judgment of Ormazd. Serosh here occupies the same place as Anubis in the mythology of Egypt, and Rashni Rast correspouds with Thoth, the secretary of Osiris.[2]

As Anubis was translated to the Zodiac to represent Libra, holding in his hand the balance of the equinox; so his prototype Serosh, the weigher of the deeds of men, may have been cousidered by the Magi and Assyrians as the fitting symbol of the weigher of the hours at the autumnal season.

From the foregoing observations, then, there appears much reason to believe that the colossal bulls in the British Museum are figures of Aboudad, the primordial bull mentioned in the Zendavesta, and the symbol of the sun in Taurus or the vernal equinox; and that the winged man on one side is the Ized Mitra or Serosh, the guardian of the autumnal equinox. That as these represeuted the equinoxes, so the winged man-lion, and the eagle-headed man, symbolized the solstices. That these four mystical figures were the cherubims which watched the four gates of heaven—which upheld the zodiac, the throne of Ormazd,—which subsequently characterized the dreams of Ezekiel, and the visions of St. John, and were finally assumed as the symbols of the Evangelists.

With respect to the other mythical figures which appear in the sculptures and cylinders, it is not improbable that the man with the goat in his arms signified the constellation of Capricorn, and the newly discovered fish-god that of Pisces. This is in a manner confirmed by the Assyrian cylinder described by Mr. Layard (Second Expedition, p. 343), where the fish-god is represented as performing a religious ceremony before the sacred tree, and looking up to a figure of the sun, in the shape of the winged all-seeing eye of Bel or Ormazd. This is probably the celebration of the day on which the sun entered the constellation of Pisces. The figure of the fish-god exactly corresponds with the description of Oannes, the man-fish, which came out of the Red Sea to instruct the Chaldæans :—"Atque, e Rubro Mare

[1] When on Al Sirat's arch I stood,
Which totters o'er the fiery flood,
With Paradise within my view,
And all its houris beckoning through."—Byron.

[2] Vide Wilkinson's Egypt.

emersisse, ait horrendam quondam belluam cui nomen Oannes. Eamque toto quidem corpore piscem fuisse, verum sub capite piscis aliud caput oppositum, et in cauda pedes ad instar hominis, et loquelam humanæ similem. Ejusque imaginem ad hunc usque diem delineatam superesse." It is certainly very curious that after 3000 years this monster should have issued again, not from the depths of the sea, but the depths of the earth, to confirm the traditions of Chaldæa, and the veracity of Berosus; and perhaps to enlighten us as to the original form of the constellation of Pisces.[1]

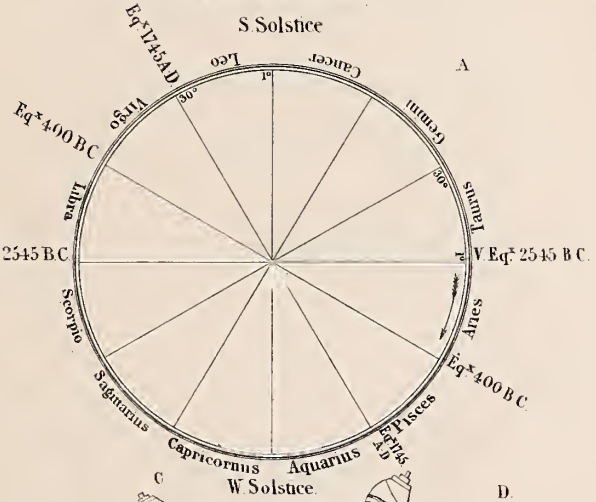
It will probably be found hereafter that all the names of the gods found on the Nimroud Tablets and on other inscriptions, will prove, on further inquiry, to be the names of other constellations, stars, or planets, which were chosen as the guardian angels of nations, kings, or individuals.

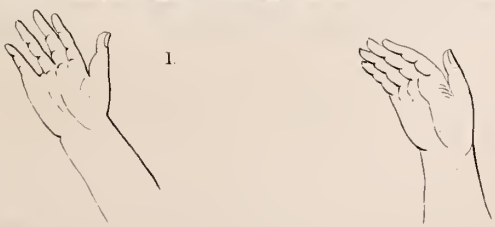
The so-called mystic tree, which forms such a conspicuous object on the sculptures, should not pass unnoticed. (See Plate IV. Fig. E.) It appears on the dresses of the kings and priests, on the harness of the horses, and on the walls of palaces. It is generally found on cylinders surrounded by priests and winged figures, who are performing some religious ceremony before the sun, moon, or stars. Sometimes the hawk-headed figure, or the winged-man, is to be observed offering a fir-cone to the tree, having several cones already upon it. Some trees have five-leaved rosettes, without any fir-cone. Others have pomegranates; and others acorns at the end of their branches. Some have a single row of leaves; some a double row. The number of rosettes, or leaves, varies considerably,—five, seven, nine, eleven, twelve, thirteen. In the double trees some have twenty-nine in the outer row or arch, and sixteen in the inner one. The cones appear in some to be fixed on the end of branches which have moveable hinges. It certainly does not resemble any earthly tree; but it is possible it may represent a celestial one. It has evidently some astronomical meaning, as the winged circle is generally seen hovering above; or the new moon and some stars are observed stationed around it. It seems probable that they are orreries,[2] showing the month, or the day, or the season which is being celebrated by the winged figures, who officiate as priests on the occasion. The inner circle may represent the months

[1] In the Egyptian Zodiac, constructed by the second Hermes, the figure of Dagon, half-man and half-fish, is inserted in the place of Pisces. Vide Kircher.

[2] Landseer was of opinion that the "asherahs" of the Jews, improperly translated "groves," were a kind of orrery for determining the position of the planets. Josephus states, that the seven branches of the great candlestick in the Temple, symbolized the seven planets.

Diagram
of the Position of the Equinoxes & Solstices
at different Periods.





R.E. Bowler del et lith

or lunar mansions, and the outer, the days of the solar months. It is to be remarked that the cones never exceed thirty.

In the Dabistan, (Vol. i., page 60) it is stated: "The ancient Persians, after offering prayers to the self-existent Creator, repeated benedictions to the seven planets, particularly on their days. After this, the worshipper recites praises of the guardian of the month, and those of the days of the month." It is not improbable that the Assyrians had the same custom; and that these are the ceremonies which we observe the priests performing before the mystic tree. The fir-cone or other fruit, presented by the priests, are probably symbolical of the month or day then being added to the year or zodiacal tree. (See Plate IV. Fig. E.)

The Cabalists[1] represented the tree of life as marked with emblems of the Zodiac, and as bearing twelve fruits.

Ezekiel also says of the tree of life: "it shall bring forth new fruits according to its months." St. John, in the Apocalypse, repeats the same idea.—"There were trees of life which bare twelve manner of fruits, yielding their fruit every month." It is curious that the Druids had also a tree of life, called the "Yggdrassil," or "the ash-tree of life,"—the symbol of the earth watered by the Fates. The Assyrian and Jewish tree, however, was the symbol of the heavens, the leaves whereof were the stars, and the months or zodiacal signs, the fruits. The position of the hands of the priests, while worshipping before the tree, is very similar, if not identical with some of the twenty-four Moodras, described by Mrs. S. C. Belnos, in her work entitled the "Sundya," or "Prayers offered to the Sun by the Brahmins." In Plate 5, for instance, the Moodras called "Moosti" and "Moodgar," (see Plate V. Figs. B. and E.) are similar to the position of hands in Plate 6, of Layard's "Monuments of Nineveh" (see Plate V. Figs. C. and D.); and those called "Pulla" and "Singhakrantee" (see Plate V. Figs. I and J.) resemble those in Plates 7 and 37 of Layard. (See Plate V. Figs. F. G. H.)

The winged circles and winged eyes which are frequently placed above the sacred tree, and seem to form the principal object of adoration to the priest and winged figures beneath, are not unworthy of our attention. They resemble so closely the winged globes over the portals of the Egyptian temples that it is difficult not to admit the identity of their origin. In Persia, they probably signified at first, "Time without bounds,"—"Zarua Akerene," described in the Zend-

[1] Sir W. Drummond, quoted by Landseer, p. 282.

avesta, as "the ever-soaring bird,"[1] the creator of Ormazd and Ahriman. A winged circle, which has neither beginning nor end, but appears to be ever soaring onward, was a not inappropriate emblem of eternity. Father Time, however, being a mere abstraction, to whom as little worship appears to have been offered by the ancient Magi as by the modern Parsis, it is probable that the winged circle came to be considered the symbol of Ormazd, the active creator and source of all good; and sometimes, perhaps, as the symbol of the sun, which was considered the eye of Ormazd. In Egypt, the winged disc appears to have represented the sun under the name of "Hut," or "Agathodemon."[2] It is very remarkable that Osiris was also the son of Time, called "Seb," "the father of the Gods." In like manner the Greeks considered Jupiter to be the son of Kronos (Time), though, as with the Persians and Egyptians, nearly all power and worship was monopolised by the son.[3] So, in India, no adoration is paid to Brahma, but only to Vishnu and Siva.[4] The sign of "Seb" was a goose, like the Vahan of Brahma, whose symbol is Time. May not "Seb" be the same as "Siva," who is thought by some[5] to mean Time, and who is also called "Seo," or "Seb"?

Berosus, in his account of the deluge in Mesopotamia, which is obviously the same tradition,[6] somewhat modified, as that recorded in Genesis, mentions that Xisuthrus was warned in a dream of the approaching flood by Kronos;[7] and as in another place he calls the Deity who separated the light from the darkness, and created all living creatures, by the name of Bel, it seems probable that Bel was considered by the Babylonians to be the son of Kronos. Whether the Assyrians had a similar myth we do not yet know; but it is not

[1] "Thou from the first
Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread,
Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss,
And mad'st it pregnant."—Milton.

[2] Bunsen, p. 497.

[3] Diogenes Laertius (in Prœmio) says, that Aristotle declared that Jove was identical with Ormazd, and Pluto with Ahriman. Quoted by Volney, p. 61, vol. v.

[4] The Preserver and Destroyer. May not this be another version of Ormazd and Ahriman?

[5] Bentley.

[6] It is worthy of remark, that the Chaldæan tradition of Berosus limits the deluge to the valley of the Euphrates, which is more in conformity with the conclusions of geologists than the account in Genesis. The Persians have no tradition of any deluge.

[7] The Chaldæan name of "Kronos" is not given either by Syncellus or Eusebius, in their respective traditions.

unlikely that Assarac, or Assur,[1] may prove to be the son of the "Ancient of Days," like Ormazd, Bel, Osiris, and Jupiter. If so, the conclusion seems inevitable that all these religions had one common origin, though modified in details according to the language, locality, and idiosyncrasy of different nations; but whether that origin is to be traced to the banks of the Nile, the Euphrates, or the Tigris, or to the remoter hills of Media and Bactria, is a problem not easily solved.

Speculations of the nature in which I have above indulged, may be thought to be more curious than profitable. The history of the past has little attraction for those who are engaged in the struggles of the present. But to some, who have leisure for such pursuits, it may not be uninteresting to inquire, what the "wise men of the East" may have thought and done 3000 years ago, when the world was comparatively young, standing, as it were, at the half-way house between to-day and the creation of man;—to read the primitive writings on the marbles of Nineveh, which contain perhaps the first records of history;—to watch the early efforts of the sculptor, which gave the first impulse to art;—to learn what were the traditions of Asia, at that early period, as to the origin and destiny of the human race; and what notions were then entertained as to a creator and governor of the universe.

I have feebly endeavoured to explain some of the Assyrian myths: where I have failed, I trust that others will be more successful. At any rate, my failures may serve as sign-posts, pointing out to the future traveller the road to be avoided, and perhaps suggestive of the right path to be followed to reach the desired terminus of truth.

[1] M. Burnouf, in his Commentaire sur le Yaçna, p. 71, says, that the true reading of Ormazd is "Ahura-mazda" or "the great Ahura;" and that M. Bopp, has stated that Ahura is a regular transformation of the Sanskrit "Asura." If so, the god of Nineveh and the god of Persia may be identical, differing only in the pronunciation of the name. It is remarkable, that one of the names of God among the British Druids was "Al Adur," the glorious.—Davies' Mythology p. 528.

Art. IX.—*On the Muhammedan Science of Tábír, or Interpretation of Dreams.* *By* N. Bland, Esq., M.R.A.S.

[*Read March 5th*, 1853.]

The subject of Dreams has invited the inquiry of science in many ages and countries. A phenomenon of such frequent occurrence in connection with one of the ordinary functions of the animal economy could not fail to interest men of all classes and temperaments. To develop its theory as a mechanical working of the brain in sleep, or a secret energy of the mind during the temporary inaction of the bodily powers, equally forms a part of physics and of metaphysics; but, further than this, the association of dreams with objects and events having no immediate affinity with the waking thoughts, pursuits, or interests of the dreamer, thus seeming to indicate a sense of things to come, has led inquirers, with more or less of superstitious belief, to rely upon this as a species of foreknowledge within the reach of all, even of ungifted persons. Mankind, naturally anxious for direction in their worldly undertakings beyond the limits of human wisdom, studied every mode of possessing that information which might be supposed attainable by mysterious agency, and, in addition to the less permissible means of sorcery and divination, have endeavoured to obtain the desired instruction from observation of their sleeping thoughts, and even to reduce this process to a system. It would be out of place here to follow the history of such a system through the classical ages to our own times, and to show its prevalence in all the countries of Europe; the present object being only to trace its limits according to oriental definition. In our own country the belief in dreams, and in the power of interpreting them, varying with the progress of education, and modified by other influences, has, since the last century, become almost extinct, until revived lately, under new forms, in the more fashionable theories of a modern school of philosophy, in the uncertain jugglings of the Mesmeric art, the misty delusions of Clairvoyance, and the vagaries of Somnambulism.

For the earliest records of dreams, both in practice and as a science, we must look to the East, that part of the world from which have been spread alike the earliest lights of knowledge and the first shadows of superstition; and it is in the pages of the Mosaic history that we must seek for such records in their very highest antiquity. We find there examples of dreams of the most awful importance—

dreams through which were conveyed revelations of the Supreme Being for the protection and guidance of His creatures, and denunciations against unbelievers, or those who offended against His law. In all these instances the sacred dignity of dreams is asserted by the evidence of their being direct communications from on high; for, from the early history of the family of Abraham down to the birth of our Saviour; from Genesis to the Gospel; from the admonition to Abimelech down to the warnings and advice given to Joseph, the husband of Mary; it is always the voice of the Deity himself speaking either in His own image or by one of His angels, and though some passages of Scripture would appear to condemn the science of dream-interpretation, and associate its professors with the proscribed class of wizards, conjurors, and magicians, yet such, properly, apply only to its abuse in exhibiting false dreams, or in wilfully misinterpreting them; and the denunciations of Jeremiah and the prohibitions in Deuteronomy are for those only who pretended to the gifts of prophecy through dreams, to lead the people of Israel to the worship of strange gods.

After the Chaldean sages and the Wise Men of Egypt, dream-interpretation continued to be exercised in all parts of the East down to the time of Muhammed; and his ordinances, so far from abolishing this, with many other of the ante-Islamic superstitions, confirmed its authenticity as a revelation of the Divine decrees, and the sacredness of its character was sealed by the declaration that "Dreams are a portion of prophecy."[1] The practice and precepts of Muhammed

[1] The saying, in full, is thus:— الرويا جزو من ستة واربعين جزء من النبوة "Dreams constitute one of the forty-six portions of the prophetic mission." Muhammed was forty years old when he first received inspiration, between which time and the age of sixty-three, when he died, were twenty-three years; during this interval, whatever he desired was communicated to him in dreams. This is the explanation given of the saying, though the double of twenty-three, forty-six, is expressed in the text. Probably from this difficulty, it appears, when quoted, in many forms, and seldom correctly, as 20, 40, and more frequently 23. In the Mishkát it is curtailed to "Good dreams are one of the parts of prophecy" (from Anas).

It is to be observed, that the chapters relating to dreams in that collection of tradition are extremely scanty and unsatisfactory, the greater part being taken up in the relation of one single dream of Muhammed's, and his own sayings on the subject being few and unimportant. This is the more to be regretted, as those which are found in the native works on Tâbír, especially of Persian writers, are never to be depended on for accuracy; in the present quotation, for example, ستة sometimes is written السنة and سنة "a portion of Sunnah;" leaving the number, forty, quite incapable of being explained.

In the Netáïj, as quoted in the Encyclopædische Uebersicht, a much more

himself, of his companions and their followers, contribute largely to the traditions on the subject. Allusions to dreams and their interpretation are nearly as abundant in the pages of the Curán as in those of Holy Writ; and the skill of Joseph, as exercised in the prison and at the court of the Pharaoh of Egypt, is related in a chapter, declared, from inspiration, to be "the most beautiful of narratives."[1] The very infancy of Muhammedanism is identified with the history of this belief; for (even rejecting the less orthodox theory which attributes to a night-vision the *Mâráj*, or miraculous ascent), the earliest announcement of Muhammed's mission, and the revelation of the first portion of the Curán which was made known to him, were in a dream; while a similar mode of communication cheered the disheartened partizans of Islám in the expedition to Hudaibiyah, by the promise of their triumphant entry, in the following year, into "the holy temple" of Mecca.[2]

Without collecting the numerous sayings of Muhammed from their various sources of tradition, mere reference to the Mishkát ul Masábih alone will show the importance the Prophet attached to dreams and their signification. He used each morning to ask his disciples what they had dreamed in the night, interpret or reject their communications, according to their soundness or unsoundness, and relate his own dreams. One, in particular, of very great length, with its interpretation, is recorded in the Mishkát.[3] By another dream, equally attributed to him, the Sunnís justify the still-disputed rights of his three first successors; and the origin of a strife, political and religious, which convulsed the whole Muhammedan empire and threatened its destruction, and which still divides the followers of Islám by a schismatic and irreconcilable hatred, is founded on a revelation made to its founder in his sleep.

In all subsequent periods the same influence was powerfully exercised over the Muhammedan rulers, by encouraging them in enterprise, or warning them against calamity. Thus, Omar the Khalif was warned of his approaching end, by a white cock thrice pecking him

exact explanation is given of the tradition; viz. that the forty-sixth part of prophecy means the first six months of Muhammed's inspiration, in which he received Divine communications through dreams, previously to the more open revelations made to him in the person of the angel Gabriel; these six months being the forty sixth part of the twenty-three years of Muhammed's mission as above. The explanation I have quoted is from the Kámil ul Rúyá.

[1] Ch. xii.

[2] Cur. ch. xlviii. 27.

[3] In the translation published at Calcutta by Captain Matthews, Vol. II., in which chapter iv. of the 22nd book treats of traditions on dreams.

with its beak, the manner of his death being verified in the number of stabs he received from the hand of Fírúz; and it is probable, the colour of the bird (white) also symbolized the nation of the assassin.[1] The well-known story of the arm holding a handful of red earth, which appeared to Hárún in a dream at Raccah, indicating the place of his death, is perhaps one of the most romantic of numerous instances of the kind. His son Amín's fear of the encroaching power of the Tahirite family is said to have been derived by him from a warning in sleep; and it is recorded of Mutadhad, one of his later descendants, the sixteenth Khalif of the Beni Abbás, that his whole reign was troubled with dreams of various import. The commencement of new and powerful dynasties, and the birth of men destined to convulse the world by revolution and conquest, have been thus announced. The advent of the Muhammedan apostle and the consequent fall of the Pagan power were disclosed in a dream to Khusru, one of the last of the Sasanians. A flame of fire, spreading over heaven and earth, foretold to the obscure father of the first three Buwaihide princes the foundation of the glory of his family; and the radiant stars in the dream of the Moghul Kachúli Behádur predicted the birth of his descendant Tímúr, and the devastating influence of the empire of Chengíz Khán and his successors.[2]

It is not surprising that a principle, involving, as was believed, the prescience of great events, and controlling so powerfully the decisions and actions of the most enlightened princes, should have invited attention to its study, and that its professors should have been encouraged and rewarded. Dream-interpreters, accordingly, were in as high favour at the courts of the Muhammedan princes, as the Chaldæan sages had been with the rulers of Babylon and Assyria, or the soothsayer Aristander with the Macedonian conqueror. An example of munificence in the rewards which were bestowed on the interpreter, even for a single instance of his skill, especially if displayed in the successful announcement of a prosperous event, is shown in the Khalif Al Mehdi, who is said to have dreamed that his face was black; an omen which caused him much alarm on waking. None of those he consulted were able to explain its import, till he was advised to apply to Ibrahím ben Abdallah Kírmáni, who was considered to have more experience and skill than all others, and who foretold him that he

[1] The dream is alluded to in the life of this Khalif in Hammer-Purgstall's Gemäldesaal, Vol. I., p. 289.

[2] Similar announcements were made by dreams to Actia, the mother of Augustus; Arlotta, the mother of William of Normandy; of the birth of Cyrus; and in more modern history, those of Scanderbeg and of St. Bernard.

should be the father of a female child. Mehdi gave him a thousand pieces of silver for converting a supposed evil omen into good, and that same day a daughter was born to the Khalif, who thereupon presented the successful expounder of his dream with ten thousand dirhems more. The interpretation was according to this passage of the Curán, ch. xvi. v. 60: "And when any of them is told the news of the birth of a female, his face becometh black, and he is deeply afflicted;" and another similar, xciii. 16.

The art itself, dignified as a science, took its place among the higher orders of natural philosophy, under the name of *'Ilm ul Tábír*,[1] or the Science of Dream-Interpretation, and its study gave rise to numerous Tâbír Námehs, or Dream Books, in which the nature of sleep and dreams, the rules for their interpretation, and the import of their various objects, are discussed with all the analytical minuteness which distinguishes the Encyclopediacs of Eastern nations. Such works are found in all the principal Muhammedan languages, the Arabic, the Persian, the Turkish, and the Hindustani. Even as the result of a search of rather limited extent, the notices in Háji Khalfah, and the references in the few native Tâbír Námehs accessible, with

[1] In the encyclopediac arrangement of Muhammedan sciences, *Tábír*, Dream-interpretation, is classed with Medicine. The technical terms are few, and are so simple as to obtain their explanation as they occur. *Tábír* تعبير from which the science is called, is Interpretation of Dreams, from عبر; from which root also *Ibárat* عبارة of similar signification, and *Muábbir* معبّر an interpreter of dreams, or dream-expounder; words for which we have no specific terms in English, as, in German, Traumauslegung, Traumausleger, Traumauslegungskunst; and in Greek, Oneirokrites, Oneiromanteia, &c. *Táwíl*, تاويل equivalent to *Tábír*, is also Dream-interpretation, and in some places is used for its fulfilment or verification by the occurrence of the event predicted in it. *Ahkám*, *Ahlám*, *Azghás*, &c., the various kinds of dreams, are explained in their places. The most general term, in Persiau, is *Kh'áb* خواب signifying also sleep; and, in Arabic, *Rúya* رويا *Manám* منام *Wákiáh* واقعة used also in Persian; also *Máámalah*, معاملة of rare occurrence in this sense, but employed almost exclusively so in Tipú's Dream Book. It is remarkable that no verb in Persian or Arabic specially signifies "to dream;" راي في المنام and در خواب ديدن to see in sleep, being used instead, similar to the Russian Vidéte vo sné. In Turkish گوتمش that which was seen (in sleep) and دوش a dream, دوشمك to dream, and دوشده گورمك to see in sleep, are the most usual expressions. Hindustani خواب ديكهنا.

some other sources, afford us a list of nearly eighty of such works, with more or less of information concerning their authors and the time of their composition. An idea may be formed of the laborious diligence employed in such compilations, and of the attention paid to the study, by mentioning one work, the Tâbír ul Cádiri, in which are given six hundred examples of dream-interpretation, selected from seven thousand five hundred authorities. Some of these works are also in verse, for the Easterns, deeming no subject unworthy of the graces of poetry, have either versified prose treatises in all branches of science, or have composed original didactic poems on them. Of such poems, on the present subject, Háji Khalfah mentions two; one in Persian, though written by a Turkish poet, Fettáhi of Nísháphr; the other, in the Turkish language, by Shihábuddín Ahmed ben Muhammed Ibn Arabsháh, metricized from the Tâbír ul Cádiri, already mentioned.

Among the authorities cited by Eastern writers, we find the name of Daniel, the prophet of the Sacred Scriptures, whose inspired powers have made him rank with the Muhammedans as one of their earliest and greatest writers on dreams. It is probable that a work bearing his name may exist, either by a Muhammedan author, or perhaps translated from some apocryphal Hebrew or Chaldee treatise attributed, though falsely, to him. The quotations are as of the *Usúl*, or Fundamental Laws (of the science of dreams), and evidently it is referred to as a book, *Kitábu 'l Usúl li Dániáli 'l Hakím*. He is styled also, in such quotations, *Hezrati Díniál*, His Excellency or Highness, a title only applied to the great saints of Islam, to Adam, Moses, Jesus, &c., and to Muhammed; and the usual blessing on the higher order of prophets is added to his name. In one place, indeed, he is distinctly called Paighamber, Prophet.[1]

Of less questionable existence is the Kitáb ul Tacsím of Jâfar Sádic, the Sixth Imam. The Imam Jâfar wrote on many of the occult sciences, but his Tacsím does not appear to be noticed by his biographers.

Probably the oldest author on these subjects is Muhammed Abu Bekr ben Sírín, commonly known as Ibn Sírín, a physician of Basrah, who flourished under the Umayyads, and died in the year 110 of the Hijrah (A.D. 728). Ibn Khallikán gives a very incomplete account of his life, but an excellent notice of him is found in that extraordinary monument of Oriental learning and labour, Baron Hammer-

[1] D'Herbelot observes on the subject of works on Tâbír, "Il y en a même un qui porte le titre de *Ossoul Daniel*, comme si le Prophète Daniel en etoit l'auteur;" alluding, probably, to the vague notice in Haji Khalfah.

Purgstall's Geschichte der arabischen Literatur.[1] The following passage of that work, under the head of "Traumausleger," of the next period of history, may aptly connect the earlier literature of *Tâbír* with that which I shall describe later.

"Under the Abbasides, in Harún's and Mámún's reigns, lived several learned dream-expounders; one of these was, probably, the anonymous author of the Khabar ul Mámúní, on the Science of Tâbír; and to the same period may be referred the Arabic oneirocritical works, bearing the names of Aristotle, Plato, Euclid, Ptolemy, and Galen."[2]

It is probable, however, that among the numerous translations from Greek authors, especially those on science, encouraged by the earlier and more enlightened rulers of the Abbasian dynasty, Oneiromantics may have had a considerable share, in connection with Medicine. Artemidorus and Porphyrius are distinctly alluded to by name, though not usually cited as authorities in any Muhammedan Tâbír Námeh, preference being naturally given to writers in their own language and of their own religion; but medical treatises of Galen and Hippocrates are frequently quoted on the subject, and the resemblance in system and arrangement, and even the identity of particular interpretations, is obvious from a comparison with Artemidorus alone.[3]

The native works principally used on the present occasion are the Kitáb ul Tâbír of Ibn Shâhín; the Kámil ul Tâbír; the Tâbíri Sultáni, and the Kh'áb Námehi Yúsuf; the articles on Ilm ul Tâbír, in the great Encyclopedia, Nafáïs ul Funún, and in the scarcer compendium of sciences of Abú Bekr Ibn Rází; Cazwíní's Âjáïb ul Makhlúcát, and the very rare composition of the same name, by Ahmed Túsí; all, except the first, Persian.

The Kámil ul Tâbír, or Complete Dream Book, was arranged by Abú'l Fazl Husain Ibn Ibrahím ben Muhammed al Tiflísí, for the

[1] In the Class of Traditionists, *Ueberlieferer*, vol. ii. p. 129, no. 397; and again as *Mystiker*, p. 176.

[2] Mentioned by Háji Khalfah. Nos. 3061-2-3-4-6 of Flügel's edition.

[3] Of a long series of Greek writers on this subject, the most celebrated and by far the best is Artemidorus Daldianus, of Daldis in Asia Minor, who lived in the time of the Roman emperor Antoninus Pius. He is also the authority most frequently named by Arabian writers on Tâbír, and the resemblance of the two systems is the most strongly traced in his writings. An excellent notice of his Oneirocritica is given in the chapter on dreams, in a very interesting work by the Rev. H. Christmas, which bears the ingenious, though rather fanciful title of "The Cradle of the Twin Giants." Apparently, the edition of Artemidorus consulted by the learned author was not accompanied by the so-called Greek and Latin version of Ibn Sírín's Oneirocritics, a comparison with which would, no doubt, not have escaped his attention.

Atábeg Kilij Arslán Ibn Masúd. According to the usual phrase of compilers in all languages and countries, he had found no satisfactory treatise on his subject, among those published before him, describing each dream separately, under its own head. He gives as authorities a list of more than twenty works, and justifies the title of his own, as "the most complete of all books of the kind in Persian;" and it may, indeed, be considered to be the best with which we are acquainted in that language. Fifteen sections treat, rather illogically as to arrangement, of the nature of the various kinds of dreams, and their rules of interpretation. The sixteenth section contains nearly one thousand subjects of dreams, in alphabetical order, but with no other classification; and the prolegomena are by far more valuable than that portion which was the author's principal object in writing a new work, and which formed the theme of his self-gratulation. In the preface he alludes to two other compositions of his, of similar nature; Kifáyat ul Tibb, in which he says he had more fully explained the nature of sleep and dreaming, and Simár ul Máïl, apparently metaphysical, to which he refers for his definition of the terms, *Rúh*, soul, and *Nefs*, mind.

The Tâbíri Sultání is so named from being dedicated to Sultan Abúl Fawáris Sháh Shujáâ, of the Muzaffar family, for whom it was written in 763 (A.D. 1362), by Ismâíl Ben Nizámuddín, who was Cází of Abercoh. He mentions the Kámil, besides two other works, as his principal authority, and, indeed, chiefly follows it in his treatment of the subject, and in the arrangement, which is alphabetical.

The small, compendious treatise, Kh'áb Námehi Yúsuf, "The Dream Book of Yúsuf," is, no doubt, called so as an attractive and appropriate title, in reference to the patriarch of dreamers and dream-expounders; but it may also, possibly, allude to its author, who may be the same quoted in other places as Yúsuf Kerdúni. An English note, on the fly-leaf of the only copy I have seen, states it to be translated from the Hebrew, but I know of nothing to support the assertion, and it was probably inferred so only from the coincidence of name with that in the Scripture narrative. It is to be observed that, although Joseph is introduced into all the Tâbír Námeh's, it is merely as an illustrious example of the practice of the art; but no Muhammedan author has had the presumption to counterfeit his name, nor to quote any supposed book of his on the subject.

By far the most valuable, though the last to be mentioned, is the great Arabic work of Khalíl Ibn Sháhín al Dháhiri, a ponderous quarto volume of more than a thousand pages. Its full title is Kitábu 'l Isháret fi îlmi 'l Ibárat, which may be translated, "The

Book of Explanation of Dream-Interpretation." [It cites thirty-one works on Tâbír, of which the titles, or the authors' names, are catalogued in the Preface,—an important contribution to the bibliography of this science.[1]

A few Fasls, or sections, commence, treating of the usual topics of discussion. The subjects for reference are divided into eighty chapters, under so many separate classes. Ibn Sháhín's Isháraṭ and the Kámil may be fairly considered the most perfect of their kind in their respective languages, and are sufficient to form a complete code of *Tábír*, from the vast body of Fetwas pronounced by the Ulema of that science on almost every possible question.

The code thus established by the Muhammedan lawgivers of Oneirocritics may be divided into these four general heads :—the different kinds of dreams; the mode of interpreting them, and time and manner of their accomplishment; the duties of the dreamer, both in obtaining true and auspicious revelations, and in the proper mode of having them explained; and lastly, the duties and qualifications of an interpreter of dreams,—a function, or branch of knowledge entitling its possessor to a very high rank among the learned in the East. The interpreter of dreams is considered by the Muhammedans to stand in the place of the prophets, and to enjoy a portion of their miraculous gifts. In all their works on the subject, Tâbír is set forth as boing a noble science, first taught by God himself to Adam, from Adam passing to Seth, and from Seth to Noah, by whom the Deluge was foretold in his explanation of a dream to Canaan's mother.[2] Joseph's name of Sádic, or the Truthful, was from his accurate knowledge of Tâbír, and Lucmán is said to have derived his wisdom, in great part, from the same source. All the prophets are enumerated in succession by Ibn Sháhín as having possessed this power, and as having dignified the science by their exercise of it. He defines Tâbír, therefore, to be "an art by which hidden things are revealed, and which is founded on divine law."

Dreams in general are divided according to their kinds, or according to their import; their kinds, as to being real and true dreams, or

[1] In Mr. Lane's Modern Egyptians it is said, the authorities most popularly consulted by the Arabs of the present day are Ibn Sháhín and Ibn Sírín, who is there stated to have been a pupil of the former. It will be seen, however, that the dates of authorities quoted by Ibn Sháhín are incompatible with such a connection.

[2] The Curán and Traditions notice several dreams connected with personages in Holy Writ, but not received by us. Thus, Pharaoh foresaw in a dream the destruction of his host in the Red Sea, and in a dream Abraham was desired to sacrifice Isaac. Cor. xxxvii. 101, &c.

deceptive and unsound. The first are called Ahkám,[1] and are considered genuine inspirations from the Deity, warnings from a protecting power, or revelations of coming events, in which the angel Gabriel exhibits to man in his sleeping state the records and ordinances inscribed on the Lauhi Mahfúz, the Recording Tablet of Fate. All others are merely phantoms and illusions, and are termed Ahlám,[1] and sometimes Azghás,[1]—a word signifying, properly, handfuls of dried grass and weeds, but applied figuratively to such dreams, probably from their resemblance in worthlessness and want of arrangement.[2] These Azghás are said to be the suggestions of some Dív or agent of Iblís, who takes an opportunity of endeavouring to lead mankind astray by pretended revelations during sleep.[3] But they are said to arise also from natural causes. Jâfar Sádic says, they occur to four classes of persons:—those of evil-disposed minds; drinkers of wine; eaters of melancholy food, as lentils, love-apples, and salt meat; and to young children; or else are suggestions of the evil spirits. Some authors admit an intermediate class, called *Mutashábih*,[4] but the grand division into sound dreams and mere idle visions in sleep, forming at the same time the most natural distinction, fairly represents all those proposed, with slight variation, by the four most esteemed authorities, Daniel, Jâfar Sádic, Ibn Sírín, and Al Kirmáni. Or, with reference to their origin, they may be divided into three kinds:—dreams inspired by God; those suggested by the whisperings of Satan; and those which are to be ascribed to natural causes.[5]

[1] اضغاث ـ احلام ـ احكام

[2] These terms were applied to Pharaoh's dream, by his interpreters, to excuse their own inability to explain it. Cur. xii. 44.

قالوا اضغاث احلام و ما نحن بتاويل الاحلام بعالمين

[3] A special arrangement of the Divine Providence, according to Muhammedan belief, prevents much of the evil which might arise from such Satanic interference. "Iblís," says Jábir Maghrabi, "though able to assume all other forms, is not permitted to appear in the semblance of the Deity, or of any of his angels or prophets, nor any of the higher order of created objects. There would otherwise be much danger to human salvation, as he might, under the appearance of one of the prophets, or of some superior being, make use of this power to seduce men to sin. To prevent this, whenever he attempts to assume such forms, fire comes down from heaven and repulses him." Tradition says: "God has created the stars for three uses;—for ornament of the heavens; for man's guidance in deserts and by sea; and to stone the Devil with." In two other traditions in the Mishkát Muhammed says that the Devil cannot assume his likeness to deceive in dreams.

[4] متشابه Perhaps the ἀλληγορικοὶ of Artemidorus?

[5] This was Muhammed's own classification, according to a tradition of Masúd Ibn Abdallah.

The Arabian doctors in their classification of dreams reject all those which proceed from the mind being pre-occupied with any engrossing idea, when it naturally summons up in sleep images of those objects which most interest it in a waking state; such is the case of a lover who beholds the beloved person in his sleep, or of a man who dreams of his profession, as the merchant, of his wares; the weaver, of his loom; the blacksmith, of iron; or the soldier, of arms;[1] in like manner one who imagines himself surrounded by snow and ice, and, when waking, finds himself lying without covering, or with the door open; this dreaming of his is the natural effect of the sensation of cold, and has therefore no ground for interpretation. So also if he dream of heat, or that he is sitting exposed to the sun, and on waking finds himself with much clothes wrapped about him; or that he cries out with pain, and on waking finds he is in actual bodily suffering; all these have a natural cause, and admit not of interpretation. The dreams of him who sleeps fasting, and seems to be hungry or eating; or who, being thirsty in sleep, dreams of drinking, are equally to be accounted Ahlám and Azghás, and have no origin beyond a natural one.[2] Such by the Greek writers were called ενυπνιον, Insomnium, merely indicating present feelings; the others being ονειρος, Somnium, and alone betokening the future; which two definitions fairly correspond with those of Ahlám and Ahkám.

The images occurring in sleep are said to vary according to the four temperaments of man; thus he of the Yellow or Bilious temperament sees all fire, and lamps, and candles, and warmth in his dreaming; he of a Black or Melancholy temperament, labours under terrors of darkness, of serpents, scorpions, and poisonous objects; if he be of a White or Aqueous temperament, he beholds rivers and seas, snow, moisture, ice, and waters; and if of the Red or Sanguine, gardens, pastures and orchards, and scented herbs, objects of pleasure and enjoyment; or, from a similar association, bleeding, cupping, and objects connected with the blood. This is identical with the theory of Hippocrates.

With regard to their import, Daniel divides dreams, generally, into those showing the true state of passing events, and those which foretel the result of man's undertakings; and these two classes, further, into

[1] "A dream cometh from the multitude of business."—Ecclesiastes, ch. ii. v. 3.

[2] Thus Nicephorus—

Ψευδεις ονειρους κοιλιας δηλει γομος
Πολλη ποσις τε και καρωσις ακρατου
Και φροντιδων ζοφωσις και φρενων γνοφος.

dreams commanding, *Kh'ábi amr;* those prohibitive or warning, *Kh'ábi zájir;* influencing and commanding, *Munzir,* as advice; and *Bashír,*[1] those conveying good news. There is also, in the Mishkát, the term *Mubashirát,* explained in a tradition by Abu Hurairah, to be "good dreams."

The truthfulness of all these, however, depends much on the time when they occur. Those occurring in the day are more to be relied on than those of the night; and, in all cases, the nearer to day-time the better. "The truest dream is about daybreak." (Mishkát.) Also as to seasons; in spring and summer they are truer than in autumn and winter; strongest at the coming-in of fruits, weakest at the fall of the leaf; but these conditions are more fully explained later, in treating of the manner of interpretation, in which the importance of such considerations is especially insisted on.

To proceed, however, to the more practical parts of Tábír, and, first, of the duties of the Dreamer,—for the Dreamer has his duties as well as the Interpreter of Dreams, and on his observance of the rules laid down for him depends, in great measure, the auspicious nature, as well as soundness of his dreams; as much as their proper interpretation depends also on his accuracy of memory, clearness of description, and truthfulness in narration. To obtain a fortunate dream, one which will exhibit the object desired, or impart the necessary information, he is desired to attend especially to his position in sleeping, which should be lying on his right side, and in that attitude he should compose himself when preparing for rest. Should illness or pain, or any accidental circumstance, make it inconvenient to lie on that side, he may lie on his left, or on his back, or even on his stomach, and these positions are to be preferred in that order. According to Ibn Sírín, indeed, dreams only when lying on the right side are sound, and in all other postures, illusive. Before retiring to rest he should have observed strictly the Ghusl and Wuzu (ablution), and have recited certain portions of the Curán, especially chapters 91, 92, and 95, those commencing, "By the Sun and its rising brightness;" "By the Night when it covereth all things with darkness;" and "By the Fig, and the Olive, and Mount Sinai;"[2] and say thus: "O Lord, I fly for refuge unto Thee from the evil of unsound dreams, and from the artifices of Satan in sleeping and in waking;" or, according to other authorities, the following beautiful prayer: "O Lord, I have confided my soul to Thee, its fears and its longings;

[1] خواب امر ـ زاجر ـ منذر ـ بشير

[2] The 109th, 112th, 113th, and 114th Súrahs are also recommended.

there is no refuge or asylum from Thee, except with Thee; Blessed and exalted be our Lord! Thou art rich, and we are poor. To Thee we look for pardon, and to Thee belongeth repentance. O Lord, I fly from Thee unto Thee" (from Thy judgments to Thy mercies). "Make us to behold, this day, dreams that shall be true, and not lying ones; sound, and not deceitful; rejoicing, not afflicting; beneficial, and not injurious."

Much depends on the state of his body and his mind. His health should be good, and he is cautioned against excess in food before sleeping, for the stomach from fulness causes the brain to be obscured with vapours, the thoughts become disturbed, and troubled visions arise, which are difficult to remember so as to obtain their proper explanation. Nor should the subject be perfectly fasting, but so as neither to be satiated nor hungry.[1]

An Arab once began to relate his dream to the Prophet in such a confused manner, that he asked him what he had eaten the evening before. The Arab said he had supped on a large quantity of cooked dates, and Muhammed declared his dream to be unsound, and incapable of being expounded.

If the person has had an auspicious dream, he should return thanks for it on waking, and pray, and give a voluntary alms-offering, and then repair to a Muâbbir, or interpreter, for its explanation. Should it have been of bad omen, or he be in fear of the result, let him repeat three times the Áyatĭ Kursí, or Throne Verse (the 256th of the second chapter of the Curán), and say thus: "I fly for refuge to the God of Mńsă, of Isă, and of Abraham, from the evil of the dream that I have dreamed, lest it hurt me in my faith in this world, and in my dealings with the next; Holy and Blessed art Thou, and there is no God but Thou!" Or else the well-known short formula to avert evil: "I take refuge with God who is great, from Satan the accursed." "God is he who seeth and knoweth," from the Throne Verse; with the Fátihah. After that he should perform two Rekaahs of prayer and bestow alms, and the evil apprehended will pass away. It may be remarked that the Jews also use a certain prayer to avert

[1] The Greek system prescribes a similar preparation, in order to obtain auspicious and lucid dreams.

Αρχε προ παντων και παθων και κοιλιας
Και δακρυα στεναξον εκ των ομματων
Ευχας προπεμπων εξ ολης της καρδιας
Και χειρας αιρων τω Θεω και δεσποτῃ
Οτε προς υπνον ως βροτος νευσαι θελῃς.

Niceph. Constant.

such evil consequences, and they have besides the custom of spitting thrice over their left shoulder, and this last is equally a precept in Muhammedan tradition, though not mentioned generally in Tâbír Námehs. Many of the Jewish observances on this subject strongly resemble those of the Musulmans, though others differ materially.

After thanksgiving, and prayer, and alms, let the dreamer set out, with a cheerful manner and smiling countenance, and address himself to the Muâbbir, or interpreter. Let the application be made at a proper hour, and on a fortunate day; neither at night nor in the evening, nor at the rising or setting of the sun, nor in weather when rain, or snow, or clouds prevail. The best time is the morning, before noon, as in all arrangements connected with these objects. He should be careful to consult only a good man, a friend, or one who is at least a well-wisher to him; one who will not flatter, nor wilfully misinterpret, nor tell one man's secret to another. The inquiry should be made of him in private, and especially not in the presence of women, children, enemies, or envious persons; or, according to another author, women, fools, enemies, or persons of irreligious habits. It is good also to address himself to one whom he has consulted on previous occasions. It is strongly enjoined on all Believers to seek an early interpretation of their dreams, and not to remain in ignorance of the predictions contained in them; so as to benefit by the joy which good tidings would produce, or, if there be evil, to take warning and guard against it.[1]

In his narrative the greatest accuracy and truthfulness should be observed, neither adding nor diminishing in aught, so that the interpreter may possess the means of giving the proper explanation, and that he may himself not commit the sin of lying against divine inspiration. Severe penalties are declared against those who shall in any way falsify their statement, dreams being held to be a covenant between God and man; and Muhammed, in condemning such deceit, has said: "He who would lye, in relating his dreams, for his own honour or advantage, the same would lye also to the Prophet, and for such, Paradise is not;" and also: "Whoever shall tell a dream, not having dreamed, shall be put to the trouble, at the day of resurrection, of joining two barleycorns, and he can by no means do it, and he will be punished."

It is necessary, indeed, that he should be an habitual truth-teller, for one notorious for falsehood would, naturally, not be believed in his

[1] This seems rather at variance with the Muhammedan doctrine of predestination; but the evil is intended to be averted by prayer, &c.

narrative. On this principle, some authorities exclude astronomers from the benefit of having their dreams expounded, as being themselves unworthy of belief; and the same prohibition is extended to poets, that unfortunate class, which, labouring under the censure of the Prophet and denounced by him in the Curán, pay the penalty of their exuberant flights of imagination by credence being denied even to its wanderings during sleep. It was a saying of the Prophet that "The more truthful the man, the truer the dream."

The duties of the interpreter are much more onerous than those of the dreamer, as, from the sacred nature of his office in communicating between God and man, and fulfilling a trust which has been reposed also on the most exalted of the prophets, high qualifications of virtue and learning are required of him. He must be a good, pious, holy man, steadfast in prayer, constantly invoking the Divine assistance in directing him, and assiduous in all the duties of religion, especially in reading the Curán. He should have many acquirements particularly adapted to his art, as knowledge of Zajar and Fál (augury from birds, and divination from other omens), for the purpose of interpreting in some peculiar cases which require such assistance. He should be intimately acquainted with *Tefsír* (explanation of the Curán), as many interpretations are derived from passages in it; also with the Traditions (Akhbári Mustafá), which abound in opinions and decisions on the subject. He should have his memory stored with Arabic and Persian proverbs and current sayings, rare poems and fragments; and possess an accurate knowledge of language in all its niceties of signification,—an accomplishment which will be shown to be useful, when treating more particularly of Interpretation.[1] He should also be of gentle and polite manners, uniting tact and judgment, and able to exercise them in distinguishing the characters and conditions of his applicants, and in directing them in their narration; for it is understood that the gift of prophesying from dreams is given only to those persons who possess such qualifications, but refused to all those who, in undertaking to interpret, rely on their own human powers, or on any assistance but that which is divine Ibn Sírín is said to have combined all the necessary qualifications both of learned accomplishments and of sanctity and dignity of behaviour, and was considered a model for dream interpreters.

When applied to, it is usual for the Muâbbir to say: "To us be all the good (to be derived from this dream), and on our enemies be the evil!" In the Kh'áb Námehi Yúsuf, the following

[1] Artemidorus states also the qualifications necessary for an interpreter of dreams, but they are not so rigidly exacted by his rules.

course is prescribed to him before entering on his interrogatory. He is to commence by two Rekaahs of prayer, and in the first, after the Fátihah, he is to repeat the Throne Verse once, and the 94th chapter ("Hast thou not opened our breast?" &c.) three times; and in the second Rekaah, after the Fátihah, the verse, "Whoso feareth God, unto him will He grant a happy issue out of his afflictions," (xciv. 2) three times, and the Ikhlás (ch. cxii.) five times. Having finished praying, he should bow his head in Sajdah three times, and say twelve times, "O Lord, reveal unto us the interpretation of this dream according to truth and right; by the power of Umm ul Kitáb" (the Mother of the Sacred Book, a name for the Fátihah, or first chapter). He may then raise his head.

He should commence by inquiring the dreamer's name, and even writing it down, so as to obtain an omen from it as to being fortunate or unfortunate. For example, Ahmed, Muhammed, Hasan, Husain (names of the Prophet and his family), are fortunate; also Nîmat, Fazl, Habíb, Mahbúb, Fath, Sálih, Sádic, and the like, from their signification; those of contrary import betoken evil, grief, and calamity. Names of the prophets are particularly favourable in such cases; possibly, in addition to their generally auspicious nature, from a connection with the prophetic gift of dream interpretation.[1]

He should then proceed in his inquiry, by making himself acquainted with the age, country, and religion of the applicant, his rank and condition in life, his profession, occupation, and habits; of everything relating to him personally, and of all the circumstances, even the most trivial, connected with the story. The distinction to be made according to these various qualities is illustrated by Ibn Sírín's explanation of the same dream, for good and evil, to two different persons, in reference to their respective characters (of which he judged by their countenances). Each had dreamed he was performing the part of Muezzin in calling the people to prayer. To the first, Ibn Sírín foretold pilgrimage; to the other, that he should be suspected of theft. These opposite interpretations were grounded on these two verses of the Curán:—"Proclaim unto the people a solemn pilgrimage" (xx. 28); "Then a crier cried after them [Joseph's brethren], saying, O company of travellers! ye are surely thieves" (xii. 70).

Dreams have different meanings, according to the class of persons to whom they occur; for which reason the Muâbbir is to inform

[1] Similar duties are enjoined in the Greek system as explained by Artemidorus with respect to inquiring the name, age, habits, and occupation of the dreamer and his state of health.

himself of the rank and condition of those who consult him; whether the seer be a king, a learned man, a jurisconsult, a holy man or Súfi, one of the common class of men, &c. Of all these classes, the dreams of a king are the soundest and most entitled to belief, from the exalted nature of his station, and the virtues with which royalty is adorned; and so of Cázis, or Judges, from the upright character and attributes which should distinguish a judge. Of mankind in general, the dreams of males have the advantage over those of females, because God chose the male as the first object of creation, and dignified that sex by selecting from it a hundred and twenty-four thousand of his prophets, and in his wisdom has allotted to men the most noble qualities and the highest powers of intellect. Of females, matrons have the advantage,—a preference which is conceded to the chastity and dignified virtues of a married woman. The rich man's dream has excellence, according to the Khalif Abú Bekr, because he is able to pay the Zakát, or alms,[1] and to do many good and charitable actions, perform the pilgrimage, and make bridges and caravanserais; for the Prophet himself has said: "The raised hand (or that which bestows) is more exalted than the lower hand (that which receives)."[2] Those of poor men, indeed, seem to be of little or no authority, for they are constantly in grief and anxiety for their children and families, and if they have good predicted, its fulfilment is distant, and if evil it is accomplished almost immediately.[3] According to some authors, the dreams of children are unsound, as they have not sufficient understanding to describe them properly. Some say, that if good, they are fulfilled to their father and mother, and that they are exempted from the consequence of those that are bad. There is, further, a difference of opinion with regard to those of very young children, some considering that they are sound, as their minds are free from prejudice, and as yet untainted by worldly affairs; others, that from their deficiency of judgment no importance is to be attached to them. The dreams of drunken and mad persons are thought not to be sound, but Ibn Sírín considers them to be so, and gives some examples.

[1] Characteristic of that Khalif himself, who was particularly distinguished for charity and almsgiving, and would naturally attach great importance to such virtues.

[2] Ibn Sírín says, dreamers are necessarily to be considered believers or infidels (Múmin or Káfir), and further, of one of these fourteen classes:—

Kings,	Ulema,	Women,	Good,
Learned men,	Derwishes,	Commou people,	Rich,
Jurisconsults,	Servants,	Wicked,	Poor,
			Children,
			Little children.

[3] Αιει τοις μικροις μικρα διδωσι θεοι. Callimachus.

Ibrahím Kirmání says: "Dreams of Muslims are better than those of infidels; of old men, better than those of the young; of males than of females; of matrons than of unmarried women; of good than of bad men: of freemen than slaves; of wise men, than fools."

Two important points to be considered are the religion and language of the dreamer, also the time and place and manner in which the incidents appeared to occur; and time and place are not only to be considered with respect to the occurrence of the dream itself, but also as to the images presented in it; and of this it may be well to give a few examples.

First, the religion is important; for if a Jew dream he has eaten camel's flesh, it is ill-omened, as that food is forbidden to him; but if it be one of another religion, it is indifferent as to import, since camel's flesh is prohibited to none but Jews.[1]

His language; for if one, speaking Persian, says he has dreamed of *Abí*, his affairs will prosper, *Abí* signifying in Persian *quince* (a lucky object). If it be an Arab speaking, he will undertake a journey from which he will obtain elevation of rank, since in Arabic they call a quince *Seferjal* (*Sefer*, a journey, *Jall*, exaltation).[2]

The place in which the incidents seemed to occur; as, if the person seemed standing naked in the bazar, it would be a sign of disgrace; but if it happened in his own private bath, it would be without harm, since there would be no shame in such an action, if actually occurring. So, if in summer one dreams of being clothed in fur, grief will come to him, but if in winter, the harm ceases.

The import varies materially, according to the time and season. A man dreaming that he sits on an elephant, if it seem to occur at night, will have to undertake an important affair, from which he will derive much benefit; but if the same seem to be by day, he shall divorce his wife, and from hence trouble and grief will ensue. A certain person, in a dream, gathered seventy leaves of a tree, and applying to the Khalif Omar for its interpretation was told he should gain seventy thousand pieces of silver, which prediction was fulfilled to him shortly after. Later in the year he had the same dream, and Omar interpreted it to mean that he should receive seventy stripes, which indeed happened to him in the course of the next week. On asking the reason of so great a difference of signification in two omens so precisely similar in appearance, the Khalif showed him, that the first time was in spring, when the trees were coming to leaf;

[1] Eating camel's flesh is forbidden in Leviticus, but not in the Curán.

[2] سفرجل — آبي Synonymous with *Abí* is *Bihí*, meaning also *Prosperity*.

but that now it was autumn, and the leaves becoming dry and beginning to fall.[1] Also with respect to days, the early part of Shambah (Saturday, the last day of the Muhammedan week), is of evil omen for a dream, as that particular time is under the influence of Saturn; but the early part of the first day of the week (Yakshambah, Sunday), is auspicious, being devoted to the Sun. Dú Shambah is good (the Moon's day); Tuesday forebodes calamity, from Mars;[2] Wednesday is also bad, for on that day God destroyed the armies of Húd and Thamúd; again, Thursday is interpreted as fortunate, being Jupiter's day. Friday announces honour and exaltation, being dedicated to Venus (and perhaps also with some regard to its sanctity as the Muhammedan day of public worship). The omens for the different days of the month are enumerated, for each day of the thirty, in what, apparently, is an extract from the Imam Jâfar's work, and headed thus, "Tâbíru Manámát li Jâfari 'l Sádic," on a fly-leaf of the copy I have used of Ibn Sháhín's book.

The interpreter should inquire of the dreamer, whether he had supped or was fasting; what he had thought of on lying down to rest, and what had been his occupations during the day; his sleeping place, and the nature of his couch; and on what object his eye first rested on waking;[3] for from neglecting to inquire these things, many have given an interpretation where properly there was none, and from which, consequently, no result took place.

A dream is to be listened to throughout, patiently and fairly, so as to obtain all particulars.

Three things are to be considered with regard to the objects occurring in sleep; *Jins*, the genus or kind, as trees, birds, beasts, animate or inanimate objects, &c.; *Sanf*, the species, as, whether it be a Medlar or a Palm tree, and, of birds, whether a Peacock or an Ostrich; this will lead to a knowledge of the character and country of the dreamer, for, in the first of these two cases, he will be an Arab, ostriches and palms being unknown in Persia; and, in the other, a Persian, as medlars and peacocks are not found in Arabia. Thirdly, *Núú*, or the manner and circumstances of objects seen; how many in number, when, and where; how disposed, and how relating to one another.[4]

There are certain omens which may occur while the inquiry is

[1] A similar example is given in the pseudo-Ibn Sírín.

[2] The influences are, of course, those of the planets, which are here called by their pagan names as more familiar, instead of Persian as in the original.

[3] This inquiry was even practised by the ancient Arabians before Islamism.

[4] جنس ـ صنف ـ نوع

made. A raven croaking thrice at that time is a fortunate omen; some attribute the same good fortune to a raven croaking once, twice, or even as often as five or six times. These signs are of most authority in the seasons of autumn and winter. Also if, while the Muâbbir is making his inquiries, he sees a horse, or a camel, or ass pass by, it is favourable, in accordance with the passage in the Curán,[1] "And [he created] horses, and mules, and asses," &c. (xvi. 8.)

Twice croaking, however, is bad, according to some authors, and an instance is given from Abdallah Ibu Abbás, during whose consultation with the interpreter a raven seated itself on the wall of the interpreter's house, and croaked twice; this was considered inauspicious, and eventually the house was entered by thieves through the broken wall, and all his property stolen.

Many dreams which appear sad to the seer, are the contrary in their results, so that grief, affliction, and terror in sleep, become joy, pleasure, and tranquillity in the accomplishment of the event. Thus, flying from the anger of a king, from a powerful enemy, or the like, is an assurance of freedom from danger, and of the enjoyment of divine protection: and of this sort there are said to be many instances.

The interpretation frequently is inverted, *Maclúb*, or rather, reciprocal; that is, the object dreamed of indicates another, and these, respectively, each other. Thus, *Mas-haf*, a book (that is the Sacred book, the Curán), is *Hikmat*, Wisdom; and *Hikmat*, again, refers to *Mas-haf*. Seeing a tiger forebodes illness, and a dream of an illness represents a tiger. The enumeration of all similar cases, the author of the Kámil says, would occupy a whole volume.

Another of the canons or rules of Tâbír is, that whatever, when new, is a lucky object in a dream, when old, is of the contrary tendency; and the condition of the object being reversed, the effect or result also is of directly opposite nature. To buy a male slave is bad, therefore to sell one, is good; yet to purchase a female slave is fortunate, and, conversely, to sell one, unlucky.

The modes in which a dream points to its accomplishment are four. 1st. Where many objects in the dream denote many in the result. 2nd. Where one object denotes one. 3rd. Where one denotes many. 4th. Where many denote one.

[1] This system is not easy to understand from the passage quoted, although the examples in it perfectly correspond with their interpretation, severally, in classed dream-books. Some, however, are not to be found explained there. The other examples given in the texts will be added in an Appendix, to assist further investigation.

1st. Many denoting many. A man who was on a distant journey, dreamed he was flying in the air, and seeking something which he afterwards found; and then, that he was flying again, in company with a flock of strange birds. The fortune of that man was that he returned home, and undertook another journey with new associates.

2nd. One object denoting one. A man dreamed his eye was of gold. He was told he would lose his eye, for *zehb*, gold, means also in Arabic, to go, to depart from. Another interpreter applied it to the acquisition of gold; because gold is a thing which easily departs, is soon lost or spent.

3rd. A man dreamed he lost his name. In reality he lost his property; becoming poor, he lost his friends; then, from extreme vexation, killed himself—lost his life. This is an example of one thing denoting many.

4th. In illustration of many objects denoting one. A man played chess (in a dream), with another who was winning, and he was near suffering checkmate; but to avoid it, he rose up, and fled to an hospital, the name of which was Shutur, and from thence returned home, and a branch of a tree grew from his thigh. The whole was fulfilled by the roof of his house falling and breaking his leg, and nearly killing him. Being near checkmate and running away from it, denoted his narrow escape from death; going to an hospital, his illness; the name of that hospital, *Shutur* (signifying *Camel*), showed his leg would be broken like a camel's when bent for kneeling; the tree growing from his thigh, that his limb would resemble that of a bough (in stiffness and incapability), and thus the many circumstances in his dream had a general reference to one only, that of his accident.[1] These four modes of interpretation are given precisely in the same order by Artemidorus, with some slight variations in the examples which illustrate them; the eye of gold is otherwise explained by gold being the least suitable material for an eye; for the same play on the words would not obtain in Greek as in the Arabic version. In the third example, the man loses his son, who had the same name, and subsequently through grief hangs himself, by which act he also

[1] I cannot but think that there is here also an allusion to the words *Shutur* and *Ranj*, forming, when combined, Shatranj, the name of Chess; *Ranj*, denoting the grief and pain from the accident, as *Shutur* does the name of the hospital, and resemblance of a broken leg to that of a camel, &c. It is true, in the Greek story, in which the game played is dice, this fancied connection no longer obtains. The Greek, indeed, is very probably the original story, as Dice would be converted, in a Muhammedan narrative, into Chess, a less objectionable game, or, at least, one on the lawfulness of which the opinions of the Orthodox are divided.

forfeits his own name. In the last story, the dreamer, instead of chess, plays at dice with Charon, who pursues him; thus signifying escape from death.

The result is sometimes to be fulfilled to another person than to the dreamer himself; to his sons, or to his brothers. In the time of Muhammed, it was dreamed that Abu Jehl became a Musulman, and this was verified in the person of Akermah, his son, who became, later, a convert to Islám. The predictions to a child are often to be fulfilled by its parents; those to a servant, by his master; and many other similar cases are found.

The period of the *Táwíl*, or time at which the events announced will come to pass, depends on a great variety of circumstances. Day-dreams have the same advantage in this respect as with respect to their soundness or the auspicious character of their indications, and they are fulfilled sooner than those occurring at night. Jâfar Sádic says, a day-dream may be accomplished in a few days; a night-dream in six months or a year; or it may be in twenty years only, as Joseph's warning of the famine in Egypt; or after forty years, as that of Muhammed, which foretold the slaying of the Imam Husain, by the appearance of a dog licking his blood; which event took place long after the death of the Prophet himself. A dream at dawn of day may take effect in ten days after; and, in general, the nearer to day or daybreak, the sooner will its Táwíl, or accomplishment happen. In summer also they will be fulfilled sooner than in autumn, as they are, similarly, more sound for that reason. If occurring at the beginning of the night, Ibn Sírín considers they may not be fulfilled for forty years; or, if at the third part of the night, after twenty years. Evil prognostications are verified sooner than those of favourable import, and this is to be ascribed to the mercy of the Deity, who will not permit His creatures to languish in protracted expectation of a destined evil.[1]

There is a branch of the art, by which even forgotten dreams are to be recovered, and instructions are given for exercising this part of Tâbír. The letters composing the dreamer's name are to be valued according to their numerical power in the *Abjad*, then subtracted by nines, and the remainder observed. If nine remains, it shows that the dream has been of cities, which is of evil import; if eight remains, it has been of travel; if seven, of oxen, and harvests, and corn;

[1] At the end of the 4th book of Artemidorus is a chapter on the period of fulfilment of dreams, chiefly depending on the time and season when the dream occurs, and very exactly arranged according to each hour in succession; but it does not perfectly agree with the Eastern rules.

six, relating to angels and holy men, which denotes the completion of undertakings in hand; five, horses and arms; four, the heavens and stars; three, that the person has divulged a secret to another;[1] two, that he looks to some one who will assist or benefit him in worldly affairs; one, a unit, recalls the idea of some king or great man, as being unique in its kind, and this also portends success in one's desires, and deliverance from trouble. These elucidations are all derived, very ingeniously, from passages of the Curán[2] in which mention of such numbers occurs; and this confirms the necessity of a Muâbbir being intimately and minutely acquainted with the contents of that volume, as already recommended. There is another mode, by desiring the dreamer to place his hand on some part of his body. If he place it on his head, he has dreamed of mountains; if on his cheek, of pastures; on his ear, caves; his beard, corn, grass, and plants; his arm, a tree; knee, a tall tree, as the cypress or the palm, &c. Here the explanation is evidently founded on the resemblance between each limb and the object it indicates. The application, afterwards, is that of a dream according to the usual method of interpreting it. Jálínús (Galen, quoted in the Kh'áb Námehi Yúsuf), says the ancient sages used nativities for the purpose of discovering forgotten dreams.

This part of the science is a curious illustration of the passage in the Book of Daniel (in the Old Testament), in which we read of Nebuchadnezzar's desire to hear from the wise men of his court the

[1] There is an Arabic proverb which says: "A secret which reaches a third person, is lost." كل سر جاوز الاثنين شاع

[2] The passages quoted are the following:

9. "And there were nine men in the city, who acted corruptly in the earth, and behaved not with integrity."—Cur. xxvii. 49.

8. "And others say they were seven [the Sleepers], and their dog was the eighth."—xviii. 21.

7. "Seven fat kine, which seven lean kine devoured, and seven green ears of corn."—xii. 43.

6. "Who hath created the heavens and the earth in six days, and then ascended his throne."—x. 3.

5. (The authority is not given in either of the MSS.)

4. "And provided therein the food thereof, in four days [of the creation] equally, for those that ask."—xli. 9.

3. "There is no private discourse among three persons, but He is the fourth of them."—lviii. 7.

Also, "For three days [Zachariah's silence], otherwise than by gesture."—iii. 36.

2. "The second of two [Abu Bekr], when they were both in the cave."—ix. 40.

1. "Far be it from him. He is the sole, the Almighty God!"—xxxix. 6.

nterpretation of a forgotten dream—of the "thing that had gone from him," and the secret of which was afterwards revealed to the prophet of God in a night-vision.

Dreams are said to be forgotten from four causes (and it is curious that this is given in the Muhammedan treatises as being on the authority of "Hezrati Dániál," the prophet); viz.: From multitude of sins, from perverse actions (probably in opposition to the regulations laid down for the dreamer's conduct), from refractory disposition, or weakness of purpose.

Most works on Tâbír contain, in a concluding chapter, a collection of Khábháï Badíâ, or Remarkable Dreams; such as could not, from their anomalous nature, be inserted in any of the regular classes, or which possess unusual attraction. Some of these relate to celebrated characters of Muhammedan history, and are not usually to be met with in their biographical works. A few are remarkable among those of the earlier races of monarchs, as, of the Pishdadian dynasty, Minúchehr, who dreamed he had a crown on his head on which were a hundred and twenty ornaments or peaks, and that from each of his fingers flowed a fountain of water. It was interpreted, that he should reign a hundred and twenty years, and that great sages and prophets should appear in his time. It is said that, among others, Moses was born in Minuchehr's reign.

Núshirwán, another prince, of the Sasanian dynasty, dreamed that he was drinking out of a golden goblet, when a black hog came and put his head in, and drank also. Buzurjmihr, his minister, whom he consulted, told him it signified that his favourite princess had a black slave who was her lover, and suggested that the women of his harem should be ordered to dance undressed in the presence of the king. One of them showing some hesitation in complying, and being protected by the others, was discovered to be a Hindú male slave, and the Wazír's interpretation was verified. The golden goblet was the King's favourite mistress; and the black hog, her Indian paramour.[1] (Nefáis.) This story is related also, with some slight difference, in the Kh'áb Námehi Yúsuf.

The following are a few of the "Remarkable Dreams" occurring at the end of Al Rázi's treatise, where they are introduced as examples difficult of solution. A man dreamed that he saw ten coffins come out of his house. All its inhabitants were only ten, including himself; nine died of plague, and he was awaiting his own turn,

[1] To feed from a golden vessel is, in some Tâbír Namehs, explained "to enjoy illicit pleasure." *Swine*, in general, denote "bad men."

when a thief came into the house to rob it, and falling from the roof into the court,[1] was killed, and completed the number, and the dreamer escaped death.

Another dreamed he saw in his garden a monarch of an old and extinct race, seated, and with his foot pointing to a particular spot in the ground. The interpreters told him it must be that king's burial-place. On digging there, he found a large treasure of ancient coins, with the name and effigy of that king on them.[2]

A man dreamed his right leg was of ebony, and the interpreters were unable to explain its meaning. It happened afterwards that he bought an excellent slave, a Hindú; the leg signified a servant (from its usefulness); the right leg (as the ablest?) a good servant; and ebony, that he would be from India, either probably from the colour, or as coming from the native country of that wood.

The classes of ordinary dreams are usually arranged for reference under separate heads, as has been already described, and either systematically, commencing with the higher objects, or in simple alphabetical order. Where there is a systematic arrangement, the first sections are always in relation to the Deity, His glory, and attributes; and the explanations are numerous and very full. It proceeds afterwards through the various classes of ethereal and supernatural beings; celestial objects; all the phenomena of nature; the family of Muhammed, including even Belál, his favourite Muezzin; the prophets and the other holy personages; the Curán; prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, and the duties of religion; and finally descends, through objects connected with the physical structure of the earth, to the more ordinary occupations and necessaries of every-day life.

Dreaming of the prophets usually announces success and advancement, though, in some cases, accompanied by a certain anxiety and distress at the commencement. These variations have obvious reference to the particular history of that prophet himself; as, from dreaming of the prophet Húd, disturbance from enemies is to be expected, but ultimately success over them; of Abraham, pilgrimage, in connection with the story of the Kâbah; Jacob, anxiety for

[1] The eastern houses having flat roofs and an open court in the middle, the easiest access, by stealth, would be in this way. In a story of the Anwári Suhaili, thieves enter a house by the roof, and are overheard consulting as to their descent into the court, in attempting which, one of them breaks his neck.

[2] The circumstance of the coins bearing an effigy, which is unusual in Muhammedan coinage except in that of the Ortokides and a few others, seems to ndicate a Greek origin to this story.

children; Joseph, treachery from kinsmen, and subsequent advancement to power and royalty; Moses, attacks from enemies and from one's own people; Khizr, long journeying; Isă (Jesus), restoration of affairs which have long perished (in evident allusion to the power of healing and of restoring to life attributed to him by the Muslim faith in accordance with the miracles). Of dreams relating to Muhammed, the last of the prophets, the explanations are, as may be expected, very numerous, and relating to every circumstance and aspect under which he may present himself in sleep. The analysis of these interpretations would be far too long on the present occasion. Those relating to the four first Khalifs, successors of Muhammed, as well as to his family and companions, and their successors, have equally reference to their several characters and histories. An appearance of Abú Bekr is interpreted according to the generous and munificent character of that Khalif; that of Omar denotes justness and fulfilment of the laws; Osman, attention to religious duties and observance of the Curán; Ali, bravery and generosity.

There is a distinct interpretation for dreaming of the Curán, according to each of the chapters separately, and founded on certain passages in them, or on the history or object of that particular Súrah. Examples would be as numerous as the chapters themselves. One or two may suffice. A man dreamed he was reading the Súrat ul Nasr, "When the assistance of God shall come," which would at first appear to be of favourable omen; Ibn Sírín bade him repent and prepare for death, as this was one of the last which were revealed;[1] and the man soon afterwards died. Some others also present a connection from which may be inferred the system to be followed. Thus the second Súrah, Al Bacrah, promises, among other blessings, length of life (probably as being the longest in the Curán).

In some, the allusion is obvious; as The Table (ch. v.), wealth and abundance; The True Believers (xxiii.), increase of faith; Súrat ul Hajj (xxii.), pilgrimage; Lucmán (xxxi.), wisdom; the Pen, knowledge; the Elephants, success over enemies, &c. &c. The Fátihah, in accordance with the high veneration in which it is held, confers unusual blessings.

In general, dreaming that one reads the Curán, signifies speaking truth, and the result depends on the particular portion read. Jâfar Sádic says, reading the Curán signifies four things; safety from misfortune, wealth after poverty, success in desired objects, pilgrimage.

[1] Ch. cx. This chapter was delivered to Muhammed a short time only before his death, for which it was intended to prepare him.

Where the arrangement is alphabetic, these explanations are to be found either under the head of *Curán*, or *Curán Kh' ándan* (to read the Curán), or under *Súrah* (Chapter). Sometimes they compose a separate section.

Kirmáni says, he who dreams of reading half the Curán is warned that half his life is past; let him therefore so arrange his spiritual and worldly concerns. Reading the Heft Yak, Chehár Yak, Seh Yak (the seventh, fourth, and third part of the whole book), denotes a proportionate period of his life. If, not being already a Háfiz ul Curán (*i.e.* knowing the Curán by heart), he dreams that he is so, he will become so. Hearing the Curán read by another is good, and promises increase of grace; to hear it read, and not to understand, portends grief, &c.

Finishing the Curán denotes success, but some say, foretells the reader's life to have, similarly, come to a close. Others however explain it only to be so in case he is sick, but if in good health, to announce countless wealth and prosperity. Such interpretations vary according to the situation or place in which it is read.

Of single verses of a chapter, if it be a verse of good tiding (Bushárat), God will fulfil it by bestowing good fortune on the dreamer; if it be a verse of *Âzáb* (punishment), it is a sign of divine anger and wrath, and a warning to him to repent, and change his mode of life. Special interpretation also is given to single verses in the different chapters, and many of them have a particular blessing for him who dreams of them; as the Throne Verse; those beginning "God hath borne witness" (iii. 16); "Say, O God who possessest the kingdom" (iii. 25); "Now hath God heard" (lviii. 1); and other passages of peculiar sanctity and importance.

It might now be desirable to give specimens from the classes of dreams relating to common life, and the more usual objects occurring to the dreamer's imagination, but how shall we select from so overwhelming a mass of examples as the Tâbír Námehs, even any one singly, afford us; from the array, one thousand in number, presented in alphabetical order by the Kámil; or from the more systematic arrangement of those which, nearly five times as numerous, are found in Ibn Sháhín's Arabic quarto?

The interpretation, or rather the system on which is founded the interpretation of such classes of dreams, offers more difficulty than any other part of the inquiry. Those relating to personages or objects named in the Curán or in tradition are, as has been already shown by some examples to be explained with reference to passages having

allusion to, or mention of, such persons or objects; but the principle by which the more anomalous class is to be regulated, does not present itself in any systematic or tangible form.

A striking feature of difference between the oriental system and that which is followed in our modern practice, at least according to popular superstition, is, that the vulgar adage, that "Dreams go by contraries," does not correspond with the Muhammedan notions on the subject. It has been already seen that except in those kinds technically called *Maclúb*, and in a few other instances, the interpretation follows rather a direct than an inverted mode of proceeding. Whence the system now in common use originates, must be investigated in some intermediate authority, and not derived from that in eastern countries. I have omitted a division of the subject, which, if introduced, had best found its place nearer the commencement of this essay. Before entering on the rules of the science itself, with regard to interpretation, it might have been proper to consider the origin and causes of dreaming, and the nature of sleep, as functions of the body and mind, according to eastern theory; and this subject is fully discussed, as a preliminary to the practical observations, in all their dream-books, as well as in their medical and philosophical treatises and encyclopedias, but it could scarcely be admitted here to the extent the importance of its nature would demand, and it may perhaps be more safely excluded from the present inquiry than any other part of it, as being less peculiar to those nations whose opinions are under consideration, and as being also far less capable of abridgement. In truth, the opinions of oriental authorities on this difficult subject are in as great variety as our own theories, and it may well be said, that, of all branches of philosophy or metaphysics among European and classical writers, the nature and cause of dreams is one of the most unsatisfactory in discussion, and we rise from the perusal of all that Aristotle and Lucretius, and Locke and Stewart have written on it, with ideas little less confused than those of the sleeper awakened.

A curious passage may, however, be noticed in Al Rázi's treatise, which the votaries of mesmerism would probably be glad to seize on as a confirmation of their belief; where he accounts for the supernatural prescience of events, supposed to be obtained in dreams, by the power the soul has, according to such a doctrine, of setting itself free during sleep, and associating itself with angels, and by means of that union obtaining a share of their gifts in the knowledge of things concealed from man in his waking state.[1]

[1] A similar hypothesis is found in Bishop Newton's Treatise on Dreams, and in Baxter's Essay on the Phenomena of Dreaming.

We find also observations on a wonderful property of dreaming, that a man in his sleep is capable of speaking various languages, and exercising a knowledge of sciences, of which otherwise he is ignorant; of reciting verses from the Curán, and giving the Tefsír or explanation of its most difficult passages; a talent which, when he awakes, is no longer available to him. These are considered as gifts granted to dreamers by that Divine power which inspires them, in the same manner, with revelations of future events.

The glory of dreams has not passed away in the East, even in the present day, nor are the honours formerly paid to professors of the art of Tâbír withheld from their successors; and while in our own country the subject is banished from learned and polite circles, and limited to the aged, the sickly, or the ignorant, and its literature to be found only in the penny pamphlets which form the stock of the itinerant pedlar or the provincial fortune-teller; in the east, Tâbír still ranks as a science worthy the study of philosophers and the encouragement of princes, and its precepts are preserved in costly folios, with veneration equal to that in which are held the works of the most learned jurisconsults, and the traditions handed down by the companions of the Prophet.

One of the most modern and remarkable oriental instances of respect for dreams and attention to their import may be seen in the person of the celebrated Tipú of Mysore.

In the library of the East India House there is exhibited a manuscript volume in which that prince is said to have registered, each morning, the dreams which had occurred to him during the preceding night, with their signification.[1] The character, a wretched Shikestah if it be his own hand-writing, offers occasionally more difficulty in deciphering it than would repay the trouble of any person not par-

[1] The history of the manuscript is learned from the following note, written in the fly-leaf by Major Beatson, by whom the volume was presented to the Honourable East India Company from the Marquis Wellesley.

"This register of the Sultaun's dreams was discovered by Colonel William Kirkpatrick, amongst other papers of a secret nature, in an escritoire found in the Palace of Seringapatam. Hubbeeb Oollah, one of the most confidential of the Sultaun's servants, was present at the time it was discovered. He knew that there was such a book of the Sultaun's composition, but had never seen it, as the Sultaun always manifested peculiar anxiety to conceal it from the view of any who happened to approach while he was either reading or writing in it. Of these extraordinary productions six only have been as yet translated, which I have inserted in the appendix of a View of the Origin and Conduct of the War. By some of them it appears that war and conquest, and the destruction of the Kaufers (Infidels) were no less the subjects of his sleeping than of his waking thoughts.

"*London, 23rd April*, 1800. A. Beatson."

ticularly interested in such researches, but I have thought it worth while transcribing and translating a few extracts from it as specimens, interesting, as being from the autograph of a distinguished personage, and as a proof of the influence such a belief exercised over the mind of so intrepid a warrior, and so crafty a politician. The MS. is in small square 8vo., on common unglazed paper, and in the usual limp binding of eastern books. The greater part of the volume is blank. Twenty-nine of the first thirty pages (one being left blank) are occupied by the dreams, thirty-nine in number, and of very unequal length, some filling a whole page, and others consisting of only three or four lines. Prefixed to some few of them, in Persian character, are the words, Yá Kerím Kársáz—Yá Rahím—Yá Sádic (O thou gracious Creator! O Merciful One! O Just One!), adjurations to the Deity; and to one, the Bismillah. On the outside of the cover, apparently in the same handwriting, Yá Háfiz! (O Guardian!) The commencement is headed خوابهاي كه ما ديده بوديم در اين مرقوم شد. On eight or nine pages, irregularly filled, at the end, by the same hand, are some notes relating to military operations, and names of officers, &c., one part of which is stated in an English note, probably by Major Beatson, to be a "Memorandum of the Sirdars who were killed or taken prisoners in the first assault of the Travancore lines."

In addition to the six dreams translated and published in his appendix to his history of the war in Mysore, I have inserted nine here; the first three of which represent the majority of those in the whole collection, being chiefly in reference to war with the English or with the Mahrattas, and promises of assistance from the French government or native chiefs; the others are of a more miscellaneous character, and the last two possess considerable interest, as relating the appearance of the poets Sâdi and Jámi in the Sultan's dreams, and exhibiting, by his high veneration for their persons, his love of literature and poetry, which were combined in so remarkable a manner with the fierce cruelty of his disposition.

The few which still remain unpublished, after these specimens, will be found of very little interest for those who might be inclined to peruse the whole.

The composition is in a very concise style, suitable to the object of a note-book. I have made the translation as literal as possible, almost inconveniently so, only making the Sultan speak always simply in the first person, and changing occasionally the tense. He usually styles himself in his narration, "the servant of the Divine Court,"

(Bendahi Dergáhi Alláhi), or uses some similar expression of humility; the territory of Mysore, "The heaven-bestowed government," (Serkári Khudádád,) &c., which, with some other such paraphrases, I have simplified in translation.

In a few instances the Tâbír or interpretation is given, involving, almost in every case, a reference either to objects of ambition, or to his fanatical expectation of Divine assistance. The time at which each dream occurs is noted with scrupulous precision, and in most cases both according to the usual Muhammedan era and that which the Sultan had himself invented. It will be hardly necessary to observe that Tipú made a complete change in the whole system of chronology, altering the names of the months, and adapting a new nomenclature also to the years of the cycle, the computation being made from the birth of Muhammed, instead of from his Hijrah or emigration to Medínah, and the era therefore being called Maulúdí Muhammed.[1] Examples of all these innovations will be found in the specimens selected, the numerical figures also, when they are expressed in cypher, being inverted, so as to follow the Arabic instead of the Hindi mode of writing. I have not thought it necessary to add the corresponding dates of the Christian era, which are readily to be ascertained from those of the Muhammedan, where given. The period during which these dreams were recorded ranges from 1202 to 1213 of the Hijrah, nearly the extent of Tipú's reign; the very last occurring in the manuscript, and which, in the present extracts, happens to be the first, took place in the year in which he was killed.[2] It will be seen also that the Sultan was careful in noting that it was morning when he awoke, that hour being supposed, as already shown in this essay, to be productive of the most authentic and favourable dreams. There are a few errors in the manuscript, as might be expected in a rough common-place book, and the grammatical concords occasionally appear incorrect.

"On the 10th of the month Rahmáni, in the year Shádáb, 1226 from the birth of Muhammed, corresponding with the 9th of the month Shâbán, 1213 of the Hijrah, on the night of Thursday, of which the following day would be Thursday, I dreamed in my capital thus: that, first, a body of Káfirs who had marched on my territory,

[1] The arrangement of the Sultan's cycle, and the other alterations made by Tipú in the calendar, are fully explained in Marsden's Numismata Orientalia, in describing the coins of that prince; and the system is also noticed in the Life of Tipú, translated by Colonel Miles for the Oriental Translation Fund.

[2] Tipú reigned from the 20th December, 1782, to A.D. 1799, being killed on the 4th of May in that year.

had been killed and taken prisoners; and I said, 'News is come that another body of Káfirs is advancing; we must rout them also.' While I was on my way to destroy them, at that juncture I awoke, and it was morning."

"On the 14th of the month Behári, of the year Haráset, 1224 from the birth of Muhammed, on the night of Saturday, I dreamed that Dád Alí Khán came and represented thus: 'I am come myself, having subdued the district of Kadapah, and if it be your command, I will serve you with four thousand horse;' and I said to my court, 'It is well, but let us assign some yearly pay to these four thousand horsemen for their assistance.' At that moment morning dawned, and I awoke."

"On the 25th day of the month Rahmáni, on Friday, the night of which would be Saturday, the year 1225 from the birth of Muhammed, I dreamed that our lord Muhammed, the Prophet of God, presented me with a turban, saying, 'Tie it on your head, as I have tied mine.' Then his Excellency again presented me a turban, saying, 'Put it on your head,' and I bound that one on also. After that, his Excellency Ahmed did so again a third time, and I obeyed; and on the top of the hill there was a strong castle, and I went and looked at it; when at that moment I awoke, and made an interpretation of my dream, thus, that God and the Prophet had bestowed on me the seven climates (the whole world). This date corresponds with the 24th of the month Rajab, 1212 of the Hijrah."

"A dream which happened to me at Tatah-púr, on the banks of the Kávíri (Cavery), on Sunday of the Muhammedan era, 26th of the month of Zú 'l Hijjah, on the night preceding Monday, at the time of the Subhi Kázib (false dawn):—I dreamed that I was standing with the people of my court on a high place, when I saw the moon of the blessed Ramazán. No one else perceived it, and it appeared to my sight very slender and of elegant form, and around it there were numerous stars; and I showed it myself to all the people, and said, 'Please God, to-morrow truly is the feast.'"[1]

"On the night of the 24th, of which the following day would be Saturday, I dreamed that a certain exalted personage came and brought a large stone of Baláwar (beryl) in his hand, and gave it me,

[1] The 'Id ul Fitr, or Breaking the fast after Ramazan, commences with the appearance of the new moon, the first glimmering of which is watched for anxiously, and announced triumphantly by him who discovers it.

saying, 'The mine from which this came is in a mountain of your Majesty's dominions, which is situated near such a place.' When we had sent competent persons to make search, we received intelligence that the mine really was in that mountain."

"In the month Behári, the year Shád, 1223 from the birth of the Prophet, between the 9th and the 15th [day of the month ?], by the Divine grace I had two dreams; first, this:—that a certain person came and brought some fine emeralds, of the first quality of colour, and in size like mangoes, and gave them into my hand. I said, 'Such a large amount of emeralds is not within my dominions; it is only in accordance with the Divine grace that the bountiful Creator has bestowed this vast quantity on me.' It was then dawn of day, and I awoke." (The second dream of that night is not of any interest.)

"On the 12th day of the month Jâfari, of the year Hálet, 1224 from the birth of Muhammed, on Tuesday at time of dawn, I dreamed that I [this servant of the Most High] was mounted on an elephant, and rode into a garden of mangoes, and I perceived on the trees there was a large quantity of clusters of the mango, the fruit as long as one's hand, and very thick; and also round mangoes, in size like fresh cocoa-nuts. When I saw the mangoes, I was much pleased, and I gathered several very large ones, and put them in the elephant carriage opposite to me, and I was going about among the trees, when at that moment I awoke."

"On the 13th of the month Khusrawi, on Monday, in the year 1226 from the birth of Muhammed, corresponding with the 11th of Jumádi ul Awwal of the year 1213 (Hijrah), that is, the night of the 14th (Khusrawi), the day following which would be Tuesday, at the time of dawn I had the following dream, viz.: Sádí Shírázi came to me, and this was his appearance,—stout, with a large head and a long white beard. I accosted him with much respect and veneration, and bade him be seated. That exalted person was much pleased. I asked him, 'What has your Excellency seen?' He said, 'I have seen the empire of Hindustan, and the kingdom of Arkát, and the kingdom of Abdul Nebí Khán, and the kingdom of ——, and the kingdom of Kókan.' Then he began to recite verses and couplets, and walked round and round in the palace, and sat down. At that moment I awoke, and it was morning."

"On the 24th of the month Taki, in the year Shádáb, 1226 from

the birth of Muhammed, on Friday, corresponding with the 22nd of Zí 'l Hijjah, 1213 of the Hijrah, at the sixth Pahr of the night, the following dream occurred to me in Hamídábád :—that I went into a certain garden, and in it were buildings, in which they told me that his Excellency Maulána Jámi had come and alighted there. I presented myself to the Maulána, and asked him the reason of being honoured by his visit. That exalted master said, 'I came for the purpose of seeing you.' I replied, 'This honour of your Excellency's visit is most excellent and opportune. In former days his excellency Maulána Sâdi came, and now, in my time, the Divine grace has manifested Maulána Jámi, and sent him to me. I shall certainly obtain prosperity from it.' I then brought the Maulána with me to the palace."

"And in that same night I also dreamed that a young woman of pleasing countenance, with fine jewels and clothes, presented herself to me, bringing in her hand three ripe pomegranates of exceeding size, like large cucumbers, and put them into my hand. I said, 'Such a fine quality of pomegranate never was seen.' I ate one of them, and found it was very sweet, and of fine flavour; and at that moment I awoke."

In addition to the poetical interest of Sâdi's and Jámi's appearance in the Sultan's dreams, as a contrast to the monotony of the greater number of those in the collection, the personal description of the former poet is curious, and may be supposed to be correct, according to the idea Tipú had formed of him from portraits, &c. A still more interesting point is the testimony borne here by Sâdi himself to his visit to India, a question still in dispute (see M. de Tassy's "Saadi auteur des premières poesies hindoustani," and other communications on the subject in the Nouveau Journal Asiatique), but which I think may, according to all the evidence, be fairly decided in the affirmative. It would, indeed, appear a very shadowy support of the argument, to quote a dream as evidence of a fact in biography; but there is at least in its favour the presumption that Tipú relates an appearance which would not have occurred to his imagination, if it had not been directed by a traditionary fact.

Of dreams in connection with literature, and of the allusions to them in poetry, much might be said, and a collection of such extracts would form a very copious anthology. From the use made of the subject by European poets, it will be readily conceived how much would be drawn by the highly imaginative mind of the Easterns from a source which has supplied some of their finest imagery to

Homer and to Virgil. A familiar instance will be found by the student in the Yúsuf u Zulaikha of Jámi, in which the form of Joseph presents itself three times successively to Zulaikha during sleep, and the European reader is enabled by Mr. Rosenzweig's elegant and faithful translation, in the Vienna printed edition, to appreciate the merit of these, the most beautiful passages in the poem. In Sâdi's moral work also, the Gulistán, one of the earliest apologues relates the appearance of Sultan Mahmúd of Ghaznah in a dream, and its explanation. It should not be forgotten either, that the Arabic poem Burdah, composed in honour of Muhammed, testifies the poet's gratitude for his miraculous recovery from ague, of which he was cured by the appearance of the Prophet in a dream; and it has been said that Bukhári undertook the compilation of the Sahíh, the most copious and important of the collections of Tradition, from a recommendation under similar circumstances.

To this more serious anecdote in literary biography, the suggestion of Tartini's celebrated Rondo del Diavolo by the appearance of his Satanic majesty during the composer's sleep, offers so apposite though ludicrous a parallel, as to occur involuntarily to the recollection, even in the discussion of a subject of a philosophical nature.

Melancholy, in connection with the untimely fate of its object, is the very recent instance of the dream of the late lamented Mr. James Richardson, the African traveller, by which he was warned of his approaching death,—an omen so speedily and so fatally verified. The anecdote is related in the account of his last journey, posthumously published, and though not strictly an oriental example, is probably to be accounted for by the influence of eastern superstition on a mind already depressed by sickness and fatigue, and may appropriately conclude these observations on the practice of dream-interpretation.

I cannot but think that such subjects as the present, however frivolous they may appear, are not wholly unworthy to engage our attention, as a part of the study of the comparative anatomy of the human mind, exemplified as much in trifles as by examples of a graver class; and in a more practical view, as an illustration of the manners and character of the Muhammedan people, which are to be studied in their superstitious observances, as well as under the more serious aspect of their sciences and history;—in their weaknesses as well as in their wisdom;—in a belief which they have perpetuated with their language from the days of Ishmael to the present hour, and which they still justify by the tradition that although "The power of prophecy has passed away, yet revelation by dreams still remains."

APPENDIX.

The following list of Muhammedan works and authors on the science of Tâbír cannot pretend to be more than a mere skeleton of its literature, nor does it attempt chronological exactness, further than that which is suggested by the authorities quoted. Reference to native biographies would have led to a more accurate arrangement, but the object being simply bibliographical, the sketch is offered to orientalists in its present rude state.

The numbers to Háji Khalfa refer to Flügel's printed text; *Sh.* to the authorities named in Ibn Sháhín's preface; *K.* to those in the Kámil ul Tâbír: other names, less frequently quoted, are indicated in full.

It has been thought best to append to this list also the description and contents of some of the works mentioned in the essay, with such other details as would have encumbered the text, or been inconveniently long in the foot-notes.

Muhammedan Works and Authors on Tâbír.

كتاب الاصول لدانيال الحكيم Kitábu 'l Usúl li Dániáli 'l Hakím. The Book of Principles [of Tâbír], by the Sage Dániál (the Prophet Daniel). Háji Khalfa calls it simply Usúlu Dániál, and (No. 848) Usúlu 'l Tâbír li Dániál.—Sh.; K.; H. Kh.

D'Herbelot—article *Daniel*—mentions that a MS. existed in the Bibliothèque du Roi in Paris, called *Odhmat* al Mancoul ân Danial al Nabi. (No. 410.)

كتاب الجوامع لمحمّد بن سيرين Kitábu 'l Jawámî li Muhammed ben Sírín. The Book of Collected Dreams, by Abú Bekr Muhammed ben Sírín of Basrah; *b.* 62 A.H. (728 A.D.); *d.* 110 (728), in the reign of the Khalif Hishám of the Umayyad dynasty.—Jawámî ul Tâbír; H. Kh. 4247; Kitábi Jámi'; K.; Fihrist; Sh.

كتاب التقسيم لجعفر الصادق Kitábu 'l Tacsím li Jâfari 'l Sádic. The Book of Arrangement of Dreams, by Jâfar Sádic, the sixth Imám; *d.* 148 A.H. (765 A.D.). The Kámil calls it Kitábi Tefsír (Tâbír?).—H. Khalfa, Tacsím el Roya; Sh.; K.; H. Kh. 3483.

كتاب الدستور لابرهيم الكرماني Kitábu 'l Destúr li Ibrahími' 'l Kirmáni. The Rule of Dream Interpretation, by Ibrahím Ibn Abdallah Kirmání. He would appear to have lived in the time of the

Khalif Al Mehdi, from his interpretation of a dream related in the Káuil, and already referred to.—Fihr.; K.; Sh.; H. Kh.; and anonymous Turkish MS.

كتاب الارشاد لجابر المغربي Kitábu 'l Irshád li Jábiri' 'l Maghribí. The Book of Direction [in interpreting dreams], by Jábir al Maghribí. Hj. Khalfah calls it Irshádu 'l Tâbír, and the author, Shaikh Jábir ben Hayyán (حيّان) ibn Shaikh al Maghribi, probably the great traditionist. (No. 508.)—K.; Sh.

كتاب التعبير لاشمعيل الاشعث Kitábu 'l Tâbír li Ishmâíli 'l Ashâs; also called Tâbíru Ibn Ashâs.—K.; Sh.; H. Kh.

كنز الرويا المامونى Kanzu 'l Rúyá al Mámúni. Treasure of Dreams of Mámún, viz., of Mámún's time, or compiled by his orders. In Hj. Kh., "Thesaurus Somniorum Mamunici." *Qy.* Mamunicus? It is also quoted as Khabaru 'l Mámúni.—Kh.; Sh.; H. Kh. 10,903; and Hist. of Arab. Lit.; and as Al Tâbír al Mamúní, H. Kh., 3070.

كتاب بيان التعبير لعبدوس Kitábu Bayánu 'l Tâbír li Abdús. Exposition of Dream Interpretation.—K.; Sh.; H. Kh., No. 3057, and again No. 1981, where the author's name reads عبديوس.

كتاب جملة الدلايل Kitábu Jumlati 'l Daláïl; or, Jumali 'l Daláïl. Sum of Arguments [in favour of dream-interpretation]; also, Jumalu 'l Daláïl wa 'l Manámát.—K.; Sh.; H. Kh. 4189.

كتاب منادي التعبير Kitábu Manádíu 'l Tâbír. Manifestation of Dream-interpretation.—K.; Sh.

كتاب كافي الرويا Kitábu Káfiu 'l Rúyá. Complete Dream Book. —K.; Sh.; H. Kh. 9709.

كتاب مفرّح الرويا Kitábu Mufarrihi 'l Ruyá.—K.; Sh.

كتاب التعبير لبطلميوس Kitábu 'l Tâbír li Batlamíús. The name, variously deformed in different MSS., evidently is to be read so, for Ptolemy. In Ibu Sháhíu's list of authorities it is لطاوس. *Qy.* by Táús the traditionist?—H. Kh. 3064.

تحفة الملوك Tuhfetu 'l Mulúk. A Present for Kings; a Compendium, in fifty-nine Macálahs, by Abú 'l Abbás Ahmed ben Khalaf ben Ahmed al Sejestání.—K.; Sh.; H. Kh. 2674; and Turkish MS.

منهاج التعبير Minháju 'l Tâbír. Right Road to Dream Interpretation, by Khálid Isfahání (خالد اصفهاني H. Kh. 13,226).—K.; Sh.

مقدّمة التعبير Mucaddamatu 'l Tâbír; or (H. Kh.), Mucaddamat fí 'l Tâbír. Introduction to Interpretation of Dreams (12,773).

حقايق الرويا Hacáïcu 'l Rúyá. Truth of Dreams.—Sh.; H. Kh. 4556.

كتاب الذخير لمحمّد ابن شامويه Kitábu 'l *Zukhír*. The Treasury of Dreams, by Muhammed Ibn Shámúyah. Probably, *Al Zakhírat*.—K.; Sh.

كتاب التعبير لابي سعيد الواعظ Kitábu 'l Tâbír li Abí Sâídi 'l Wáïz. Dream-interpretation, by Abu Sâíd al Wáïz.—K.; Sh.; H. Kh. 9979.

تعبير حافظ Tâbíri Háfiz. Dream-book, by Háfiz Ibn Muhammed Ishác.—K.

كامل التعبير Kámilu 'l Tâbír. Complete Dream Interpreter, by Shaikh Sharafuddín Abu 'l Fazl Husain ben Ibrahím ben Muhammed al Tiflísí; compiled for Kilij Arslán Ibn Masúd, &c. Persiau; tweuty authorities named; divided into sixteen Fasls, &c.; (see analysis in text); 8vo.; in the libraries of the East India House aud of the Royal Asiatic Society. The latter copy is slightly imperfect at the end. The work begins سپاس مر خداي‌را كه او صمد و قادر است

كتاب الاشارة الي علم العبارة Kitábu 'l Ishárat ilă îlmi 'l Ibárat, by Abú Abdillah Ibn Umar al Sálimi. This is the same title as that of Ibn Sháhín's large work, in which it is named as an authority. It is probably the MS. alluded to by D'Herbelot, under the head of "Ebn Sirin," *Isharat fi ilm il Ibárat*, in fifty chapters, founded on the work of Abu Ishac al Kirmani, and, as D'Herbelot adds, by some attributed to Al Sálimi.—Bibl. du Roi, 1094.

الدرّ المنتظم في السرّ المعظّم Al Durru 'l Mantazim fi 'l Sirri 'l Muâzzam. Arranged Pearls concerning the important Mystery [of Dreams], by Muhammed al Cudsí al Ghaibí.—Sh.

كتاب متفرق الكلمات Kitábu Mutafarricu 'l Kelimát (?).—K.

كتاب الاشارة في علم العبارة للشيخ الامام خليل بن شاهين الظاهري Kitábu 'l Ishárat fí Ilmi 'l Ibárat. The Book of Indication, on the Science of Dream Interpretation, by the Imám Khalíl ben Sháhín al Dháhirí; divided into eighty chapters of classified dreams, with some preliminary dissertations. Commences الحمد لله الذي خلق آدم من طين ثم نفخ فيه روحاً. The date of the author's death is left blank in the printed text of Háji Khalfah, No. 754. I have not found this author quoted in any other work, and the only copy I know is in my own private collection.

The above are chiefly the authorities of Ibn Sháhín and the Kámil and are mostly found in both works. The following are almost entirely from Háji Khalfah.

تعبير ابن المقري A work by Ibnu 'l Mucri. 3059.

تعبير ابي صهل Tâbíru Abí Sahl (Mesíhi). 3060.

تعبير ارسطو Tâbíru Aristú. A work bearing the name of Aristotle. 3061.

تعبير افلاطون Tâbíru Aflátún (Plato). 3062.

تعبير اقليدس Tâbíru Iclídas (Euclid). 3063.

تعبير جاحظ Tâbíru Jáhiz (?). H. Kh. 3065. Probably Háfiz, Ibn Muhammed, above. Unless, possibly, a work of Al Jáhiz of Basrah, who died 255 A.H.

تعبير جالينوس Tâbíru Jálínús (Galen). 3066.

تعبير القادري Tâbíru 'l Cádiri. Cádir's (or the Cadirian) Dream-book; composed for the Khalif Cádir Billah (397 A H. = 1006 A.D.), by Abu Sád Nasr ben Yácúb Dainweri.—H. Kh. 3069; and Tâb. Sult.

A Turkish metrical version of the Tâbíru 'l Cádiri, by Shihábuddín Ahmed ben Muhammed al Hanafi Ibn Arabsháh, who died 584 A.H. (1450 A.D.) In some catalogues the author is called Abu Abdillah Muhammed Cádiri.—H. Kh. 3069.

تعبير نامج Tâbír Námej, by Abu Táhir Ibrahím ben Yahyá ben Ghannám al Hanbali; *d.* 693 A.H. (1293 A.D.) In fourteen dis-

sertations, and an alphabetical arrangement of dreams. Begins الحمد لله الذي جعل النوم راحة الانسان.—H. Kh. 3071.

كتاب التخبير في علم التعبير Kitábu 'l Takhbír fí ílmi 'l Tábír. Information on Dream Interpretation, by the Imám Muhammed ben Umar Fakhr uddín Rází; *d.* 606 A.H. (1209 A.D.)—H. Kh. 2726, and T. Sultáni, next mentioned.

تعبير السلطاني Tábíru 'l Sultání. The Royal Dream-book, compiled by the Cází Ismâíl ben Nizámuddín Abercohí, for Abú 'l Fawáris Sháh Shujáâ, 736 A.H. (1361 A.D.) In the E. I. H. Library and Sir Gore Ouseley's collection.—H. Kh. 3067. Commences الحمد لله الذي خص خواص الانام

التعبير المنيف والتآويل الشريف Al Tábíru 'l Muníf wa 'l Táwílu 'l Sheríf. Sublime Interpretation and Noble Explanation [of dreams], by Shaikh Muhammed ben Cutbuddín (Rúmí) Isníkí; *d.* 885 A.H. (1450 A.D.) Begins الحمد لله الذي اظهر المعاني في القلم —H. Kh. 3070.

تعبير نامج Tábír Námej, by Mulla Yahyá Níshápúri Fettáhí. A poem in Persian, beginning اي برون وصفت زتعبير كلام Fettáhi died 852 A.H. (1448 A.D.)—H. Kh. 3072.

الاثار الرائقة في اسرار الواقعة Al Asáru 'l Raïcah fí Asrári 'l Wákiâh. Beautiful Narrations on the secret Events of Dreams.—H. Kh.

ارجوزة التعبير Arjúzatu 'l Tábír; or, Arjúzat fí Tábíri 'l Rúyá; by Shaikh Abú 'l Hasan Ali ben al Sakan al Mâáfirí (السكن المعافري). —H. Kh. 3057 and 451.

البدر المنير في علم التعبير Al Bedru 'l Munír fí Ilmi 'l Tábír. The Splendid Moon of Dream Interpretation, by Shaikh Shihábuddín Ahmed ben Abdul Rahman al Mucaddesi (*d.* 697 = 1297), to which a Commentary was written by Al Hanbali.—H. Kh. 3057 and 1723.

ايضاح التعبير Izáhu 'l Tábír. Elucidation of Dreams.—H. Kh.

اشارة في تسهيل العبارة Ishárat fí Tes-híli 'l Ibárat. Indication to lighten Dream Interpretation, by Abul Hasan *Sheith* (شيث) ibn Ibrahím al Cuhádi; *d.* 599 A.H. (1202 A.D.)—H. Kh. 766.

كتاب المنامات Kitábu 'l Manámát. Book of Dreams, by Yezíd Ibn Usaid (اسيد) Ibn Abí 'd Dunyá (*d.* 281 A.H. = 894 A.D.); otherwise Abdallah (ben Muhammed ben *Ubaid*) ben Abí Dunyá.—H. Kh. 10,535; and Hammer-Purgstall, Literaturg. 1938 and 2666½.

كتاب التعبير by Shaikh Tájuddín Abdul Wahháb ben Ahmed ben Arabsháh Dimishki (*d.* 901 A.H. = 1495 A.D.) A poem, 4000 verses.—H. Kh. 9979.

كتاب التعبير by Abu Ishac Kirmání, who says in his book, that he received from Yúsuf Siddíc (Joseph) that Patriarch's own mantle in a dream; that there is nothing in his book but what he had himself experienced; and that the allegorical interpretations of dreams were taken from the writings of Abraham, Daniel, Sâíd ben al Musayyab, and Ibn Sírín.—H. Kh. 9979.

خواب نامهٔ يوسف Kh'áb Námehi Yúsuf; consisting of an introduction, ten chapters, and an appendix, which is deficient in the MS. See p. 125 of Essay. (Library of East India House). Not quoted in any work I have seen.

Casiri (Cat. Bibl. Escur.) describes a poetic work, درّة الاحلام Durretu 'l Ahlám, "Somniorum Margarita," The Pearl of Dreams, by Ibrahím ben Yahyá ben Ghannám al Nuuairi, al Harráni; probably the same as the author of the Tâbír Namej (*suprà*), and this work metricised from it. Casiri says the authorities given in the preface are Gemaleddinus (Jamáluddín) ben al *Sebii* (?), called Oneirocrites (المعبّر?), Ahmed ben Sírín, Ibrahím ben Cutaibah al Dainwerí, and Ali *Alphaderi* (?).

To these are to be added; from the Fihrist,[1] كتاب الانتظارات النوميّة Kitábu 'l Intizárati 'l Naumiyah. Admonitions in Sleep, by Abu Sulaimán al Mantiki.

[1] فهرست الكتب Fihristu 'l Kutúb, the oldest Arabic authority for literature, by Muhammed ben Ishac al Nadím, is fully described in the last article of Hammer-Purgstall's Handschriften, No. 412, in whose collection there was at that time a copy of the first volume, unique in Western Europe. A transcript of the second volume has since been made from a MS. in one of the public libraries in Constantinople, and deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. From this copy I am indebted to the kindness of my friend M. Garcin de Tassy for an extract containing the subject of dreams, which, from the scarcity of the original, I insert here, *verbatim*, in text. It will be seen that, besides those, already quoted, of Ibn

كتاب في الرويا a work on Dreams, by Ibn Bakús; and

كتاب تعبير الرويا by Al *Fíriúní* (*Qy.* Far'úní).

The following names of authors appear without the titles of their works.

Of Ibn Sháhín's authorities.

Shaikh Auhaduddín Abdul Latíf Dimyáti.
Shaikh Abdul Cádir al *Ashmúni.*
Shaikh Yúsuf al *Kerdúni* al Sikanderí.
Shaikh Muhammed al Far'úní.
Shaikh Hasan al Ramlí.
Shaikh Núruddín al Ghazáwí.
Shaikh Takíuddín al Cudsí.
Shaikh Sharafuddín al *Kerki.*
Shaikh Shamsuddín Hamdún al Safadi.

In the "Literaturgeschichte der Araber."

(2092) Abul Tayib Muhammed al *Dhabi* (ضبي); *d.* 308 A.H. (920 A.D.)
(2150) Muhammed al Dúlábi; *d.* 310 A.H. (922 A.D.)
(2207) Al Barnáti.
(2299) Junaid; *d.* 297 A.H. (910 A.D.)
(2370) Custá ben Lúcá, of Baalbek.

Sírín, Al Kirmání, and Ibn Cutaibah, and the Greek authors Artemidorus and Porphyrius, two other works are alluded to, under the general title of Tâbíru 'l Rúyá, but without their authors' names, and apparently designed for the use of the Shiahs.

الكتب المؤلّفة في تعبير الرؤيا ، كتاب ارطاميدروس في تعبير الرؤيا خمس مقالات ، كتاب النوم واليقظه لفرفوريوس ، كتاب ابي سليمان المنطقي في الانتذارات النومية ، كتاب الفه ابرهيم ابن بكوس في الرويا ، كتاب تعبير الرؤيا لابن سيرين ، كتاب تعبير الرؤيا للكرماني ، كتاب تعبير الرؤيا للفيرياني حديث ، كتاب تعبير الرؤيا لابن قتيبة ، كتاب تعبير الرؤيا علي مذهب اهل البيت الفه — ، كتاب تعبير الرؤيا لاهل البيت ،

(2378) Abu Nasr (Muhammed ben Muhammed ben *Tarchan Ewsalagh*) al Fárábí; *d.* 339 A.H. (950 A.D.)

(2419) Jafar Ben Muhammed Abú Mashar, of Balkh (Albumazares); *d.* 272 A.H. (885 A.D.)

(2646) Muhammed ben Hammád al Dúlabí (Abu Bekr Muhammed ben Ahmed ben Hammád ben Sâd al Ansárí); *d.* 320 A.H. (932 A.D.); probably same as No. 2150.

Muhammed ben Hammád is named also in the Turkish MS. next described; and another author,

Abdallah ben *Muslim Cutni* (قتني).

There is also a Risáleh on Dreams, by Shaikh Muhammed Sâíd, —possibly Sâíd ul Wáïz (*suprà*),—from which an extract is found, with other scientific treatises, in a volume containing Shír Khán Lodai's Tazkirah, the Mirát ul Khayál (E. I. H. Library, and a MS. belonging to the Rev. Mr. Cureton). Its contents seem to be nearly those in the Nefáïs ul Funún.

Within a few days only, I have met with a MS. work on Tâbír, which being too late for notice in its proper place, may perhaps best be described here. A note on the fly-leaf calls it "*Tahber Nameh*," (Tâbír Námeh). "An Arabic and Turkish Dictionary, by Ebn Shireen;" and at the first glance it would appear to be a Turkish translation of Ibn Sírín's book, and I was therefore in hopes of having found the means of settling satisfactorily the claims of the pseudo-Ibn Sírín. This, however, evidently cannot be the case, as he is quoted in the work as an authority, and his name is found among the writers on Tâbír, enumerated in its "Table of Classes." Neither does the preface give the title of the work, the name of the author, nor even of the translator, but it had clearly an Arabic original, as appears from the rubrics of the classed dreams being in that language, in order to preserve the alphabetical arrangement of the subjects, the explanation being in Turkish; from which contrast arose the false description given probably by some ingenious bibliopole. The date of transcription, 1096, appears at the end, with the name of the scribe. The division is into fourteen sections, or Discourses (Cavl, Macálah), treating, as in most Tâbír Námehs, on the Adáb, or duties and qualifications of the Muâbbir, the nature of sleep and dreaming, the kinds of dreams, &c., followed by one thousand subjects usually occurring in them, with the interpretation, forming Macálah 14th and last. The 13th Macálah is, however, interesting, as it enumerates in fifteen

Tabacát, or classes, those persons most celebrated for interpretation of dreams, and in particular, in Class 6, those who have composed books on the science. The whole list, one hundred in number, is taken, or rather selected, from the work of Hasan ben Husain, which contains seven thousand five hundred, in fifteen classes, Tabacátu 'l Muabbirín (Hji. Khalfa, No. 7924, where the titles of the first six classes are given, corresponding exactly with these. See also Geschichte der arabischen Literatur, (where for typographical error مفسرين read معبرين). I subjoin the thirteenth Macálah entire. The vowels are those of the MS., which is pointed throughout.

Class I. Prophets. Ibrahím (Abraham), Yâcúb (Jacob), Yúsuf (Joseph), Dánîál (Daniel), Zú 'l Carnain, and Muhammed.

Class II. (Sahábah) Companions of Muhammed. Abú Bekr, 'Omar, 'Osmán, Âlî, Abdallah 'Amr ben al Aás, Abdallah ben Selám, Abu Zar al Ghaffárí, Anas ben Málik, Huzaifah ben al Yamání, 'Áïshah the Mother of the Faithful, and her sister Ismá.

Class III. (Tábi'ín) Followers of the Companions. Saad ben al Musayyab, Hasan Basrí, Rubáh ben Atá, Shâbí, Zehrí, Ibrahím Nakhá'i, Cutádah ben Abd al Aziz, Mujáhid, Sâíd ben Jubaìr, Táús, Thâbit.

Class IV. (Fucaha) Jurisconsults. Abú Hanífah, Sháfîí, Abú Thaur, Auzá'í, Sufain al Thaurí, Cází Abu Yúsuf, Ibn Abí Lailă, Ahmed ben Khanbal, Rahúyah ben Ishac, Búyati, Mansúr, Mu'tim, Abdallah ben Mubárik.

Class V. (Zahhád) Holy Men. Muhammed ben Wási', Temím Dáráni, Shakík Balkhí, Málik Dínár, Sulaimán Temími, Mansúr ben Ammár, Muhammed ben Semmák, Yahyá ben Mu'áz, Ahmed ben Harb.

Class VI. Authors of works on Tâbír. Muhammed ben Sírín (Sírín Muhammed Oghlú), Ibrahím ben Abdallah Kírmáni, Abdallah ben Muslim Cutni, Ahmed ben Khalaf, Muhammed ben Hammád, Husain ben Husain, Artámídúsh Yúnáni (Artemidorus).

Class VII. (Filásefeh) Philosophers. Aflátún (Plato), Mahrárish, Arastátalís (Aristotle), Batlimiús (Ptolemy), Ishac ben Yâcúb, Abu Zaid Balkhí.

Class VIII. (Atibbá) Physicians. Jálínús (Galen), Bucrát (Hippocrates), Bakhtíshúâ, Muhammed ben Zakaríá (probably Al Rází).

Class IX. Jews. Hay ben Akhtab, Kâb ben Ashraf, Músă ben Yâcúb.

Class X. (Nasára) Christians. Hunain ben Mutarajjim, Abu Mukhallad, Zaid Tabarí.

Class XI. (Majús) Magians. Hormuz ben Ardeshír, Buzurjmuhr, Anúshehrwán, Kishmúrd(?), Hamáshd (Jámásp?).

Class XII. (Arab Mushrikler) Idolator Arabs. Abú Jahil ben Hushshám, Abdallah ben Ubă, Naufal ben Abdallah, Amr ben Abd(?), Ibn al Zub'ari, Abú Tálib, Abú 'l 'Ás.

Class XIII. (Saharah) Magicians. Abdallah ben Hilál, Curt ben Zaid al Iblí, Atáb ben Shimir Rází.

Class XIV. (Ashábi Firáset) Physiognomists. Sâd ben Sinán, Ayás ben Mâwiyah, Jundul ben Hakam, Mâwiyah ben Kulthúm.

Nafáïs ul Funún.

نفايس الفنون في عرايس العيون by Muhammed ben Mahmúd Amuli. (No. 3 of Hammer-Purgstall's "Handschriften.") *Tábír* forms the fourth *Fenn*, or branch of art, of the fourth Macálah, or Discourse (of the Ancient Sciences), which comprises the Furú'i Tabâí, or Practical Branches of Natural Science, and it is divided under the following twelve heads:—

Fasl or Section 1. On the real nature of sleep and its causes, and the condition of health required for it; and on the duties of those who interpret dreams.

2. On dreaming of the Divine Glory and spiritual beings; of prophets and saints; sultans and kings; genii and devils; the resurrection, the judgement, and the book [of divine records]; of heaven and hell, and the like.

3. On dreams relating to the human body and its parts, and subjects connected with them.

4. [Dreams of] the uses man makes of his limbs, and the various conditions and accidents to which he is subject.

5. [Dreams of] animals.

6. Of celestial objects, the sky, stars, &c.

7. Of terrestrial objects.

8. Of gardens and orchards, trees, fruits, and the like.

9. Minerals, and objects made from mineral substances.

10. Instruments of art, implements of war, household utensils, and musical instruments.

11. Food, drink, clothes and perfumes.

12. Some remarkable dreams.

In Von Hammer's Eucyclopædische Uebersicht der Wissenschaften des Orients, published anonymously in 1804, in which the science of Tâbír is briefly treated of, the Nafáïs was used; and another, a

Turkish encyclopediac work, the Natáij ul Funún, by Mulla Yahya ben Ali, *d.* A.H. 986.

Tâbír forms also an article in several of the scarce and valuable encyclopedias described by Baron Hammer-Purgstall, in his catalogue of his MSS. Nos. 1 to 14, and 404 to 411.

Hadáïc ul Anwár.

حدایق الانوار و حقایق الاسرار Hadáïc ul Anwár wa Hacáïc ul Asrár, Gardens of Light and Subtilities of Mysteries, by Muhammed ben Umar al Rázi (mentioned in Hammer-Purgstall's Handschriften). The portion of this encyclopedia appropriated to the subject of dreams occupies ten pages, and is thus arranged:

1st. Asli Záhir. In description of the perceptive powers of man.
2nd. On the nature of sleep.
3rd. On the theory of dreaming.

1st. Asli Mushkil. What dreams should be interpreted.
2nd. On the rules for interpreting dreams.
3rd. On the different kinds of dreams.

Followed by three *Imtihán's*, each containing a remarkable dream. (These three dreams are given in p. 141 of the essay.)

For the use of the only copy I have seen of this valuable little compendium of science, I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. George Hunt, of Plymouth.

Ajáïb ul Makhlúcát.

Ahmed Túsi's work, similar both in name and in its subject to that of Cazwíni, is mentioned in Baron Hammer-Purgstall's catalogue of his Manuscripts, as of such extreme rarity as to be found only in the imperial libraries of Vienna and of Constantinople; and besides those, I know of none except a copy in my own collection, admirable both for the handwriting, which is equally beautiful and correct, and for the exquisite finish of the few paintings which embellish it. Ahmed Túsi died A.H. 555 (A.D. 1160), consequently his work preceded that of Cazwíni by nearly a century and a half. (Handschriften, No. 151.) The only portion it contains on the present subject is comprised in a single page of MS., and is entitled "Chapter 7th (of the

7th column or book) On the Wonders of Sleep and Dream-Interpretation."

Contents of the Eighty Chapters of Ibn Sháhín's Tâbír Námeh.

1. On dreaming of the Deity; of the tent and throne, the Lauhí Mahfúz, the pen, and the Sidret ul Muntahi.

2. Of the angels, and of inspiration; the heavens, the sky, &c.

3. The sun, moon, stars; night, day, heat, cold, and the like.

4. The resurrection and the signs of the last day; Paradise and hell-fire; Al Sírát and Kausar; the reckoning and the balance.

5. Clouds, rain, snow, dew, frost, the dawn, and the rainbow.

6. Lightning, thunder, thunderbolts, the winds, Sirâb (Mirage), and the like.

7. The prophets, the family of Muhammed, the Companions and their successors; the Khalifs and their descendants, and the Sherífs or descendants of Muhammed.

8. Purification, ablution with water and with sand, prayer, reading the Curán; the Curán, and other books [of theology, law, rhetoric, &c.].

9. Calling to prayer; prayer, worship, thanksgiving, the Khutbeh, and preaching.

10. Mekkah, the holy mosque, Medínah, and the sacred places belonging to them; Jerusalem, and the duties of pilgrimage.

11. Mosques, cathedral mosques, colleges, shrines of the prophets and saints, tombs, hospitals, convents, and the like.

12. Going to pilgrimage and to holy wars, caravanserais; fasts and breaking fast; alms, voluntary alms, and sacrifices.

13. Apostacy from Islam; fire-worship and idolatry; turning to the Kiblah; change of one's nature, &c.

14. Cázís, jurisconsults, Ulema, martyrs, &c.

15. Kings, Amírs, viceroys, chamberlains, governors, and all the retinue of a court.

16. Men, women, youths, children, eunuchs, hermaphrodites, male and female servants, both black and white.

17. Oppressors, informers, jailers, executioners, &c.

18. Years, feasts, months, seasons, hours.

19. The human hair and limbs, the tongue, speech, the beard and skin.

20. Diseases and all belonging to them; plague, ulcers, accidents, leprosy, elephantiasis, and all calamities.

21. Blood, matter, ichor, venom, vomiting, indigestion, and the secretions.

22. Bleeding, cupping, anatomy, cautery, taking medicine, powders, &c.

23. The actions and conditions of man when awake, and his movements; counting, selling and buying, rent, and partnership.

24. Killing, crucifying, cutting off limbs, battle, throat-cutting, flaying, and the like.

25. Blows, chains and bonds, imprisonment and hanging.

26. Captivity, contumely, stripes, fighting, violence, tyranny.

27. Marriage, asking in marriage, and divorce, and marriage rites.

28. Gestation and parturition, miscarriage, suckling, &c.

29. Death; washing the corpse, sewing the winding-sheet; the shroud, bier, and grave; burying and disinterring, &c.

30. Seeing the dead, and conversing with them; receiving from dead persons, and giving to them.

31. Towns, countries, and villages; forts, towers, and walls.

32. The earth, and what happens to the soil.

33. Houses, chambers, rooms, ceilings and walls.

34. Falling down of buildings, ruins, breakages and fractures; sinking ditches and canals; closing up wells, caves, and streets.

35. Doors, keys, opening and shutting, &c.

36. Baths, inns, markets, shops, water-mills, bakehouses.

37. Mountains, deserts, hills, pillars, columns, and steps.

38. Seas, rivers, streams, wells, torrents, fountains, reservoirs, jets d'eau, and waters.

39. Ships and vessels of various kinds, and implements connected with them.

40. Orchards, gardens, trees, fruits, flowers, and scented herbs.

41. Vegetables, plants, and pot-herbs.

42. Grain, and corn, and meal, and what is made from them.

43. Drinks, wines and other liquors, according to their kind.

44. Sugar, sugar-cane, honeycomb, and what is made from them.

45. Crowns and head-dresses of all kinds, and clothes.

46. Blinds, screens, veils, &c.

47. Chests, coffers, boxes, pulpits, desks, chairs, &c.

48. Carpets, mats, cushions, curtains, and furnitures and wares.

49. Jewels and ring-stones, and their varieties.

50. Gold and silver, and objects made of them, and different kinds of ornaments.

51. Arms and armour, and things connected with them.

52. Steel, iron, lead, copper, &c.

53. Fire, sparks, embers, coal and cinders.

54. Moving from place to place, travelling, emigration, flying, settling in a place, &c.

55. Tyrants, heretics and followers of false religions, highway robbers, and wicked people.

56. Drums, pipes, and all kinds of musical instruments and games.

57. Books and writing, paper, ink, &c.

58. Horses, camels, oxen, mules, asses, sheep, goats, &c.

59. Wild beasts and their different species.

60. Birds of prey and other birds.

61. Aquatic animals (amphibious, and fishes).

62. Reptiles and their kinds.

63. Flies and their kinds.

64. Lice, fleas, &c.

65. Earth, clay, mud, sand, and dust.

66. Antimony, salt, sulphur, pitch, soap, &c.

67. Incenses, perfumes, and their kinds.

68. Various kinds of spices.

69. Melons, cucumbers, pumpkins, gourds, &c.

70. Wools, hair, feathers, and what is made of them.

71. Silk, cotton, flax, and what is made of them.

72. Implements and utensils, drinking vessels, &c.

73. Food, and what relates to eating, cooking, and the table.

74. Meat and fat, unguents, milk, and preparations of milk.

75. Spinning, weaving, embroidery, &c.

76. Woods, canes, reeds, and kinds of rope.

77. Trades.

78. Various miscellaneous objects.

79. Iblís, devils, yinns, fortune-tellers, and sorcerers.

80. Some remarkable dreams requiring particular interpretation.

These contents are given chiefly from the table or index at the beginning of Ibn Sháhín's work, compared, however, also with the chapters themselves, as there is frequently much more contained in them than appears in the Rubrics. In many of them the classes of objects are further subdivided under separate heads. Besides serving as means of reference for those who wish to consult that work for interpretation, the above list will show the minuteness of detail in which the subject is considered by those who treat of it.

Note to page 143.

To illustrate more fully this historical mode of interpretation, the entire chapter relating to the prophets is given here as it occurs in the Kámil, (Fasl 16th.) which will also serve as a specimen, generally, of the manner in which explanations of dreams are set forth in such books.

Dreams relating to the Prophets.

Dreaming of Adam denotes rank and sovereignty. Speaking with him, learning and knowledge ("and he taught Adam the names of all things," Cur. iii. 29.). If the dreamer repents of sin, he shall obtain forgiveness; ("and Adam became disobedient; afterwards his Lord accepted him, and directed him," Cur. xx. 119-20.) If Adam take his hand, it is lucky; disobedience to him (as with Iblís who would not worship) is unlucky.

Eve. Good fortune, and increase of worldly treasures, and of children.

Seth. Happiness and increase of wealth and children.

Enoch. Success in life, and a happy future state.

Noah. Long life, and success, but attended with trouble from enemies.

Húd. Persecution from enemies, but, ultimately, success over them.

Sálih. Success in undertakings.

Lot. Success; migration from place to place.

Abraham. Pilgrimage, and some say, persecution from an unjust and violent king; others, strife with parents, and also frequent migrations.

Ishmael. Greatness, and success in affairs.

Isaac. Grief and anxiety on account of children, but ultimate success.

Jacob. Goodness, triumph, and success.

Joseph. Calumny and treachery from relations, but subsequently, sovereignty and exaltation.

Moses. Affliction from one's own people and family, and afterwards success and triumph over enemies. Some say, dreaming of Moses foretells the death of an unjust king in that district.

Joshua and David. Affliction from sons.

John (the Baptist). Renouncing worldly occupations for those of the world to come.

Zachariah. Grace from God for obedience, and charitable actions, and piety.

Khizr. A long journey, with prosperity and security.

Elias. Difficulties afterwards made easy.

Jonas. Joy after trouble and grief.

Jesus. The dreamer's dead works shall become alive, and he shall obtain grace for worship and good actions.

Muhammed. (Occupies two pages of the MS. which would be too long to extract.) His appearance is usually favourable.

Abu Bekr. Joy and dignity. (Kirmání says: If he appears in a city, as living, the inhabitants of that city will give much tythe and alms, especially if his face appears open and cheerful; if his face be sad, it foretells a contrary result.)

Omar. Happiness and justice; if in a city, and with open and cheerful countenance, justice will be manifested there.

Osman. Modesty, continence, and temperance. The inhabitants of the city, in which he appears with open and cheerful countenance, will apply themselves to reading the Curán, acquiring knowledge, and doing good; and blessings will abound in that place.

Ali (with similar appearance). Learning, generosity, bravery, honour. If in a city, justice and learning among its inhabitants; and tyranny and violence will pass away from it.

Hasan and Husain. The dreamer will be unexampled in religious devotion, and sincere in temperance.

Jafar Tayyár. ("The winged" martyr of Mútah.) Pilgrimage and holy wars.

Abu Hurairah. Attachment to Sunnah, and love of the noble science (of Tâbír).

Amas (the traditionist). Similar.

Selmán Fáris (Muhammed's barber). Attachment to the Curán, and obtaining a blessed future.

Abdallah Ibn Abbás and Abdallah Ibn Mâsúd. Perseverance in religious faith and duties.

Belál. Grace for good actions and devotion, and acquirement of knowledge; and it is further said, dreaming in general of the Companions of Muhammed betokens a happy lot in this world and the next; also of any of the learned or holy men or philosophers, obedience to God, and acquirement of knowledge.

The interpretations above, relating to the prophets, are Jâfar Sádic's; those to the Khalifs and Imams following, chiefly Ibn

Sírín's. I have given the usual names of those who are scriptural personages.

Examples of Maclúb Dreams omitted in p. 137, *from the Kámil, ch.* 15, *and according to the Interpretations of Ibn Sírín.*

Dreaming of the plague denotes battle; and conversely.
A journey. Conversion to another faith.
Locusts. An army.
Cupping or bleeding. Executing a contract.
Imprisonment. Burial (death).
Ruin of a house. Death of the master of that house.
Birth of a son. Birth of a daughter.
A torrent descending. Coming of an enemy.
Eating a fig. Repentance.
Tillage. Marriage (from a passage in the Curán, II. 223.—نِساؤكم حرث &c.

Additional to Signs of Forgotten Dreams, p. 140.

Placing the hand on the throat indicates a sewer or canal.
The breast. A mosque, convent, or place of prayer.
The fore-arm (from the elbow). Slender trees.
The fingers. Small shrubs.
The thigh. A hill or bank.
The leg. A tree or column.
The back. A desert.
The heel. A small stone.
The side. A sleeping-room. (This would seem to refer to the directions given for a proper sleeping-posture to insure sound dreams.)

On the pretended Greek and Latin version of Ibn Sírín's Oneirocritics.

There are Greek and Latin editions of a work bearing the name of "Achmetes Filius Seirim," evidently intended to represent that of Ibn Sírín, the father of Arabian oneirocritics, and they are generally received as translations from some original MS. of his. There is, however, every reason to doubt the correctness of this opinion, and the authenticity of the supposed translation.

The history of these editions is briefly thus.—In 1160, Leo Tuscus published one in Latin dedicated to Hugo Echerianus. Later appeared

another Latin version by Leunclavius. This was republished with the original Greek in 1603, by Nicholas Rigault,[1] together with the Oneirocritica of Artemidorus accompanied by the editor's notes, and similar compositions by Astrampsychus and Nicephorus Constantinus.

I am unable to say from what, if any, Arabic original, the Greek supposed version was made, for these editions do not refer to any oriental MS., nor, if attentively considered, do they seem to claim any such origin, further than by the assumption of an Arabian writer's name. This name, indeed, seems to have been prefixed to the work without much authority to justify its use, and it is difficult to say when it first appeared so. By Leo Tuscus no pretended eastern source was indicated. The two Greek MSS. consulted by Rigault were, he says, *ακεφαλοι*, having no name of author prefixed, except that to one of them a later hand had put "Achmetes." Leunclavius had given his translation as from a work of Apomazares (Abu Mashar, who was really a writer on dreams in Arabic). Rigault himself knew nothing of the biography of his author, (Achmetes, sive Achametes, as he ingeniously suggests as a synonym,) except that he was the same of whom Gessner mentions seven works on medicine, which he says were also in the possession of Janus Antonius Saracenus, and refers to his Notæ ad Dioscoridem.

That the Arabic original, if there really were such, was not by Ibn Sírín, is abundantly proved. He is introduced as *Σηρειμ*, &c., in many passages, and usually as *ονειροκριτης*, or dream-interpreter to the *Protosymbulos Maimoun*, (the Khalif Al Mámún), and a dream of Mámún himself is related, on the occasion of his being in the temple at Mecca, and on which he consulted *Sereim*. This at once destroys the identity with Abu Bekr Ibn Sírín, who, as already stated in the foregoing essay, died in the reign of the Khalif Hishám, nearly a century before that of Al Mámún.

Other internal evidence shows the work not to have been composed by a Muhammedan. The Gospel is quoted, though the Curán is never once alluded to. The Catholic Trinity is mentioned, and the name of Jesus accompanied by its Christian attributes. The doxology at the end is also Christian, though this might originate with the Greek edition. Besides this, the arrangement, as well as the whole character of the composition, is far from oriental. There is no preface, unless it was omitted purposely, to avoid what the editor probably

[1] Artemidori Daldiani et Achmetis Sereimi F. Oneirocritica, Astrampsychi et Nicephori Versus etiam Oneirocritici. Nicolai Rigaltii ad {Artemidorum Notæ. Lutetiæ, apud Marcum Orry, via Jacobæa, ad insigne Leonis salientis. CIↃICCIII.

would have considered impious, the praise of the unity of the Godhead and of the Prophet of Islam. The comparison instituted in it between the old Persian and Egyptian systems of oneiromancy would not have been admitted by a Muhammedan writer, who would take no interest in investigating the opinions of other religious sects, nor possess the means of quoting them. There are, indeed, some curious circumstances indicated in it with regard to those systems, and some names not generally known; Συρβαχαμ is mentioned as a dream-interpreter of a king of India; Βαραμ (Varanes, Behrám) as interpreter to *Saanissa*, king of Persia (a Sasanian king?), and *Tarphan*, to Pharaoh, king of Egypt. It is remarkable that in one passage in the work Sereim appears as if the narrator, ερωτησε μοι τῳ υιῳ του Σηρειμ, &c., though on all other occasions he is spoken of only in the third person. The name is written sometimes Σειρημ, sometimes Σειρην, but most frequently Σηρειμ, and in one or two instances as ὁ υιος του Σηρειμ.

On the whole it is reasonable to suppose the Greek to have been the original of the work, or perhaps that it was compiled in Arabic by some Christian, probably of Syria, from various native sources, and of these, especially, the Khabar al Mámúni, which would account for the frequent mention of Mámún. Ibn Sírín's name may have been assigned to it as its author, from the numerous interpretations it contains of his.

ART. X.—*On the original extension of the Sanskrit language over certain portions of Asia and Europe; and on the ancient Aryans* (आर्य), *Indians, or Hindus of India-Proper.* *By* A. CURZON, ESQ.

IN tracing back the origin of nations beyond the period embraced by the special histories of Greece and Rome, we reach the interval in universal history, during which four great nations are known to have flourished, and to have extended their relations, political, military, or commercial, over the various regions of the globe. These are the races of India, China, Phœnicia, and Egypt. The two latter have long ceased to exist as distinct nations; or rather have been absorbed in other nationalities; whilst the two former, beside constituting the most numerous portion of the human race, have continued their ethnical existence to the present time. That other races of men inhabited the countries which have since been occupied and peopled by these races anterior to them may be considered certain; but no data exist from which it can be inferred that any considerable monarchy, or empire, was ever founded in any of these countries, prior to the clear, national establishment of those races, respectively, in India, China, Phœnicia, and Egypt. The three former are the nations of Asia, who, whether by the antiquity of the civilization attributed to them, or the permanent influence they have exerted in the history of mankind, must be regarded by modern writers as the earliest races that have established themselves as great nations, whose peculiar languages and institutions mark them as the most distinct divisions of the human species, from whose records all researches in general history and ethnology must commence. Of the Chinese and the Phœnicians I shall have as little to remark as of the Egyptians. It is principally to the race of India, branched out and multiplied into that of the great Indo-European family, that the few observations I beg to offer in this brief and imperfect paper will be directed.[1]

[1] In speaking of this race, it has been usual to employ the term Indo-Germanic; but this appears too restricted in signification. Although the classification of the various nations who belong to this family would admit of almost unlimited subdivision, the more important only can be here noticed. I should therefore prefer to divide this great family into the Indo-Persic, Indo-Scythic, Indo-Hellenic, Indo-Italic, Indo-Celtic, Indo-Gothic, Indo-Slavonic, and Indo-Polynesian nations. These, it will be observed, are only the principal groups of the family. It would

From the study of the Sanskrit language, and the researches which have been made into its literature, within little more than half a century, by the labours of Jones, Wilford, Colebrooke, Professor Wilson, and more recently by the philological investigations of Bopp, Burnouf, Pott, Lassen, and Benfey, amongst other inquirers, a fact of a very high historical importance may be considered to have been established, and to be now fully recognised by all acquainted with the languages classed as those of the Indo-European family; namely, that there is a remarkable analogy in their structure and grammatical forms, and a surprising similarity—resulting in ultimate identity—in the radical words comprehended in all the members of this family of languages. These are the Sanskrit, Cuneiform, Persic, (Zandic)[1], Armenian, Greek, Latin,

transcend the limits of this sketch to offer any remarks on the ethnological systems of Blumenbach, Prichard, or other naturalists. If races of men be conveniently classed, however, according to their primitive settlements along certain mountain ranges, as the original seat of the Turkish nations is supposed to be the Altai range, and of the Finns the Ural chain of mountains, the Aryans would be more appropriately designated, perhaps, as the *Himalayan* race than as constituting the Caucasian.

[1] With respect to the language which was first introduced to the European world by Anquetil du Perron as "Zende," and which has since continued under that designation, I cannot refrain from observing that the true import of this term appears to have been strangely misunderstood. What does the word "Zand" mean? I am not aware that either Olshausen, Lassen, or Bopp has given any explanation of the signification of this word. Brockhaus, a more recent authority, supposes it, adopting Burnouf's views, to be derived from "Zañtu," used in the Yasna in the sense of "ville," "bourg." He observes, "Aus diesem Worte, in dem Sinne des Städtischen, Gebildeten, bildet sich die Bedeutung: gebildete Sprache der Städte, darin geschriebenes Buch. Hieraus der Name Zend zu erklären." (Vendidad Sade, 1850, p. 360.) Instead of elucidating the meaning, however, it is evident that the word has no connexion whatever with "zañtu," the Zandic form of the Sans. जन्तु (jantu), which is derived from another root जन (jan) "to be born or produced." Zand, in زنداوستا (zand-avastá), or زندابستا (zand-abastá),—for it is written either way in Persian,—was never applied by the Parsis to the ancient *language* of Persia, but to the *books* of Zoroaster, and is consequently improperly used to designate that dialect of Sanskrit. This word is certainly derived from one or other of the following Sanskrit bases:—छन्दस् (chhandas), as suggested by W. von Schlegel, in the sense of the Vedas, that is, scripture; खण्ड (khanda), काण्ड (kánda), or स्कन्ध (skandha), meaning section, or chapter of a book, or book itself. It is sometimes written ژند (zhand), which, if considered as the more ancient orthography, is easily traced to छन्द (chhanda), with the original sibilant

Celtic, Gothic, German, Lithuanian, Slavonic, and numerous other kindred forms of speech. With the exception of the four first, they comprise, with their dialects and sub-dialects, nearly the whole of the languages of the different nations of ancient and modern Europe. It is known that from each of these a variety of vernacular dialects has sprung up, some of which have become dead languages, and have given rise to other newer idioms. Thus from the Sanskrit are usually enumerated fifty-six dialects as known in India; the principal of which are the Páli, long since the dead and sacred tongue of the Buddhists; the Mágadhi, a more recent form of Páli, and an ancient dialect of a great part of Behár, also a dead language; various forms of Prákrit; besides nine-tenths of Hindi, Bengali, Mahratti, Gujrati, and the rest of the fifty-six dialects. Páli, in its turn, forms a considerable part of

dropped. It appears to have been formerly employed by the Parsis, nearly in the same manner as the Páli खाण्ड (khánda), in धम्मखाण्ड (dhammakháuda), "book of religion," for the Sanskrit धर्म्मखण्ड (dharmakhanda), which is applied by the Buddhists of Burmah to their scriptures.

Erskine, Rask, and Lepsius were of opinion long since that the Zand writing was only a transcript of the Pehlavi (since verified by Olshausen—see Thomas, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, xii. 255-6), and is therefore not older than the time of the Sassanides (compare Lepsius, Ueber die Anordnung und Verwandtschaft des Semitischen, Indischen, etc., p. 56).

Viewing this language in the most unexceptionable form, according as it is presented in the restorations of Burnouf, in the Commentaire sur le Yaçna, and continued in a series of papers in the Journal Asiatique, and according also to a more recent emended edition of the Zand-Avastá, by Professor Lassen (Vendidadi capita quinque priora, Bonn, 1852), its character as a dialect of Sanskrit, though strangely transformed in a Pehlavi dress, cannot stand in comparison with the Cuneiform Persic in point of antiquity. Spiegel, the latest investigator into the real structure and character of this language, finds the term "zand" so indefinite and vague as to call the language the "Pársisprache" (see his Grammatik der Pársisprache nebst Sprachproben, Leipzig, 1851), although the language of the Parsis, properly so called, is the Gujrati in India, and modern Persian in Persia. With reference to the true etymological signification of ابستا (abastá), which is lost in Persian, Müller (Essai sur le Pehlavi, p. 297) and Spiegel (in the above Grammar, pp. 206, 207) consider, from the manner in which it is employed by the Parsis, that it corresponds to the European acceptation of "textus." This is true in its modern and conventional sense; but this view gives no explanation of its probable derivation. The word, I conceive, is only a modified form of the Sanskrit अभ्यस्त (abhyasta), "learned by heart," or "committed to memory as a sacred precept," and seems to explain its connexion with ژند (zhand), or छन्द (chhanda), the scriptures of Zaratusht.

the languages of Burmah, Pegu, Siam, and other Buddhistic countries. From the Persic have sprung at least twelve dialects, including the Pehlavi and the Dari. The ancient grammatical Armenian, to which the Phrygian was nearly related, appears to have been connected also with the Median and the Lydian. Independently of the four classical dialects, the Œolic, Doric, Ionic, and Attic, there must have prevailed contemporaneously with these the Thessalian, Bœotian, Elean, Macedonian, and other dialects, among the different Greek states, less cultivated, of course, than the four former. The Thracian, however it may have been regarded by Athenian vanity, must be considered as allied to the Greek, though more remotely than the Macedonian, and stood between the latter and the Gothic. The Doric was closely connected with the Macedonian, which is natural, considering the supposed original seat of the Dorians; the Macedonian with the Thracian, the Thracian with the Phrygian, the Phrygian with the Armenian, the Armenian with the Persic, and the Persic with the Sanskrit.

Of the various dialects of ancient Italy, which, after the Roman dominion, merged into and formed the common language of the Romans, the Etruscan and the Oscan seem to have exerted the greatest influence. The Umbrian dialect was almost obsolete on the spread of the Etruscan. We have no certain knowledge of the characteristic discrepancies or peculiarities of the other dialects, excepting the Doric tendency of those of the south, which are more Hellenic than Italic. The whole of the pre-roman Italic dialects differed no more from each other and from their parent type than did the numerous Prákrit forms of the same in India at a synchronous period; otherwise the classical Latin, which is only the cultivated, condensed, modified, and written form of those dialects, would present a physiognomy more distinct and varying from the Sanskrit than the likeness which it is known to bear to the latter. The principal derivatives of Latin are, it is almost superfluous to observe, the four cultivated languages of modern Europe, as exhibited in the Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, throughout the various phases which they have assumed for the last ten or twelve centuries. In addition to which may be named the Romanic, or obsolete language of the troubadours, and the mixed Neo-Hellenic and Slavonic, and very considerably modified languages of the Bulgarians and Wallachians.[1]

The Gothic is the most ancient language of the division of which

[1] For further particulars on the remains of the ancient Italic languages, see Aufrecht and Kirchhoff, in Die Umbrischen Sprachdenkmäler, and the Oskische Grammatik of the former author.

it is at the head. To this belong the Anglo-Saxon, the Friesic, and other allied dialects. The old High German of the eighth century, the middle old High German, and the modern form, with the Dutch and English, or more correctly, the Anglo-Saxon portion of the latter, subdivisions from the Gothic branch. From the Lithuanian, except in a few particulars, the old Slavonic differs little, with which the Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Servian, Croatian, and other less known cognate idioms, are connected. Of the old Northern, or Scandinavian (the language of the Eddas), the Icelandic, the Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish, together with the subdialects of Greenland, the Feroe, Shetland, and Orkney isles, are more modern forms. As there are no means of judging of the Celtic, considered as coeval with the Latin, or even with the Gothic, I can only name the remains of this language in the four forms of the Gaelic, Erse, Welsh, and Bas-breton. The Caucasian members of the same family, which Klaproth[1] had classed as belonging to a different group of languages, are now included in the same, by the more searching investigations of Bopp.

The analogy which the two classical languages of European antiquity bear to the Sanskrit, soon arrested the attention of the first students of Sanskrit, Halhed, Jones, and Wilkins. The connexion has now been found to prevail in other languages, less known and cultivated than the preceding.

The languages of ancient Europe not comprised in this enumeration, which is intended only as a rapid view of the principal members of the Áryan family, are those of the Phœnician colonies of Spain, Portugal, South of France, and perhaps of Britain and Ireland; together with what we must suppose to have constituted the languages of the preceding aboriginal or unclassified inhabitants of Europe, amongst whom the Turduli and Turdetani mentioned by Strabo, though flourishing so late as the first century of the Christian era, are the most remarkable.[2]

[1] Asia Polyglotta, p. 133.

[2] Though the passage is rather a digression, as it relates to an interesting people nearly lost to history, it may not be irrelevant to quote. Of these nations, and the country they occupied, the geographer observes:—

καλοῦσι δ' ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ Βαιτικήν· ἀπο δε τῶν ἐνοιχοῦντων Τουρδετανίαν· τους δ' ἐνοιχοῦντας Τουρδετανούς τε καὶ Τουρδούλους προσαγορευουσιν οἱ μὲν τους αὐτοὺς νομίζουσιν· οἱ δ' ἑτέρους· ὧν ἐστι καὶ Πολυβιος, συνοίκους φήσας τοῖς Τουρδετάνοις πρὸς ἄρκτον τοὺς Τουρδούλους. νυνὶ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς φαίνεται διορισμὸς. Σοφώτατοι δ' ἐξετάζονται τῶν Ιβηρων οὗτοι, καὶ γραμματικῇ χρῶνται, καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς μνήμης ἔχουσι τὰ συγγράμματα, καὶ ποιήματα, καὶ νόμους ἐμμέτρους ἑξακισχιλίων ἐτῶν ὥς φάσι'—Geog., lib. III. p. 204; Amstel. 1707.

"It [the territory] is called Bœtica from the river, and Turdetania from the

Bopp, followed by other investigators in the field of comparative philology, has assumed the position that the Sanskrit, Zandic, Greek, Latin and even Gothic, are languages of a coeval formation;[1] yet the very basis of his researches rests, as it must necessarily rest, on the recognition of the greater antiquity of the Sanskrit over the other kindred dialects. If it can be shown, however, that any one of the nations who spoke these kindred languages was established as a civilized people anterior to the attainment, by any of the rest, of this early civilization, or indeed before their very existence as distinct nations, apart from an etymological analysis of the structure of these forms of speech, considered on independent grounds, which refers them to one common origin—it follows that the language spoken by that pre-established people must be the most ancient, if not the parent, of those other analogous languages, which are consequently inferred to be derived from that source. I venture to affirm that they have all sprung, at different chronological periods, from the Sanskrit; not the existing language in which the Rámáyana, Mahá-bhárata, and the Puráńas are written, but the Vaidik Sanskrit, essentially and peculiarly the primitive written tongue of the Aryan race, or ancient Hindus of India-Proper. I conceive those languages to have arisen synchronously with the different tribes who have spoken them, and exactly as the latter have appeared in history.

inhabitants, and the inhabitants Turdetani and Turduli. Some consider them as identical and others as distinct nations. Of the latter opinion is Polybius, who says the Turduli are situated to the north of the Turdetani. At present, however, there appears to be no difference between them. They are reckoned the most intelligent of the Iberians, possess a literature, ancient written records, poems, and laws in verse, it is said, of six thousand years' date."

With the scanty notices which exist of what appears to have been a lost civilization, it is difficult to judge in which category of races we ought to place these nations; whether we are to consider them as having relation to the Semitic family, and originally Phœnician colonists in Spain; or as belonging to an unrecognised branch of the Aryan stock, or to some other unknown race.

[1] Comparative Grammar (Translation), from page 1 throughout; and in his work Ueber die Verwandtschaft der malayisch-polynesischen Sprachen mit den indisch-europäischen, in pp. 1, 13, 15, 16, 38, etc. He says of the European members of this family of languages, "dem Sanskrit schwesterlich die Hand reichen," not contemplating the possibility of its being shown that the Sanskrit had ceased to be a spoken language several centuries before those dialects were formed, or the historical existence of the nations who spoke them. Without the recognition of the principle of the pre-existence and influence of the Sanskrit as an ancient tongue in determining the true meanings of words in various languages, it would have been impossible for Lassen, Westergaard, and Rawlinson to have successfully interpreted the Cuneiform-Persic inscriptions; or for Burnouf to have attempted to correct and restore the language of the Vandidád Sádah. It would have been equally as impossible for Bopp himself to have written his masterly work without, perhaps, unconsciously admitting that principle.

Although it is principally from the nature and structure of the Sanskrit language itself, from its archaic forms combined with the impress of an early cultivation, and from its capability of resolving into intelligible meanings nearly the whole bulk of the radical words contained in the derivative languages of Persia, Greece, Rome, Central Europe, &c., yet, from the remarkable internal evidence afforded by the primitive religion of the Vedas;[1] from the mythological system of the Puránas, though of a later age than the Vedas, being found to pre-

[1] In reference to the age of the súktas of the Vedas, after the opinions which have been expressed by Sir William Jones who, in speaking of the Yajur-veda, gives 1580 B.C. (Inst. of Menu, pref., p. 12) as its probable date; and Colebrooke (with whom Poley coincides, Fünf Upan, pref., p. 2), who supposes, from astronomical data, 1400 B.C. as the epoch of their collection into the form of Sauhitás, thus implying some time antecedent to this date as the period of their general currency in India (Miscellaneous Essays, I. pp. 109, 200, 332), it might seem supererogatory to offer any further observation on the question. With every respect for the opinions of those distinguished men, to whom, with Wilkins and Professor Wilson, the present generation of Orientalists must ever be indebted for opening the path to a new and vast field of philological and historical research, I beg to observe that as the efforts of Lepsius, Bunseu, and other investigators in collecting data from the monuments of Egypt, are tending to establish a more correct system of chronology than now prevails, I consider the above conjectures (for they are only given as such by their authors) far from even approximatiug to the true epoch of the composition of the súktas of the Vedas. My impression is grounded on the following considerations.

The dates of the reigus of several kings in the dyuasties of Manetho, and other important events in the history of Egypt, have now been fixed on a satisfactory basis. Thus the epoch of the commencemeut of the eighteenth dynasty is 1600 B.C.; the invasion of the Hyksos, 2200 B.C.; the reign of Amenemha III., of the twelfth dynasty, the builder of the origiual labyrinth, 2300 B.C.; reformation of the Egyptian calendar, 2782 B.C.; introduction of the solar calendar, 3282 B.C.; epoch of Chepren-Snefru, Cheops-Chufu, and Menkera, of the fourth dynasty, builders of the pyramids of Gizah, between 3430 and 3400 B.C.; and the first year of Menes is "*historically established*" as occurring iu 3893 B.C. (Lepsius, Chronologie der Ægypter, I. p. 499.) Papyrus was employed by the Egyptians before the year 3400 B.C., as ascertained from monuments of the fourth and fifth dynasties; and hieroglyphical writing was *already in use* in the time of Menes. (Bunsen, in Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte, I. pp. 33—36.) Osymandyas —that is, Ramasses-Miamun—in the fourteenth century B.C. had an extensive library in his temple at Thebes, which had been collected from the more ancient libraries of his predecessors. (Bunsen, id., p. 39.)

With the existence of these facts, without citing others of a similar nature, drawn from the history of Egypt, I cauuot suppose that the Aryans were, at eo-eval periods of their history, even viewing them as ethnically unconnected with the Egyptians, in a less advanced state of civilization; or that society could have existed in India without a moral or religious code, which must have been based on the Vedas, long ages anterior to the dates assigned by our Orientalists for the period of their composition.

M. Langlois, the French translator of the Rig-veda, supposes that a portion of

vail in a fragmentary and imperfect state in the earliest myths and legends of Greece, Rome, Central Europe, and Persia;[1] supported as these facts generally are in the writings of Jones, Wilford, Colebrooke, Bohlen, Benfey, and confirmed by a reference to the scattered notices of India to be found in the numerous classical authorities collected by

them, the súktas, are co-eval at least with the great pyramids of Egypt. He observes, "composé à une époque immémoriale, c'est le monument littéraire le plus ancien qui ait été conservé, et il nous représente, dans l'histoire de l'esprit humain, une phase iuconnue, et d'autant plus intéressante à étudier qu'elle peut nous révéler le point de départ des principales idées qui ont dominé toute l'antiquité classique. Merveilleuse étude à poursuivre, que celle qui se fait sur un livre, contemporain, dans quelques-unes au moins de ses parties, de ces grands monuments d'Egypte dout la pierre est encore silencieusement énigmatique!" (Iutroduction to the Translation of the Rig-veda, p. 1.) I agree with him and Professor Wilson in the opiuion that the hymus of the Rig-veda were composed at successive periods (Id., p. 12), and considerably anterior to the epoch of the first two Rámas. Whether the four sacred books of the Egyptians are the Vedas themselves, or a modified form of the same, is not as yet ascertained from the monuments of Egypt; but any distiuct notice or allusion to them in the mouumeuts would not only coufirm the greater antiquity of those works than is admitted, but would enable us then to approximate in some degree to the epoch, or epochs, if not of their composition, at least to that of their first general prevalence and reception iu India as the foundation of the religious system of the Aryans.

[1] "The fundamental parts of the Puránas," says Troyer, "are as ancient as the Vedas themselves." (Prelim. Dis. to his translation of the Dabistán, p. 60). Vans Kenuedy had made the same observation before. Burnouf says of the Bhágavata Purána, the most recent, it is supposed, of the class (and the observation applies to the whole of them), "Il appartient pour le fond comme pour la forme, à un ensemble d'ouvrages dont on ne possède encore que des fragments, dont on ignore l'origine et l'histoire, et dont la langue n'est comprise que d'un petit nombre d'erudits." (Bhág. Pur., Pref., p. 1.) Again, with respect to their age: "Ils sont également antérieurs, pour la plus grande partie, à la révolution opérée par le Bouddhisme dans l'Inde six siecles au moins avant notre ère." (Id., p. cix.) Independently of being expressly mentioned in Manu, chap. III. sl. 232, and XII. 109 (date according to Sir Wm. Jones, 880—1280 B.C., Inst. of Menu, Pref. p. 11); in the code of Yájnawalkya, the Mitákshará, line 5; in the Rámáyana, Ayodhyákanda, chap. XV. sl. 19, p. 351, Schlegel's ed.; in the Mahábhárata, Adiparwa I., sl. 17, 23, 2293, etc., the ages of which, accordiug to Lassen and Alexander von Humboldt, considerably precede that of the appearance of Buddha, the latest date assigned to whom is in the sixth century B.C., the Puránas are twice cited as the fifth Veda in the Chhándogya upanishad of the Sáma-veda; in the Vrihad-áranyaka upanishad of the Yajur-veda, pp. 30, 55, 56, Poley's ed. 1844; in the Mundáka upanishad of the Atharva-veda, p. 117; and, I have no doubt, in other ancient works as yet little known.

From these authorities, corroborated by that of Colebrooke, who says "that the names of itihása and purána are anterior to Vyása" (Miscel. Essays, I. p. 11), and of Professor Wilson, who is of opinion that "a very great portion of the contents of many, some portion of the coutents of all, is genuine and old" (Vishnu Pur. Trans., Pref. p. vi), there can be little doubt that the primitive portions of

Schwanbeck (Megasthenis Indica, 1846), it may be considered as established, I presume, that long anterior to the foundation of Rome, or the settlement of the Hellenic communities, the Aryan race of India had attained to a high degree of civilization. This is further evinced by the great body of Vaidik literature in the form of súktas, bráhmańas, upanishads, sútras, &c.; by the codes of Manu, Yájnawalkya, and other legislators; by the fundamental and most ancient portion of the Puráńas; by a series of grammarians from a remote period to Páńińi; by the great heroic poems of the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata; by Dhanwantari and his successors in medicine, Áryábhaṫṫa in the mathematics and astronomy, Gotama in logic, and, if the means of research were extant, by other names of ancient celebrity.[1]

All the existing works in Sanskrit are, in my opinion, but the remains of a literature which, I think, there are good grounds to infer had flourished and declined, though subsequently revived at different epochs, before the period to which I have referred, when a great portion of Europe appears to have been inhabited by rude tribes.

The language of the Aryan race, however, has been found to have spread itself over a succession of extensive regions, from Áryavartta, through Ariana, Persia, Armenia, Phrygia, Macedonia, Greece continental and insular, Italy, the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, Spain, Gaul, Britain, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Southern and central Russia in Europe, Southern Russia in Asia, portions of central Asia, and in an easterly direction through Burmah to the confines of the Chinese monarchy; also southward, at a very early period, to the whole extent of the peninsula of India, as well as to the opposite coast of the bay of Bengal, down to the peninsula of Malacca (Lanká, according to Wilford), and the great islands of the Indian Archipelago, as Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and other islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The question now presents itself,—

the Puránas are next in point of antiquity to the súktas of the Vedas, and generally more ancient than the Bráhmanas, upanishads, and sútras, and the two great heroic poems. (Compare Windischmann, in his Sancara, sive de theologumenis Vedanticorum, pp. 55—57; and Vans Kennedy, Researches into the nature and affinity of ancient and Hindu Mythology, pp. 189, 364, 365.)

[1] In the old Prátisákhya grammars of the Vedas, thirty-six ancient grammarians are mentioned by name, most of whom are alluded to by Pánini and Yáska, and are noticed in the Vrihad-áranyaka and Aitareya Upanishads. (See Rudolph Roth, Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda, pp. 65, 66.) Vopadeva, in his list of roots, the कविकल्पद्रुम (kavi-kalpa-druma), quotes Kandra, Kásakritsna, Apisali, Sákatáyana, as grammarians who flourished anterior to Pánini. (Westergaard, Radices Sanscritæ, p. 5.)

How has this phenomenon arisen? How has the Aryan language, of which the संस्कृत, Sanskrit, is the most *perfected* form, been disseminated over such vast regions of the globe?

To answer this question satisfactorily would be to enter into an elaborate investigation into the origin and history of the various nations who have occupied the extensive territories in which not only a great portion of the radical words of the Aryan tongue itself has been found, constituting, as those words do, the languages of the principal existing nations of Europe and Asia, but vestiges of a religion, mythological system, and institutions, which must at some former period, it may be legitimately induced, have prevailed in these countries, but which have been considerably modified in the course of ages by subsequent historical events. In the present state of our knowledge, when the great bulk of ancient Sanskrit literature (with the exception of the small portion which has already appeared in print) remains still in manuscript, unread, untranslated, unknown, and difficult of access, such an attempt is impossible.

All that can be done, until more data are afforded by the examination of the works which are still imperfectly known to us, is to present a few cursory and general observations only, on some facts connected with the history of this people. It is only since their language has been studied in Europe by a few scholars, and a portion of its literature become known, that the latter are in a position to form, perhaps, a more correct notion of the source whence the early civilization of the Hellenic states, of the nations of Italy, of the Germanic tribes, of the Celts of Spain, Gaul, Britain, in short of all the peoples whose languages can be traced to Sanskrit, has been derived.

If it be asked upon what ground is such a conclusion founded, I reply—upon the fact, already anticipated, that all the languages of the Aryan family, and consequently all their dialects, subdialects, and varieties, have been framed from a Sanskrit basis, and are only modified and corrupted forms of what was once the original tongue of the Aryan race of India.

From the preceding premises, however meagre and incomplete in some respects, yet sufficient, perhaps, for the present purpose, I am disposed to draw the two following general conclusions:

First, that all the above nations, whose ethnical speech can be shown from comparative philology to be derived from Sanskrit, have sprung from the migrations and dispersion of the ancient Aryan race of India, effected in the course of ages (whether originally with a view to establish colonies or otherwise is immaterial), through causes which

are in constant operation in the histories of all races ancient and modern; such as religious schisms, political dissensions, and civil wars, the consequence of which, with reference to the Aryans, was the expulsion from India of the defeated parties, and their founding various states in the countries into which they migrated, principally in a westerly direction.

Or, secondly, that the Aryans, at a period as yet undetermined, advanced towards and invaded the countries to the west and north-west of India, conquered the various tribes who occupied the land, who must have been in every respect, in arts, arms, and civilization, inferior to themselves and easily reduced to subjection. On these they must have imposed their religion, institutions, and language, which latter appears to have obliterated nearly all traces of the former non-Aryan language, or languages, of the conquered tribes. I conceive this to have been effected in a manner analogous to the conquests, in more recent times, of the Romans, and the dissemination of the Latin tongue, in Gaul, Spain, and other regions subjugated by the Romans.

Of these two conclusions I am of opinion that the latter has the greater probability in its favour; for it is scarcely possible that the Aryans, in their progress to the west, should have passed territories entirely uninhabited. All the regions they traversed must have been occupied by some variety or other of the human species; whether aboriginal tribes of whom nothing is now known, or races connected either with the Chinese of the extreme east of Asia, or the so-called Semitic race of the extreme west of the same continent. There does not appear, however, to have been any great nation in central or western Asia capable of resisting their advance, as no traces of any such nation, no vestiges of a non-Aryan tongue, exclusive of the mixed Chino-Tatar dialects and Semitic languages, have been met with. The Finnish, Turkish, Tungusian, Mongolian, and other races, were either not encountered by the Aryans, or not in existence at that early period. All these appear to be of comparatively recent origin, and to have sprung up in central and northern Asia subsequently to the passage of the Aryans and their mixed descendants, the Indo-Scythians and other kindred branches, into Europe, which may be aptly considered as, physico-geographically, only the great north-western peninsula of Asia.[1]

[1] This view is confirmed by Schott, in the Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, for 1849, p. 353, who has remarked that in the languages of the Turkish and Finnish tribes of Central Asia many terms which were supposed to be of pure Tatar origin are traceable to Sanskrit. He

Several well established historical events, which have happened in succeeding times, may be cited in support of the view I take of the spread of the Aryan tongue, based, as it is, on a law inherent in human nature, and prevailing in the histories of all nations—the imposition of the language and institutions of the conquering race on the people conquered. Thus the irruption of the Anglo-Saxons into Britain, in the fifth century, forced the Celtic language of the inhabitants to recede before the Anglo-Saxon, which, six centuries later, yielded in its turn to the effects of the Norman invasion, in the production of English in its different forms. A stronger analogy exists in the conquests of the Arabs, in the seventh and eighth centuries, and the spread of their language over Syria, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Afghanistan, to the confines of India and Chinese Tatary on the east; and Egypt, Nubia, central and northern Africa, to Spain and Portugal in the west.

But the strongest analogy, perhaps, which can be adduced for the extension of the Sanskrit language and Aryan civilization over Asia and Europe is the extension of the English language and civilization over a great portion of the continent of North America, which is actually taking place, and which, familiar as it is, has its prototype in the migrations, conquests, and settlement of the ancient Aryans in Western Asia and Europe. It is only the repetition of an historical fact, accomplished long ages past by our predecessors.

There are no data to enable us to judge whether the local tribes the Aryans may have met with occupying the intermediate regions, were, with the exception of the nations of Semitic origin, in a state of civilization more advanced than that of the red men of America, whom the English colonists encountered, and expelled from the lands they originally possessed.

To illustrate the analogy drawn from Roman history by a simple parallel :—

instances the Sanskrit अक्षि (eye) and अद् (eat) as constituting the roots of numerous words in the languages of those tribes, the same as in the Indo-European family of languages. Since the period of the first extension of the Aryan tongue in a westerly direction from India, a considerable number of various languages have been disseminated by the Chino-Tatar nations over central and northern Asia and northern and eastern Europe, in the languages of the Huns and their descendants; of the Finns, pure and mixed, Slavonic and Germanic; of the Tungusians, comprising the Manchu and its mixed Chinese dialects; of the Mongols, and its varieties, of which the Kalmak is the principal; of the Turki tribes, comprehending the Wighur, Chaghatai, or Jaghatai, Kipchak, Usmánli and other dialects.

The universal dominion of the Romans around the basin of the Mediterranean, comprehending the conquest of Italy, Gaul, and Spain, is an historical event sufficiently familiar to all. To this event is generally attributed the rise and formation of the Italian, French, and Spanish languages (without dwelling on other dialects of minor importance) viewed as independent national forms of speech, and the fact of their containing more than three-fourths of Latin words, which were diffused over these countries after their subjugation by the people who spoke the Roman language. Let us suppose that at the dismemberment of the Roman empire in the fifth century, amidst the general wreck consequent upon the irruption and ravages of the tribes designated as barbarians—more correctly on the invasions and conquests (effected from the same motives and with the same views as those of the Romans themselves) of the Gothic nations—the Latin tongue and literature had been entirely lost. Let us suppose that, after the lapse of a thousand years, the language should have been studied and recovered; that some of the best works in theology, metaphysics, law, history, the drama and lyric poetry, should have been read, and the structure of the language fully understood; that, combined with a general resemblance in the number of radical words and grammatical forms found to exist between the restored tongue and the modern dialects, other analogies should have been observed in the laws and institutions of the ancient and modern nations—analogies too striking to have been produced by a mere fortuitous coincidence. In such a case, without pursuing the parallel further, some might question, perhaps, the justness of any conclusion drawn from such analogies, but others would at once perceive their high importance to the successful investigation of the causes which have produced them. These causes are obviously the conquests and settlement of the Romans in the countries in which the modern languages I have named have been formed. They have sprung from Latin, exactly as the nations who speak them have received their culture and civilization from Latin sources.

In further elucidation of the subject by a still closer parallel, drawn from our own historical connection with North America, let us imagine that at some remote future period (for it is just as legitimate to cast a glance at *probable future* events as to review *probable past* events in history), owing to the constant vicissitudes to which the relations of all nations are subject, from the ravages of wars, the destruction of records, the rise and spread of new religious schisms, or the gradual changes effected in national manners, habits, and opinions, by time alone, doubts should be entertained as to the true origin of the people (supposing the present race to continue), who will occupy the territories which

now constitute those of the United States of America. Though the language which the Anglo-Americans now speak will have undergone various alterations, and will exhibit an aspect altogether different from that which it bears at the present time, from the introduction and adoption of new words, the obsoletcness or extinction of others, and the modification of all conditions, more or less, in the forms of speech, yet a sufficient number of radical words will remain, the genuine English physiognomy of which will enable any future investigator to determine, by means of this fundamental stock, combined with collateral analogies in laws and institutions, the connection which must have necessarily existed between the people of the United States and the English in past times—to infer, in short, that the language and civilization of the more recent had been derived, if they themselves were not descended, from the more ancient race.

This result will be attained independently of the consideration that the red races of America, and their languages, are rapidly tending to extinction. Their present conditiou does not differ much from that of the aboriginal tribes of Europe, who, with one or two exceptions, perhaps, appear to have become analogously extinct several centuries anterior to the Christian era, on the rise, growth, and spread of the Aryan nations over Europe.

The causes which have produced these phenomena in a comparatively recent period of universal history, must have antecedently existed to have produced similar effects in earlier times.

Such is the position of the Indo-European family, that is to say, of the Persians, Armenians, and other less important subdivisions of the same race, in Asia Minor; of the Hellenic tribes of the south of Europe and proximate islands; of the nations of Italy, of the Goths, Germans, Celts, and of all who speak languages derived from the Sanskrit—such is their position with reference to the Aryans and their immediate descendants, who at some remote period, to which European historical records do not reach, appear to have migrated into regions where it would be impossible that such remains as now exist of thei primitive speech, in the fundamental portion of the existing languages of these recent nations, together with vestiges of institutions, &c., could be found without such a cause.

Whether the stream of migration stopped at intervening points between the original land of the Aryans and the west, resulting in the foundation of new states and principalities, agreeably to the first corollary, or whether the Aryans advanced more rapidly in their progress, spreading their language and religion over the countries iuto which they penetrated, though mixing little with the aboriginal tribes,

in accord with the second conclusion—the result is identical. Their language has been found existing, not merely in a fragmentary or isolated state, but well established, in the geographical tract above delineated, to the exclusion nearly of the languages of the other two distinct races, the Chinese and the Semitic—which are principally confined to the territories inhabited by either of these, or their descendants.[1]

Nor is the extent of territory supposed to have been traversed in these migrations an objection to the hypothesis, since authentic history records the establishment of two empires fully as extensive as the limits here considered, to which the Sanskrit language has been spread; namely, the Roman empire, as we have seen, coeval with the extension of the Latin tongue, from the first to the fourth century of the Christian era; and the empire of the Khalífas, and expansion of the Arabic language, from the seventh to the tenth century. I might name, also, as to extent, the empire of the Mongols, under Changíz Khán and his descendants; and, a century and a half later, that of Tímúr Lang, which reached from the confines of China to Moskow. The area of the present Russian empire is still more vast. Yet these regions have been overrun, and great empires founded in them by conquerors, after the most sanguinary conflicts, in less time, perhaps, than the Aryans took to reach western Asia and Europe.

Are there grounds then to infer historically that the Aryans, after establishing themselves in Persia and Asia Minor, reached Europe and spread themselves over to Greece and Italy? Are there grounds to infer that they subsequently founded different principalities in various parts of Europe, introducing their language, religion, and institutions? Are there grounds to infer that these principalities, after having been subjected to the usual vicissitudes observed to exist in all human institutions, gradually disappeared, from the same causes which are seen in operation in the more recent histories of other nations? Are there grounds to infer that, after the rise, progress, extension, wars, internal dissensions, and final subversion of these states, concomitant with the extinction of dynasties of princes and the dispersion of the people, whose language, however, has still *survived* in the existing dialects of their modern successors, an age of darkness analogous to what has

[1] This observation does not apply to the changes which have been effected in various languages of Asia from the spread of Islám in some regions, and of Buddhism in others, which has taken place at subsequent epochs, from which numerous Arabic words have been introduced into all the Muhammado-Aryan and Turkish languages, and Sanskrit words into the Tibetan, the Chino-Tatar dialects, and Chinese itself.

been designated as the darkness of the middle ages, consequent on the subversion of the Roman empire followed, during which ante-hellenic period all historical records must have perished? Are we justified in concluding that some such analogous interval of darkness must have taken place—in the course of which the Aryans appear to have been gradually blended with the local races, with the certainty, however, that they very considerably predominated in numbers and in ethnical constitution, to account for the remarkable physiognomy in language, institutions, &c., which they have transmitted to their successors—are we justified in deducing the existence of this state of things in Europe, until the epoch when the Hellenic nations, and, synchronously with these, different tribes of Italy and Sicily, began to form themselves into new communities and states, to enter, in their turn, into a new career of national existence, and to play their part on the great stage of universal history? In the absence of more positive data, to be obtained from comparative history and further research, I am of opinion that there are grounds to answer these questions generally in the affirmative; but it is the future historian of the Aryan race, and their relations with ancient Europe, who will have to enter more fully into the difficulties connected with a comprehensive consideration of this subject, in order to be able to present a more satisfactory solution of these problems than can be, for the present, expected.

Of late years an opinion has been gaining an ascendency that the Aryans are a people of an origin foreign to the soil of India, which they are presumed to have invaded and conquered, and to have imposed their religion and institutions on the so-called aborigines. Although this opinion is entertained by several distinguished men whose ideas on the question are entitled to great consideration, on examination, however, it appears to be founded on very insufficient data, and to be based on no fact of historical authenticity. The only thing of any importance connected with this hypothesis, and on which it seems to rest, is the circumstance that the languages and physical type of the scattered hill tribes of India have been found to differ from those of the Aryan Hindus, and to resemble those of some of the Tatar nations, according to a few authorities; or to those of the Chinese, according to others; or to those of the Tamulians, in conformity with the opinions of another class. But to assume that a few isolated semi-barbarous tribes, inconsiderable in numbers, some of whom live as outcasts of Hindu society in the forests, and others are of notorious predatory habits, who possess nothing in the shape of a collection of writings which constitute an original or cultivated literature, such as is the Sanskrit; who have no written records or laws, no system of religion transmitted from

ancient times by even oral tradition; no well-defined institutions, and who can give, in short, no satisfactory account of themselves—to assume that such tribes are the aborigines of India, or that they are more ancient than the early civilized Aryan Hindus, is to maintain the reverse of what facts, based on the results of comparative philological researches, indicate.

If it be well established that the dialects of these people are analogous in original structure to any of the languages of the Tatar tribes—themselves, as we have seen, of comparatively recent origin—it is possible they may be descended from some of the barbaric hordes, who, under various denominations, such as the 'Sakas, Húnas, &c., are mentioned by Sanskrit writers as having invaded India at different periods. These irruptions, which took place during the decline of the political power of the Hindu princes of Western India, though sometimes successful, must have terminated more generally in the defeat and dispersion of the invaders, and in their taking refuge in the hills and forests. The event has subsequently given rise, perhaps, to the formation of those isolated tribes who have been mistaken for aborigines. It is possible also that they may be mixed descendants of the Tamulians and the low castes of the Hindus themselves.

The opinion to which I allude, however, may have originated from another source, and seems to be the consequence of an erroneous inference drawn from a misapprehension of the subject of the ancient historical poem of the Rámáyana. Every Sanscritist knows that the principal subject of this poem is the war between Ráma, the son of Daśaratha, king of Ayodhyá, one of the most ancient cities of India, who at that period was the most powerful prince of the Aryans in the north, and Rávaña, a powerful prince reigning over the southern portion of the peninsula and Ceylon. Whether Rávaña, divested of his preternatural character of a rákshas, conferred on him by poetical license, and subjected to an impartial historical examination, is to be interpreted as an Aryan prince, and in that case the war between him and Ráma was a civil war; or whether he is to be regarded as the chief of a race ethnically distinct from the Aryans and ruling over a portion of southern India and Ceylon, whose sway possibly reached to Sumatra, Java, and the coast of Malacca, does not properly fall within the scope of this limited paper to consider. I think the latter hypothesis has the greater historical probability.

Is it legitimate, however, to infer that because the Aryans early spread to the south, as they did to the west and north-west, whether under Ráma or prior to him is immaterial, and extended themselves over the peninsula, they also originally invaded, from some unknown

region, and conquered India itself? If so, the same argument might be applied to the origin and spread of the Romans, who might be presumed to have invaded Italy from some external unknown region, because they early spread their conquests to the south, as they did in other directions, and subjugated the tribes of that part of Italy and Sicily.[1] But we know from authentic history that the Romans arose from one city and region of Italy: that, by the peculiar social organization, energy of character, national genius, and union, which distinguished them for several centuries, they gradually extended themselves over and subjugated those territories which subsequently formed one vast empire. Though the sources of our information with reference to the Aryan race, which must be principally derived from Sanskrit literature, are, as yet less known than those afforded by classical literature for the elucidation of various questions relating to early Rome, yet by a close comparison of facts and the observance of striking analogies in the universal history of different nations—analogies developed from the unity and homogeneity of the laws which govern the progress of the human race—an approximation may be attained, I think, to the solution of the problem of the spread and expansion of the people and the language under consideration.

The above notion, moreover, may have arisen from the vague sense attached by ourselves to the ethnic term "India," which has been applied to territories which, in the early history of the race, did not belong, strictly speaking, to Áryá-vartta, the land of the ancient Aryans, that is to say, to India-Proper, the land of the true Indians. Without referring to a variety of authorities, such as the Rámáyana, the Bhárata, the Vishńu, Bhágavata, and other Puráńas, which have incidentally alluded to the subject, a few passages from the second chapter of the "Dharma-śástra of Manu," relative to the early seat of the Hindus, though well known to Orientalists, with the inferences to which they lead, will place the question, perhaps, in a clearer point of view. In śloka seventeen we read:

सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योर्देवनद्योर्यदन्तरम् ।
तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्त्तं प्रचक्षते ॥

"That which is between the Saraswatí and the Drishadwat, rivers of the gods, that country, laid out (nirmita) by the gods, is called Brahmá-vartta."

[1] It would be quite as legitimate to maintain that the Arabs were immigrants and foreigners in Arabia, the Chinese in China, or the Hellenic nations in Greece, as to maintain that the Aryans were immigrants or foreigners in Aryá-vartta.

Brahmá-vartta, at a more recent period of the development of the Hindu religious mind, might have designated the region of the Himálaya where religious austerities and mortifications were performed. But viewed as the seat of the incipient civilization of the Hindus, its occupation may be considered as the first era in their history. It is generally very briefly alluded to in the Puráńas and by all Sanskrit writers. Their connection with this region seems to relate to the period of their first well recognized establishment in social communities and political organization—the infancy of their nation. Here I may remark that the first epoch of the rise and appearance of every people is always obscure and difficult of investigation. This applies, with very few exceptions, to the true historical foundation of many *modern* as well as ancient states.

As the Aryans increased in numbers, and advanced in the knowledge of the arts necessary to social progress and civilization, they began to extend themselves in various directions, and must have early peopled the fertile valleys watered by the Ganges, the Jamná, and other streams which fall into these rivers. We find them next in occupation of the region thus defined in śloka 21 :

हिमवद्विंध्ययोर्मध्यंयत्प्राग्विनशनादपि ।
प्रत्यगेवप्रयागाच्चमध्यदेशः प्रकीर्त्तितः ॥

" That which lies midway between Himavad and Vindhya, to the east of Vinaśa, to the west of Prayága, is celebrated as Madhya-deśa."

This is the territory extending, as is sufficiently intelligible, from the lower range of the Himálaya on the north-east to the Vindhya chain on the west. In these regions, so highly favoured by nature for the growth and support of a rising nation, the Aryans early founded the well known cities of Ayodhyá, Prayága, and Benares, which are still flourishing ; and several other cities, the ruins of some of which only now remain, whilst others have left no vestiges but their names. The occupation of Madhya-deśa by the Aryans may be regarded as the second era in their history.

At a subsequent epoch, though still remote in reference to the political foundation of the most ancient of our western nations, whose antiquity is comparatively of recent date in universal history—at the epoch of the composition of the súktas, or hymns, of the Vedas, the Aryans were already settled in the extensive tract of country reaching from Kuru, or more definitely the Panjáb, in the north-west, to the bay of Bengal in the south-east, the Indian Ocean to the south-west, and had

progressed considerably to the south. In several passages of the Rig-veda, "the oldest extant records of the ancient world,[1]" allusion is familiarly made to the ocean, to ships, merchants, chariots, the mechanical arts, and other accompaniments of a civilization *already established*. Indeed the very circumstance of the composition of the súktas of the Vedas in the measured language of poetry, argues a previous state of national existence, during which interval the learned—the Brahmans—must have been engaged for no inconsiderable period in cultivating, improving, and polishing their language, so as to adapt it, in conformity with the requirements of their primitive religion, and the belief then prevailing in India, to be the medium of offering praise or solicitation to the deities in the hymns, or conveying religious instruction to the people in the more expanded form of the bráhmanas, or sútras. The Aryan tongue had already attained the first degree of *samskritism*, if I may so express myself, that is to say, of metrical refinement and precision sufficient for the purpose then desired. This is the territory described in the following śloka :

आसमुद्रात्तुवैपूर्वादासमुद्रात्तुपश्चिमात् ।
तयोरेवान्तरंगिर्य्योरार्यावर्त्तंविदुर्बुधाः ॥

"As far as the sea to the east, and the sea to the west, between those two mountains, lies the country which the intelligent know as Áryá-vartta."[2] Manu II. 22.

In the age in which the code of Manu was compiled, Áryá-vartta—of which Brahmá-vartta was in succeeding times contemplated as a sort of "holy land," and Madhya-deśa a considerable district—popularly designated the country of the Aryans, and constituted, as before intimated what may be considered as *India-Proper*, in contradistinction to the Dakhin, or country to the south in the peninsula, which originally and properly understood, did not form a part of Áryá-vartta, or

[1] Wilson, Translation of the Rig-veda, Introd., p. 48.

[2] The expression म्लेच्छदेशस्ततः परः "the land of the barbarians is altogether different," which occurs at the end of the next sloka, would scarcely have occurred to any one speaking of a region which had been acquired by his countrymen by invasion and subjugation; when, had such an event really happened, or had any tradition of such an event existed, it is more probable that the circumstance would have been mentioned with some degree of national pride, or been alluded to in some manner or other. No such tradition is to be found throughout the whole extent of Sanskrit literature, ancient or modern.

India-Proper.[1] It was subsequently to their extension over this territory and its occupation, which may be regarded as the third era in their history, when the Aryans had attained an advanced state of civilization, when the Vedas had been composed, and a national system of religion established; when the Brahmanical hierarchy had been formed, the Aryan tongue cultivated, and codes of law compiled; when tribes had separated under particular princes, and founded different governments in various parts of the country; when religious schisms had begun to arise, anti-Brahmanical sects had increased, political dissensions and civil war had spread their effects—that the migrations in a westerly and north-westerly direction, which terminated in the extension of the Aryan tongue over the geographical zone I have pointed out, took place.

It is the race of the peninsula who may be more broadly contrasted with the Aryans than the rude hill-tribes. The early inhabitants of the Dakhin appear to have been a people distinct by race and language from the Aryans. Their descendants, however much blended with the latter and with other nations, are obviously the southern people whose natural speech is the Tamul, or the dialects based upon this tongue, which are now more or less mixed with the Sanskrit. They appear to have formed an empire in the south of India and in the contiguous islands, to which I have already alluded; over these the prince designated Rávaña by the Sanskrit writers, seems to have reigned contemporaneously with Ráma, and to have sustained a protracted war with him, with alternate success, until his final overthrow and death. After this event it might be presumed that the whole of the peninsula was subjugated by the Aryans, and the Vaidik religion introduced. Of this southern empire, however, considered as representing an independent nationality, no records from purely Tamulian sources are extant. Nothing definite is known of it anterior to the Aryan connection. It is from Sanskrit sources that it may, I think, be inferred.

Although the existence of a non-Aryan people and nationality in the south are attested by the Tamulian race and language, the traditions of the Tamulians do not reach that period of their history which should relate to themselves as a people distinct from the Aryans in

[1] आर्यावर्त्त (*Aryá-vartta*) employed as the name of India, not in its strictly etymological sense, differs very little in signification from the modern Persian ہندوستان (*Hindústán*), except being more limited in its application, first used by the Muhammadans when speaking of the same country, and which we still retain.

religion, laws, and institutions. They have never known themselves otherwise than as Hindus. The loss of this recollection points to a remote antiquity as the probable period of that conquest, though this event—the subjugation of the peninsula considered as having been previously occupied by a *mlechha* or barbarian people—is not recognized as such by any Sanskrit authority.

The Tamulians may have been rising as a distinct people and forming social communities, or states, in the south of India, coevally with the Aryans in the north. But there is nothing to indicate that the Tamulians, the hill-tribes, or any other recognised indigenous race, were ever in possession of Áryá-vartta anterior to the Aryans. Under the supposition of the synchronous existence of the Tamulians it might be expected that, after a certain interval of time, they had attained, under similar circumstances, to an equal degree of civilization with the Aryans, before they came in contact with the latter. What literary or other monuments, of purely Tamulian or non-Aryan origin, have they to show that they ever reached this advanced state? If we turn to the Tamul language, the existence of which alone determines the question of a separate race, we ought to find a literature, or at least the remains of one, embodying some record of a religion, laws, and institutions entirely different from Hinduism, and altogether independent of Sanskrit. Instead of which, however, we find that every work in Tamul, as well as in Telugu, Canarese, and other cognate dialects, whether on grammar, law, medicine, religious or poetical subjects, bears the stamp of a comparatively modern Hinduism. There is nothing in the shape of a record of the Tamul mind which can recall to us anything independent of an obvious Sanskrit origin.

It may be said that the Hindus have destroyed all traces of a former ante-Aryan Tamulian civilization. This, however, is scarcely possible, if the people were at all numerous, which they would be after being established a few centuries, and if they were in any degree advanced in the arts. Some relic of a previously independent national existence would have been left. The memorials of the Mackenzie collection, amassed in Southern India, whether manuscripts, coins, medals, or statues, are all well-defined Hindu remains. Such is not the case, however, in reference to a younger branch of the Aryan family, further to the west, as evinced in the history of Persia. The Cuneiform and Pehlavi inscriptions, as well as the Vandidád Sádah, attest to the pre-existence of a people in Persia, who were conquered and expelled from their country by a race far more cruel and fanatical than the Aryans ever were, and who destroyed, in many instances, every vestige of the religion, laws, and institutions of the nations they

subjugated. Yet the Pársís and the Zandic literary remains are sufficient evidence of the former state of Persia, independently of further proof from western sources.

It is possible, however, that the Tamulian race may have originally immigrated into the peninsula from Ceylon, or the opposite coast of the bay of Bengal, at a period, though sufficiently remote, subsequent to the settlement of the Aryans all over southern India. Although this hypothesis is far from being well supported, it is not altogether unfounded, from the circumstance that the physical type of the genuine Tamulians and the Malays, as well as their languages, divested of the Sanskrit terms which pervade both Tamul and the Kawi tongues, appear to present analogies of a common ethnic character.

Assuming the Aryans to have been immigrants in India, according to the opinion to which I have adverted, let us inquire from what quarter they are likely to have entered India. Firstly, could they have penetrated from the west? From an examination of the structure of the Cuneiform-Persic, and Zandic, the oldest forms of the dialects of ancient Persia, it is evident that both have been derived from the Sanskrit; the relation which they bear to the latter being analogous to the relation of the Páli or Prákrit to the same—of Italian or Spanish to Latin. This relation, with respect to the Zandic, is confirmed by detached and fragmentary allusions in the ritual of the Yasna, or Vandidád Sádah, to well-known personages mentioned in the Vedas and Purâńas, to Hindu deities and ancient heroes, allusions verified by the use of expressions which are only modified Zandic representatives of their original Sanskrit, such as 𐬵𐬎𐬟𐬆𐬛𐬭𐬀 (hufedra), or 𐬵𐬎𐬟𐬆𐬜𐬭𐬀 (hufedhra, for सुभद्र (subhadra), "the auspicious," a title of Vishnu; 𐬬𐬆𐬭𐬆𐬚𐬭𐬀𐬖𐬥𐬀 (verethragna), and its synonyme 𐬬𐬆𐬭𐬆𐬚𐬭𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬥[1] (verethra-zan), for वृत्रघ्न (vṛitraghna) and वृत्रहन् (vṛitrahan), "slayer of Vṛitra; epithets of Indra; 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌[2] (harakaiti), for सरस्वती (Saraswatí), considered either as the river, or in the Pauranic sense of the bride of Brahmá and goddess of eloquence; and numerous other expressions of a similar character which occur in the Yasna; thus proving that the ancient Persians derived both the names of the personages mentioned in their scriptures and their language itself from the Aryans, and were themselves

[1] Bopp, Comp. Gram. Trans. s. 36, p. 33; and Burnouf, Commentaire sur le Yaçna, p. 190.

[2] Burnouf, id., notes, pp. xci. xcii.

no other than the descendants of a branch of the latter people who had seceded from their brethren, and migrated to the west, or been expelled from their native country from the effects of religious dissensions resulting in civil war.

Secondly; did the Aryans enter India from the north or north-west? History does not record the existence of any civilized people, nor are there means of ascertaining by comparative philological research, or a reference to monuments, the existence of any such nation at this early period, with a language and religious system similar to those of the Aryans, from whom they might have been descended, who could have entered India; for the different tribes vaguely denominated Scythians by the Greek historians, or Turanians by Firdausi and the Persian historians, appeared several ages later in central Asia. These tribes have been shown by several authorities to be ethnically related to the Scolotes, Sacæ, Alani, Getæ, Massagetæ, Goths, and Yueti of the Chinese.[1] The Getæ, by a still more recent autho-

[1] Compare Procopius, De Bello Gothorum, libb. II. and III.; and Alex. von Humboldt, Asie Centrale, I. p. 400, and II. p. 252. A passage occurs in Ahmad bin Arabsháh's history of Tímúr, in which the Getæ are mentioned as occupying, so late as the fifteenth century, a territory contiguous to Mongol and Chinese Tatary, which that conqueror had reduced to subjection. The following is the passage :—

وَلَمَا وَصَلَ اِلِي سَمَرْقَنْد اَرْسَلَ ابْنَ ابْنِهِ مُحَمَّد سُلْطَان بْن جَهانكِير
مَعَ سَيفِ الدِّينِ الامِيرِ اِلِي اقْصِي ماتَبْلُغُ اِلَيهِ مَمْلِكَتُهُ وتَنْقُذُ فِيه
كَلِمَتُهُ وهُوَوَراءَ سَيحُونَ شَرْقًا سَوا آخِذٌ فِي بُحُورِ مَمالِك المُغل و
الجَتا والخطا نَحْوًا مِن مَسِيرَةِ شَهرٍ عَن مَمالِك ماوَرَاءَ النَّهر (كتاب
عجايب المقدورفي اخبار تيمور (p. 70, Ed. of Calcutta, 1818

"When he [Tímúr] arrived at Samarkand, he sent his grandson, Muhammad Sultan, the son of Jahángír, with the Amír Seifuddín, to the furtherest limit of his empire to which his authority reached, which was beyond the Jaxartes eastward, extending to the seas bordering on the territories of the Mongols, the Jatá [or Gatá, as the Arabs pronounce it], and Chinese Tatary (الخطا), about a month's journey from the country of Transoxania (Máwará an nahr)."

There seems scarcely room to doubt that the جتا here mentioned (who are noticed in two or three other places by Arabsháh, but very briefly) are the

rity,[1] have been identified with the Goths, and belong consequently to the Indo-Gothic branch of the Aryan race—descended, like the preceding, from the Aryans themselves.

Thirdly; did the Aryans migrate from the east? The only people who could have penetrated into India from this quarter are the Chinese, who belong, I need scarcely remark, to a race entirely distinct in language, religion, laws, and manners from the Aryans, who have clearly no genealogical relations with them. I am of opinion, however, that the Aryans, in their early warlike expeditions, were soon encountered by the Chinese eastward, already well established in a united monarchy, and arrested in their attempt to extend their power in this direction. It is a mistake to suppose from the mild and timid character of some of the modern Hindus that their ancestors at this period were like themselves. Several hymns of the Rig-veda, as well as the general tenor of the historical passages of the Rámáyana and the Mahá-bhárata, breathe a martial spirit, which must have often determined the early Hindus to undertake distant expeditions. This national character agrees with what is observed of other nations at corresponding periods of their early histories. There are indications of the limits of the Chinese monarchy having extended to the borders of Bengal; but this was at a subsequent period, when Buddhism was predominant in India, and when it had been introduced into China from India.

Fourthly; did the Aryans originally issue from the table-land of Tibet in the north-east? Independently of the physical barrier of the great chain of the Himálaya, which appears to have been one of the causes which determined the westerly and north-westerly direction of the Aryan migrations, the same ethnical objection applies to this hypothesis as to that of their Chinese origin. If they were ever in possession of this region, the Aryan element in the Tibetan physical organization has been erased by that of the Chinese race.

Fifthly; could they have emigrated from any quarter originally inhabited by the Phenicio-Arabian or Semitic race? Under this supposition words of an undoubted Semitic origin would long since have been found in Sanskrit. But the structure of the latter and

descendants of a branch of the Getæ, of whom there were several tribes, whom conquests or political events had impelled to the east, whilst other tribes, from similar causes, had proceeded in an opposite direction. They are alluded to in some Chinese historical works, and are described as being of fair complexion, with blue eyes and light hair. The Getæ are not named in the Behistun Inscription among the nations who were subjected to the rule of Darius.

[1] Jacob Grimm, Ueber Jornandes, 1846, s. 21.

its total dissimilarity to any Semitic dialect are fatal to such a conjecture.[1]

Finally; are the Aryans to be traced to an Egyptian origin? Notwithstanding that Jones, Wilford, Bohlen, and other orientalists,

[1] Sanskrit terms, on the contrary, have penetrated into the Semitic languages, as has been shown by Lassen, Gesenius, and others, in the names of a variety of objects which evince the existence, at the period to which they relate, of a remarkable commercial intercourse between the countries inhabited by the Phœnicio-Arabian nations and India. Beside the Arabic قَزدِير *kazdír* (Greek *κασσίτερος*, Latin *Cassiterides*, applied to the Scilly Isles and to a part of Cornwall, from tin being found there), Sanskrit कस्तीर *kastíra*, "tin;" Arabic سُكَّر *sukkar* (Greek *σάκχαρ* and *σάκχαρον*, Latin *saccharum*), Sanskrit शर्करा *sarkará*, in the modified sense of "sugar;" Arabic صَندَل *sandal* (Greek *σάνταλον*, Latin *santalum*), Sanskrit चन्दन *chandana*, "sandal-wood;" Arabic اُرز *uruzz* (Greek *ὄρυζα*, Latin *oryza*), though more changed in form, yet easily recognised, Sanskrit व्रीहि *vríhi*, "rice;" Arabic أَيس *ais*, in the sense of "existence," Sanskrit अस *as*, "to be;" and numerous other words which cannot be here noticed at length; if the Hebrew תוכיים *tukkiim* (1 Kings, x. 22) be correctly translated by "peacocks," it is derived from the Sanskrit शिखिन् *sikhin*. If it mean a parrot, however, as Quatremère interprets the word, it corresponds equally as closely to the Sanskrit शुक *suka*, with the change of the sibilant for the dental, as in *θάλαττα* for *θάλασσα*, and with the Hebrew plural termination ים *im*. קופים *kophim* is, with little variation, the Sanskrit कपि *kapi*, "ape," also with the plural ending ים. נרד *nard* is the Sanskrit नलद *naḷada*, "spikenard," with the common permutation of the liquids, as is shown also in *νάρδος*. In the latter part of the expression שנהבים *sen habim*, literally "tooth of elephants," is recognised the Sanskrit इभ *ibha*, "elephant;" which, in combination with another element (the Arabic ال, according to Gesenius and Benary), has probably produced the Greek *ἐλέφας*.

These etymologies become verified when we consider that the country from which these animals and objects were exported, and introduced into Palestine by Phœnician or Arab merchants, was no other than India, in which they all abound. The country itself is thus identified, both by its natural products and their Sanskrit names.

from certain remarkable analogies in institutions and manners between them, conjectured that the ancient Egyptians and Indians were a people of a common origin, in contradistinction to the Hebrews, Phenicians, Arabs, and the Chino-Tatar race, yet from the researches of Champollion, Lepsius, Bunsen, and other Egyptologists, in deciphering the hieroglyphics, and fixing phonetic values to the symbols ascertained to be of alphabetical character, it would appear that the language of that ancient people, judged from those results, belongs rather to the Semitic family, which would seem to separate them at once from a community of origin with the Aryans, thus rendering the descent of the latter from the former highly improbable.[1]

[1] The efforts which have been made to fix definite phonetic values to some of the hieroglyphical symbols, and to ascertain the nature of the alphabetical letters which those symbols probably represented, have been principally confined to monuments of the New Empire, which exist more numerously than those of the Old Monarchy, when the Egyptian language had undergone a most important change. This modified language may have been the parent of the modern Coptic, although the latter is itself disguised in the vesture of the Greek alphabet, and contains words of apparent Tatarian and Finnish origin. (See Schott, in the Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, for 1849, pp. 320, 321.) The radical words of this Coptic are supposed by some authorities to coustitute the remains of the ancient Egyptian language, and have been employed as the basis of an investigation into the phonetic nature of the hieroglyphical symbols.

The invasion of the Hyksos, however, and duration of their sway in Lower Egypt, which intervened between the flourishing periods of the old and the later Egyptian monarchies, produced a result which has since only been repeated in a variety of instances in the histories of other nations. The Semitic element in the language of the Egyptians, I think, was received *after the conquest of Lower Egypt by the Hyksos*, and must have incorporated itself with what I am disposed to consider was the *ancient Aryan basis* of the Egyptian tongue of the *Old* Empire, and produced the Neo-Egyptian of the monuments of the New Empire, in a mode similar, as I have already observed, to the formation of numerous modern languages, such as the Persian, after the Arab conquest, or the Hindustani, posterior to the Muhammedan subjugation of India.

Notwithstanding all that has been written and said on the origin of Egyptian and Indian civilization, from the time of Sir William Jones to our own days, I venture to entertain the opinion that the researches of the interpreters of the hieroglyphics will soon establish what I have long considered as next to certain, that the Menes of the Egyptians, and Manu (anciently Manus) of the Hindus refer to an historical personage—an Aryan chief—who first invaded and conquered Egypt from India; and I think this event is the earliest well-defined instance of the migrations of the Aryans westward which I have above noticed. That Egyptian civilization was not originally indigenous in Egypt can be deduced from several circumstances. The Egyptians were always an isolated people in Africa; their contiguous neighbours of the west and south being all of a race—the Negro, the true aboriginal race of that continent—entirely different from themselves. Egypt, on the invasion of Menes, appears to have been inhabited by the Negro

It appears, then, that most of these nations are of more recent political establishment, or national existence, than the Aryans.

From these considerations it follows that there is not sufficient foundation for the hypothesis that the ancient Aryans, Indians, or Hindus, entered India-Proper from some external region. On the contrary, the facts above delineated point to the conclusion that the rise, progress, advance in the arts, and civilization of this remarkable people, are the growth of their own land, developed during the course of long ages, and communicated to other nations sprung partly from themselves and partly from other primitive races whose true history is now entirely lost; nations who have transmitted this civilization,

race. The valley of the Nile was too restricted in extent to be the nursery of the various and powerful Aryan nations who have played so important a part in universal history. The Egyptians have but one Menes, who, they admit, was the founder of their empire. It is now ascertained from the monuments that this Menes was, with respect to Egypt itself, a foreign invader and conqueror. The Hindus have had, at least, seven personages of this name, whose memorials, as preserved in Sanskrit writers, are sufficiently satisfactory to relate to real actors whose history has accumulated round itself during the course of ages such a mass of fiction—the mythological creations of later periods—as to render it difficult (but not more so than in the records of other nations) to keep the historical basis of probability and truth steadily in view, and separate it from the imaginary portion; which, as in other instances, envelops too many otherwise natural and authentic historical facts.

The name of Rámas, or Ramasses, borne by several kings of Egypt, is certainly the Sanskrit रामस्—a genuine Hindu appellation; but these kings must not be confounded with the three celebrated Rámas of the Hindus, any more than our own Henries with the Henries of France; nor must Menes be identified with the supposed author of the Institutes, but is a distinct personage, though bearing the same name, and of the same race as the Hindus themselves. My own opinion is, that the Egyptians were originally non-Vaidik Aryans and schismatics. Their schism from the established religious system of the latter took place long prior to the secession of Buddha from the same.

The Hyksos, after their expulsion from Egypt by Ramasses the Great, may have seized on Syria and Mesopotamia, and founded what has been considered as the Assyrian monarchy, if it be certain that this monarchy was not a dependency of the Persian, or rather Aryan, empire, which had been previously established and ruled by Aryan princes in Persia. Sir William Jones considered it identical with the Píshdádí dynasty of Persia. The founder of the Assyrian line of kings, in the genealogical list discovered by Rawlinson, appears, according to him, to have flourished about the fifteenth or sixteenth century before the Christian era. This period very nearly coincides with the epoch of the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt, and I think it possible that the foundation of that monarchy, supposing it to be of Semitic origin, or a change of dynasty in Assyria, may have been effected as a consequence of that event. For more positive information, however, we must wait for further results from the interpretation of both the hieroglyphics and the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions.

modified from various causes, to other nations, and these again to more recent ones, until we attain the epoch, as I have already indicated, of the first appearance of the Hellenic and Italic tribes of the south of Europe. Every one acquainted with Sanskrit literature, moreover, must know that no traces whatever of an alien element, or foreign origin, can be discovered in the language, religion, laws, or institutions of the Aryans, throughout all the phases they must have necessarily passed in the course of time. Such a presumption would be refuted by the whole tenor of the Vaidik literature, of the ancient portion of the Puráńas, of the codes of law from Manu downwards, of the great heroic poems, and even of Buddhistical Sanskrit writings. No monuments, no records, no tradition of the Aryans ever having originally occupied, as Aryans, any other seat, so far as can be ascertained to the present time, than the plains to the south-west of the Himalayan chain, bounded by the two seas defined by Manu,—memorials such as exist in the histories of other nations well known to have migrated from their primitive abodes,—can be found in India.

To pursue the various and complicated details of these interesting questions further, however, would be to anticipate what I may attempt to accomplish, perhaps, at a future period. My object being to represent historical facts in what I conceive to be their true light, I beg to close this essay with the observation that if any of the positions I have here advanced, bearing on the ancient history of the Indian race, in their connection with Europe, can be satisfactorily shown to be unfounded or erroneous, I shall cheerfully modify or renounce them, according to the degree, character, and extent of the evidence adduced to oppose them. Until it can be demonstrated that those positions are untenable, I may be permitted, perhaps, as an independant inquirer, to consider that, for the present, at least, they are well supported by such data as are available for researches of this nature.

ART. XI.—*On the supposed Vaidik authority for the burning of Hindu Widows, and on the funeral ceremonies of the Hindus.* By PROFESSOR WILSON.

IN the lecture on the Vedas which I read during our last session I had occasion to notice some very remarkable passages in one of the Súktas, or Hymns of the Ṛich, relating to the disposal of the dead, and especially to the burning of widows, for which the hymn in question was always cited as authority. I stated then that the text quoted for that purpose had a totally different tendency, and that there was some reason to doubt if it was the ancient practice of the Hindus to burn their dead at all, quoting texts which seemed to enjoin burying, not burning. I added, however, that I had not had time to consider the passages with that care which they required, and that I communicated only the results of my first impressions. I have since examined the passages more deliberately, and propose now to offer to the Society the conclusions which I have deliberately formed; namely, that the text of the Rig Veda cited as authority for the burning of widows enjoins the very contrary, and directs them to remain in the world, and that, although the expressions relating to the disposal of the dead are somewhat equivocal, yet it seems most probable, upon a comparison with other texts and authorities, that the corpse was burned, although the ashes and bones were afterwards buried.

The Súkta or hymn affording the ground of these observations, is a remarkable one: it is the second of the second Anuváka of the tenth Maṅḍala, or the twenty-sixth to the twenty-eighth Varga of the sixth Adhyáya or section of the seventh Ashṭaka. It is attributed to Sankusuka, the son of Yama, of course a fabulous attribution, and is addressed, at least in the earlier verses, to Mṛityu, or Death, and in the last to the Pitṛis, the Manes or progenitors. To leave no doubt of its purport, I propose to give the following translation of the entire Súkta, as well as a transcript of the original Sanscrit.

1. Depart, Mṛityu, by a different path, by that which is thine own, different from the path of the Gods. I speak to thee who hast eyes, who hast ears. Injure not our female progeny, harm not our male.

2. Ye who approach the path of death, but are possessed of prolonged existence, ye who are entitled to reverence, prosperous with offspring and wealth, may ye be pure and sanctified.

3. May those who are living be kept distinct from the dead; may the offering we present this day to the gods be propitious. Let us go with our faces to the east; to dance and be merry, for we are in the enjoyment of prolonged life.

4. I place this circle [of stones] for the living, on this account, that no other may go beyond it. May they live a hundred years; keeping death at a distance by this heap.

5. As days follow days in succession, and seasons are succeeded by seasons, as one man follows another, so Dhátṛi do thou prolong the lives of these [my kinsmen].

6. Reaching to old age with still-ascending life, and following active in succession as many as may be, may Twashṭṛi, being propitiated, grant you prolonged life.

7. May these women, who are not widows, who have good husbands, who are mothers, enter with unguents and clarified butter: without tears, without sorrow, let them first go up into the dwelling.

8. Rise up woman, come to the world of living beings, thou sleepest nigh unto the lifeless. Come; thou hast been associated with maternity through the husband by whom thy hand was formerly taken.

9. Taking his bow from the hand of the dead, that it may be to us for help, for strength, for fame, [I say] here verily art thou, and here are we: accompanied by our valiant descendants, may we overcome all arrogant adversaries.

10. Go to the mother earth, this wide-spread blessed earth; to the liberal man she is a maiden soft as wool; may she protect thee from the proximity of the evil being.

11. Lie up [lightly] earth, oppress him not, be bounteous to him, treat him kindly, cover him, earth, as a mother covers an infant with the skirts of her garment.

12. May earth lying lightly up, stay well; may thousands of particles [of soil] rest upon it; may these abodes be ever sprinkled with clarified butter, and may they, day by day, be to him an asylum.

13. I heap up the earth above thee, and placing this clod of clay, may I not hurt thee; may the Manes protect this thy monument, and Yama ever grant thee here an abode.

14. New days sustain me, as the feather upholds the shaft, but I restrain my voice now grown old, as the reins hold in a horse.

The language of this hymn is, as usual, sometimes obscure; and may admit, if not in essentials, at least in some of the details, of a

different version from the above. I have had the advantage, however, of comparing my translation of verses 7 to 13 inclusive with a translation of the same, as I shall presently mention, by Dr. Max Müller, and except in one or two particulars of no very great importance, our versions agree. In verse 8, which has the most important bearing upon the question of Satí, there is no difference; and its meaning is confirmed by other circumstances which I shall presently notice.

In the first place, however, we must take the seventh verse, as it has been supposed to authorise the practice of the burning of the widow. It has been, no doubt correctly, thus translated by Mr. Colebrooke: "Om. Let these women, not to be widowed, good wives adorned with collyrium, holding clarified butter, consign themselves to the fire. Immortal, not childless nor husbandless, excellent; let them pass into fire, whose original element is water." From the Ṛig Veda. —As. Res. iv. p. 213.

Now this is evidently intended to be the same verse as the text before us, with the addition of the last clause, "whose element is water," for which we have no equivalent; the rest of the stanza may be readily compared and the variations accounted for.

Our verse has, "may these women not widows," *avidhavá*, a reading that at once overthrows the authority for cremation; as, if they are not widows, there is no necessity for their burning. A somewhat different version may be admitted, by interpreting the words "not to be widowed," although even in this case it implies the absence of the only condition upon which a woman's ascending the funeral pile depended; but *avidhavá* cannot be so rendered; it is present, not future. "Good wives" might be the rendering of *supatní*, although as an epithet it would be preferably "those having good husbands." In either case the reason for burning is wanting. The collyrium or unguents, and the ghee, are much the same in both, but, in the next phrase, "consign themselves to the fire,"—the versions are widely at variance.

The text has, in the first place, merely *samviṣantu*,—"let them enter," or as the commentator explains it,—"let them take their own place," *swasthánam praviṣantu*; in the second half we have, "let them go up," *árohantu;* but it is not said, where to they are to go up; and here we have no doubt the origin of the error, if not a wilful alteration of the text,—the words are *árohantu yonim agre*, literally, "let them go up into the dwelling first;" the reading to which it has been altered is, *árohantu yonim agneh*, "let them go up to the place of the fire:" *agneh*, the genitive of *agni*, having been substituted for *agre*, locative of *agra* used adverbially: there is no doubt, however,

that the latter is the correct reading, not only by the concurrence of the manuscripts, and the absence of the visarga, the sign of the genitive, but by the explanation given by the commentator Sáyaṅa himself a Brahman of distinguished rank and learning, and who explains it *sarveshám prathamata gṛiham ágachchantu*,—"let them come home first of all;" the phrase having reference, therefore, to some procession, one possibly accompanying the corpse, and having nothing whatever to do with consigniug themselves to the fire.

The succeeding verse of the hymn is confirmatory of the purport of the preceding one. It would be rather inconsisteut with any intention of burning the woman to enjoin her to repair to the world of living beings, *jíva-lokam*, the sense of which is wholly unequivocal, as we have proof in the verse of the Hitopadeśa: "acquirement of wealth, constant good health, a beloved mistress, a gentle wife, a dutiful son, and knowledge bringing emolument, are the six sources of happiness (*jíva-lokeshu*) in the world of living beings; *jíva-lokam* must, therefore, imply an exhortation to the widow to return to her social duties, cherishing the recollection, but not sharing the death of her husband. Sáyaṅa explains the term precisely to this effect, when he interprets *jíva-loka, putra pautrádi*, "sons and grandsons," evidently understanding that the widow is to return to the bosom of her family.

The author of the Gṛihya sútra Aśvaláyana furnishes further proof of what is meant, as he specifies the person who is to address the stanza to the widow, placed on the north of her deceased husband's head, and who is to be her husband's brother, or a fellow-student, or an old servant, and who, having thus spoken to her, is to take her away. The authority of the Sútras is little inferior to that of the Veda; aud here, therefore, we have additional and incontestable proof, that the Ṛig Veda does not authorise the practice of the burning of the widow.

In order that there may be no room for cavil, I subjoin the whole of the hymn in the original, with Sáyaṅa's comment on the seventh and eighth verses; the passage from the Sútra also occurs subsequently.[1]

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[1] 1. परं मृत्यो अनुपरेहि पंथां यस्ते स्व इतरो देवयातान्
चक्षुष्मते शृण्वते ते ब्रवीमि मा नः प्रजां रीरिषो मोतवीरान्॥

2. मृत्योः पदं योपयन्तो यदैतद्द्राघीय आयुःप्रतरं दधानाः
आप्यायमानाः प्रजया धनेन शुद्धाः पूताभवत यज्ञियासः॥

The other prominent topic of the Súkta, the disposal of the dead body, is of less importance, but is not without interest; it is treated of especially in the three verses succeeding those relating to the widow, and the phraseology is certainly more in favour of burying than of burning. The consigning of the deceased to the earth, and the

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3. इमे जीवा विमृतैराववृत्रन्नभूद्भद्रा देवहुतिर्नो अद्य
प्राञ्चो अगामनृतये हसाय द्राघीय आयुः प्रतरं दधानाः ॥
4. इमं जीवेभ्यः परिधिं दधामि मैषां नुगादपरोऽर्थमेतं
शतं जीवंतु शरदः पुरूचीरंतर्मृत्युं दधतां पर्वतेन ॥
5. यथाहान्यनुपूर्वं भवंति यथा ऋतवऋतुभिर्यंति साधु
यथानुपूर्वमपरो जहात्येवाधातरायूंषि कल्पयैषां ॥
6. आरोहतायुर्जरसं वृणाना अनुपूर्वं वयसा यतिष्ठ
इह त्वष्टा सुजनिमा सजोषा दीर्घमायुः करति जीवसे वः ॥
7. इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीरांजनेन सर्पिषा संविशंतु
अनश्रवो ऽनमीवाः सुरत्नारोहंतु जनयो योनिमग्रे ॥
8. उदीर्ष्व नार्यभिजीवलोकं गतासुमेतमुपशेष एहि
हस्तग्राभस्य दिधिषोस्तवेदं पत्युर्जनित्वमभिसंबभूथ ॥
9. धनुर्हस्तादादद्दानो मृतस्यास्मे क्षत्राय वर्चसे बलाय
अत्रैव त्वमिह वयं सुवीरा विश्वाः स्पृधो अभिमातीर्जयेम ॥
10. उपसर्प मातरं भूमिमेतामुरव्यचसं पृथिवीं सुशेवां
ऊर्णम्रदा युवतिर्दक्षिणावत एषा त्वा पातु निर्ऋतेरुपस्थात् ॥
11. उच्छ्रंचस्व पृथिवि मा निबाधथाः सूपायनास्मै भव सूपवंचना
माता पुत्रं यथा सिचाभ्येनं भूम ऊर्णुहि ॥
12. उच्छ्रंचमाना पृथिवी सु तिष्ठतु सहस्रं मित उप हि श्रयंतां
ते गृहासो घृतश्चुतो भवंतु विश्वाहास्मै शरणाः संत्वत्र ॥
13. उत्ते स्तभ्नामि पृथिवीं त्वत्परीमं लोगं निदधन्मो अहं रिषं
एतां स्थूणां पितरो धारयंतु तेऽत्रा यमः सादना ते मिनोतु ॥

anxiety expressed that it may lie lightly upon, and may defend, his remains, is clearly enjoined, but it is possible that it may refer only to

14. प्रतीचीनेमामहनीध्वाः पर्णामिवादधुः
प्रतीचीं जग्रभा वाचमस्वं रग्नया यथा ॥

The following is Sáyaṅa's commentary on the seventh and eighth verses.

7. इमानारीरिति ॥ अविधवाः धवः पतिः अविगतपतिकाः जीवद्भर्तृका इत्यर्थः ॥ सुपत्नीः शोभनपतिकाः इमा नारीः नार्य्य आंजनेन सर्व्वतो ऽंजनसाधनेन सर्पिषा घृतेन अक्तनेत्राः सत्यः संविशंतु स्वगृहान् प्रविशंतु तथा अनश्रवः अश्रुवर्जिताः अरुदत्यः अनमीवाः अमीवा रोगस्तद्वर्जिता मानसदुःखवर्जिता इत्यर्थः ॥ सुरत्नाः शोभनधनसहिताः । जनयः जनयंत्यपत्यमिति जनयो भार्य्याः ॥ ता अग्रे सर्व्वेषां प्रथमत एव योनिं गृहं। आरोहंतु आगच्छंतु । देवरादिकः प्रेतपत्नीमुदीर्ष्व नारीत्यनया भर्तृसकाशादुत्थापयेत् सूचितं च ॥

8. उदीर्ष्वेति । हे नारि मृतस्य पत्नि जीवलोकं जीवानां पुत्रपौत्रादीनां लोकं स्थानं गृहमभिलक्ष्य उदीर्ष्व अस्मात् स्थानादुत्तिष्ठ। ईर गतौ आदादिकः। गतासुमुत्क्रांतप्राणमेतं पतिं उपशेषे तस्य समीपे स्वपिषि तस्मात् त्वं एहि आगच्छ यस्मात् त्वं हस्तग्राभस्य पाणिग्राहं कुर्व्वतः दिधिषोः गर्भस्य निधातुः तवास्य पत्युः संबंधादागतं इदं जनित्वं जायात्वं अभिलक्ष्य संबभूथ संभूतासि अनुसरणनिश्चयमकार्षीः तस्मादागच्छ ॥

From the expression *anusaraṅa niśchayam akárshíh*, "thou hast made the determination of following," it would appear as if Sáyaṅa considered the burning as only delayed; but, besides that subsequent burning is not consistent with the presence of the corpse, we must recollect the commentator expresses only the notion of his own time, or the 14th century, when of course the practice existed.—H. H. W.

the ashes and remaining bones after burning, the collection and formal burial of which is always directed. We have here also the analogy of other ancient people, by whom we know the dead were burned and the ashes entombed, over which a mound or monument was raised.

> Mœrentes altum cinerem et confusa ruebant,
> Ossa focis tepidoque ornabant aggere terræ.

And again :—

> At pius Æneas ingenti mole sepulcrum
> Imponit ——

And a common funeral inscription was :—

> Sit tibi terra levis ;

although nothing but the reliquiæ were to be pressed upon.

So far, therefore, it is possible, that the verses refer only to the burying of the ashes and the bones, and that the bodies were burned. There are other passages in favour of this view of the subject, whilst the *Gṛ*ihya Sútras are sufficiently explicit. The following directions for the burial of the dead are derived from the Sútras of Aśwaláyana ; and as they differ in many respects from the actual practice described by Mr. Colebrooke in the seventh volume of the Asiatic Researches, and are obviously of a much more ancient and primitive character, they may be thought to deserve publication. I have been favoured with the version by Professor M. Müller, but I have verified it by comparison with the original text : the commentary which he has used I have not had the means of consulting.

"The burial ceremonies, as observed by the Brahmans during the Vaidik period, are explained in Asvalâyana's *Gṛ*ihya-sûtras,[1] in the fourth or last chapter. The *Gṛ*ihya-sûtras describe what might be called the domestic or family rites of the Hindús. They lay down general rules which are to be observed at marriages, at the birth of a child, on the day of naming the child, at the tonsure and investiture of a boy, &c. In fact, they describe all those essential and purificatory ceremonies which are known under the general name of "Sa*m*skâra."[2] Although in the performance of these festive rites, allowance is made for local customs, still, according to the Brahmans, these should be followed only as long as they are not opposed to the general and more

[1] It is necessary to observe that Professor Müller follows the German mode of expressing peculiar letters of the Sanskrit alphabet by *italics:* the sound *ch* is also rendered by *k*, and of *j* by *g*.—Ed.

[2] Cf. Wilson's Sanskrit Dict. s. v.

sacred rules of the Gṛihya-sûtras. These general rules of the Gṛihya must be obeyed first, and the omission of any one of the ceremonies prescribed by them as "nityâni karmâṇi" or "obligatory rites," is sinful. Here lies the distinction between the Gṛihya and Śrauta-sûtras. The Śrauta-sûtras describe the great sacrifices (Havir-yaǵnâs and Soma-yaǵnâs) which can be performed by rich people only, and which therefore are obligatory only under certain restrictions. They require the assistance of a number of priests, and great preparations of all kinds. They are called "vaitânika," from "vitâna," spreading, because the fire in which the oblations are to be burnt has to be spread or divided on three hearths (dakshiṇa, gârhapatya, âhavanîya). This is done at the Agnyâdhâna, "the placing of the fires," the first Śrauta sacrifice which a Brahman has to perform after his marriage. Although the Śrauta sacrifices are enjoined by the Śruti (the Brâhmaṇas), and the highest rewards on earth and in heaven are held out for their performance, still their non-performance is not sinful, as is that of the Gṛihya rites. Another characteristic of the domestic ceremonies is this, that the person for whose benefit they are performed is himself passive. It is only after his marriage that he becomes himself the Yaǵamâna or sacrificer, though even then he may still be assisted by other priests in the performance of his sacrifices. A third class of rites, besides the Gṛihya and Śrauta ceremonies, are those laid down in the Sâmayâǩârika or Dharma sûtras. They are rather observances based on secular authority than sacred rites. They detail the duties of a boy while living as Brahma-ǩârin or catechumen, in the house of his Guru. They determine the proper diet of a Brahman, what food may be eaten or not, what days should be kept for fasting, and what penance ought to be performed for neglect of duty. The duties and rights of kings and magistrates, civil rights, and even rules of social politeness, are determined by them in great detail. They are the principal source of the later law-books,[1] and are considered as sacred and indirectly revealed, because, according to the notions of the Brahmans, no law can derive its sanction except from a divine authority,

"All these Sûtras have come down to us, not as one single code, to be acknowledged as such by every Brahman, but in the form of various collections which are represented as the traditional property of some of the most prominent families or communities of India. The ceremonies described in these different collections of Sûtras, are almost identical in their general bearing. With regard to the Śrauta

[1] See Morley's Digest of Indian Cases, Introduction, page cxcvi.

sacrifices, there are different collections of Sûtras for the different classes of priests, who have peculiar parts to perform at each sacrifice, and employ respectively the hymns as collected in the *Ri*g-veda, Sâma-veda, or Ya*g*ur veda-sa*m*hitâ. However, each class of priests has again not one, but several collections of Sûtras, coinciding in many places almost literally, and kept distinct only by the authority of the name of their first collectors. The G*r*ihya ceremonies, though they are less affected by the differences of the three or four classes of priests employed at the great sacrifices, are yet described in different collections of Sûtras belonging to the same classes, and depending apparently on the authority of one of the three or four collections of sacred hymns (*Ri*k, Sâma, Ya*g*us, Atharva*n*a). Thus we have for the *Ri*gveda or Hot*r*i priests, the G*r*ihya-sûtras of Asvalâyana and *S*ânkhâyana; for the Sâma veda or Udgât*r*i priests, the G*r*ihya-sûtras of Gobhila; for the Ya*g*urveda or Adhvaryu priests, the G*r*ihya sûtras of Pâraskara, and several collections (Baudhayana, &c.) belonging to the Tattirîya branch; for the Atharva*n*a the G*r*ihya sûtras of Kausika.

"The ceremonies to be observed at a burial have been described in detail by Asvalâyana only, and it is possible that the burial was not considered as an essential part of that class of rites which is comprehended under the name of Sa*m*skâra. However, the burial also is an obligatory rite to be performed by others for the benefit of the dead, who of course performs as passive a part in it as could be required in a G*r*ihya rite. The following details are taken from the G*r*ihya ascribed to Asvalâyana.

"First comes some medical advice. If a person who keeps the sacrificial fires in his house be ailing, let him betake himself away from his home towards the east, north, or north-east, and carry his fires with him. People say that the fires love their home, and therefore they will wish to return home, and will therefore bless the sick and make him whole. After he has recovered, he should perform a Soma-sacrifice, or an animal-sacrifice, or a burnt-offering. But if he cannot afford to perform any of these sacrifices, he must go home without.

"But if he should not recover but die, then a piece of ground must be dug, south-east or south-west of the place where he lived and died. The ground should be slightly inclined toward the south or the south-east; or, according to others, to the south-west. It should be in length as long as a man with his arms raised, a fathom in width, and a span in depth. The burning and burying-ground (for both according to the Commentator are called *s*masâna) should be open on all sides, rich in shrubs, particularly of thorny and milky plants (as

has been explained before, Asv. Grihya, II. 7), and be elevated in such a manner that waters would run down on every side. The last requisite, however, belongs more particularly to a burning ground.

"How the body of the dead is first to be washed, how his nails, his hair, and his beard are to be cut, and similar matters, are not explained in this place, because, as our author says, they have been explained before, that is to say, in the Srauta-sûtras (Asv. Sraut. Sûtras, VI. 10). The case under consideration there was, what should be done if a person who is performing a great sacrifice, for which all preparations have been made, and where numbers of priests are engaged, should happen to die before the whole sacrifice, which, in some cases, may last for weeks, months, and years, is finished. Different views are entertained on this point, but the leading idea seems to be that a sacrifice once commenced is to be finished although the person who offers it should happen to die before. Asvalâyana says, that as soon as he dies his body should be carried to the place where the sacrificial utensils are cleaned, that there his nails, his hair, his beard, and the hairs on his body should be cut off, that the body should be anointed with spikenard, and a wreath of spikenard be placed on his head. He remarks, that in some places the ordure also is taken out of the body, and the body filled with melted butter and curds. The corpse is then covered with a new cloth, but so that the feet remain uncovered. The seam of the cloth is cut off, and must be kept by his sons.

"So much is to be supplied here from the Srauta-sûtras. After this the Grihya-sûtras continue. It is enjoined that a large quantity of sacred grass and melted butter should be kept in readiness. The melted butter, which is to be offered to the Manes, must be of a peculiar kind, a mixture of milk and butter, called Prishadâgya. It need not be mentioned that as the whole ceremony of burning and burying belong to the "ancestral rites," the persons engaged in it have always to look toward the south-east, and to wear their brahmanical cord passing over the right and under the left shoulder.

"The relations of the deceased take his three sacred fires and his sacrificial implements and carry them to the place where the ground is prepared. Behind follow the old men, without their wives, carrying the corpse. Their number should not be even. In some places the corpse is carried on a wheel-cart drawn by an ox; an animal, either a cow, or a kid of one colour, or a black kid, is led behind by a rope tied to its left leg. This is called the Anustaranî, because it is afterwards to be strewed over the corpse and to be burnt with it. This, however, is optional; nay, some authors, for instance Kâtyâyana,

rather discountenance the custom, because after burning, it might become difficult to distinguish which were the bones of the man or the animal. Then follow his friends, the old ones first, the young ones last, their brahmanical cord hanging down, and their hair untied.

"After the procession has reached the ground, he who has to perform the sacrifice steps forth, walks three times round the place towards the left, sprinkles it with water with a branch of the *Sam*î-tree, and repeats this verse of a hymn of the Rig-veda (x. 14, 9, or vii. 6, 13): "Depart, disperse, fly away [ye evil spirits]! The fathers (our ancestors) made this place for him (the dead). Yama grants him this resting-place, which is day and night sprinkled with waters."

Thereupon the fires are placed on the borders of the pit, so that the Ahavanîya fire stands south-east, the Gârhapatya north-west, and the Dakshi*n*a fire south-west, and a person skilled in these matters piles the wooden pile in the midst of these fires. All is ready now for the corpse to be burnt. But before this is done, fresh water, as the commentary says, is to be brought in a *k*amasa or ladle, and a piece of gold is to be placed in the pit: oily seeds also are to be sprinkled over it. Asvalâyana mentions nothing about this, but only enjoins that grass should be strewed upon the pile; that the hide of the black antelope, the fur outside, should be spread over it; and that on this the corpse is to be placed, so that it lies north of the Gârhapatya fire, and with the head toward the Ahavanîya fire. His wife[1] is placed to the north of

[1] As this is a critical passage, I subjoin the *ipsissima verba* of Asvalâyana and his commentator.

उत्तरतः पत्नीं ॥ Com. ततःप्रेतस्योत्तरतःपत्नीं संवेशयंति। शाययंतीत्यर्थः। चितावेव उपशेष इति लिंगात् ॥ एतावद्वर्णचय स्यापि समानं ॥

धनुश्च चर्चियाय ॥ Com. प्रेतः चर्चियम्चेद्धनुरप्युत्तरतः संवेशयंति ॥

तामुत्थापयेद्देवरः पतिस्थानीयोऽंतेवासी जरद्दासो वोदीर्ष्व नार्यभि जीवलोकमिति ॥ Com. अथ पत्नीमुत्थापयेत् कः। देवरः पतिस्थानीयः। स पतिस्थानीय उच्यते। अनेन ज्ञायते पतिकर्तृकं कर्म पुंसवनादि पत्यसंभवे देवरः कुर्यादिति ॥ अंतेवासी शिष्यः। स वा। यो बहु कालं दास्यं कृत्वा वृद्धो ऽभूत् स वा ॥

her husband. If he be a Kshattriya, a bow also is placed there. The wife is then to be led away as already stated, and in respect of the bow, that also is to be removed by the same persons, with the repetition of the following *Ri*k:

"I take the bow from the hand of the dead, to be to us help, glory and strength. Thou art there: we are still here with our brave sons; may we conquer all enemies that attack us."—Rv. x. 18.

Hereupon he fixes the bow-string, walks round the pile, and after having broken the bow he throws it on the pile. If this act is performed by an old servant, somebody else must recite the verses for him, (because as a *Sû*dra he would not be allowed to recite sacred verses).

After this, according to the Commentary on the Sûtras, pieces of gold are to be placed on the seven apertures of the head, and oily seeds with butter are be sprinkled over the dead. Asvalâyana himself proceeds to give rules as to how the different sacrificial implements, which are to be burnt with the dead, are to be attached to different parts of the corpse.

After this is done, the animal which was led behind is brought, the fat is cut out, and put like a cover over the face and head of the dead. The following verse is used at this occasion:

"Put on this armour [taken] from the cows [to protect thee] against Agni, and cover thyself with fat! that he, the wild one, who delights in flames, the hero, may not embrace thee, wishing to consume thee!"—*Rv.* viii. 16, 17.

The kidneys also are taken out and put into the hands of the dead with the following words:

"Escape on the right path the two dogs, the four-eyed, tawny breed of Saramâ; then approach the wise fathers who, happy with Yama, enjoy happiness."—*Rv.* x. 14, 10.

The heart of the animal is put on his heart and, according to some,

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कर्ता वृषलो जपेत् ॥ Com. जरद्वाम उत्थापयितरि कर्ता मंत्रं ब्रूयात् । अन्यदोत्थापयितैव मंत्रं ब्रूयात् ॥

धनुर्हस्तादाददानो मृतस्येति धनुः ॥ Com. धनुरित्यृचा धनुरुत्थापयेत् । अपनयेदित्यर्थः ॥

The last word, "apanayet" (he may lead away), as an explanation of "utthâpayet" (he may lift up), which is applied to the bow and the wife, leaves no doubt that, according to the intention of the sûtras, the wife is to be removed from the pile, and not to be burned with the dead.

two cakes of ground rice. Others recommend these cakes only if the kidneys are wanting ; nay, according to some accounts, all these parts of the animal may be shaped of ground rice and be burnt instead of the real animal. However, where a real animal is burnt with the dead, it is first to be cut up, and the limbs so thrown on the dead that every limb of the animal lies upon a corresponding part of the corpse; the hide is to be thrown over the whole, and a libation to be made with the following words :

"Agni, do not destroy this vessel, which is dear to the gods and our exalted fathers ; this is the vessel from which the gods drink; in it the immortals rejoice."—Rv. x. 16, 8.

The chief performer of the sacrifice then kneels down on his left knee, and throws the oblations of Ajya into the Dakshina fire, saying, "Svâhâ to Agni, the lover of Svâhâ, Svâhâ to the world, Svâhâ to Anumati, Svâhâ!

The fifth oblation is to be offered on the breast of the dead, wit the following (not-vaidik) words : Thou (fire) hast been produced by him; may he be reproduced from thee, that he may obtain the region of eternal bliss !

Thereupon the word is given, "Light the fires at once !"

As the fires are burning round him, and consuming him, twenty-four verses of the Rig-veda, the same as specified in the Srauta-sûtras, are to be recited.

Then the dead body is left burning; all turn to the left and go away without looking back. A verse is recited from the Rv. x, 31, 3:—

"These men are still alive and separated from the dead. There was to-day amongst us a holy invocation of the gods. Let us go forward now to dance and mirth; for we are leading a longer life !"

When they arrive at a place where there is flowing water,[1] they stop, immerse themselves, and on rising throw a handful of water into the air, while they pronounce the name of the deceased and that of his family. They then get out of the water, put on dry clothes, and after once wringing those they had on before, they spread them out toward the north and sit down there themselves till the stars are seen. According to others, they do not go home before sunrise. Then the young ones walk first, the old ones last. And when they arrive at their home, they touch (by way of purifying themselves) the stone, the fire, cow-dung, grain, oil, and water, before they step in. They must not cook food that

[1] This portion of the ceremonial is called the udakakarma, and described in other Grihya-sûtras also. Yâgnavalkya explains it in the beginning of the third book of his Dharma-sâstra ; Manu in the fifth book, verse 68. seq.

night, but according to some, food may be bought. Again, for those nights, they have to abstain from salt and spices.

After the death of a parent or spiritual father (Guru), reading of the Veda and alms-giving must be omitted for twelve days.

After the death of a near relative, the same abstinence must be observed for ten days. If they are females, the mourning lasts for ten days, if they had not been given away in marriage. The same number of days must be observed, if a spiritual teacher (Guru) die, though he was not a near relative. For other teachers (*Âkâryas*), the mourning lasts three nights. The same for more distant relations; but if females, only if they had not been given away in marriage. Children also who die before breathing, or those still-born, are mourned for for three nights only. If a school-fellow dies, and if a *Srotriya*-brahman dies who lived in the same village, mourning is to be observed for one day.

It is to be remembered, however, that the corpse is still left smothering on the pile. Therefore Asvalâyana, in the fifth Section, proceeds to direct that after the tenth of the dark half (*i. e.*, of the waning moon) on odd days, (*i. e.*, on the 11th, 13th, or 15th), under any Nakshatra except Ashâdha, Phalgunî and Proshṭhapadâ, the bones must be collected. The general rules as to how people are to walk, &c., are the same as before. Milk and water are sprinkled on the spot with a *samî*-branch, and he who is doing this, walks thrice round the pile, always towards the left, saying: "Pale earth with pale leaves, propitious earth with blessed fruits! go and be well embraced by a frog (a shower of rain), and make this fire cheerful."—Rv. x. 16, 14.

The bones are to be taken up carefully with the thumb and the little finger, without cracking them. They are to be placed in a vessel, the feet first, the head last. For a man the vessel is to be a simple kumbhâ or water pot (without a spout); for a woman a simple kumbhî (with a spout). After the bones have been well put together, the place is to be swept with a broom (pavana), and the vessel or coffin is placed in a hole in a place over which the water cannot flow, except perhaps in the rainy season. It is now that the concluding verses of the hymn are recited: "Go to the mother earth," &c. (*Rv.* x. 31, 10.), as the earth is thrown upon the coffin and heaped up over the spot in which it is deposited.

Thereupon all walk home without looking back, and after they have performed an ablution, they offer the first *Srâddha* to the deceased (ekoddishṭa), who thenceforth is enrolled amongst the Pitṛis or Manes, and receives oblations with them on their appointed days.

Art. XII.—*On the Assyrian and Babylonian Weights.* *By* Mr. E. Norris.

[*Read, 19th November,* 1853.]

Among the relics brought home by Mr. Layard, and deposited in the British Museum, the visitors to our national repository may notice a series of bronze lions, of good workmanship and graduated magnitude, from one to several inches in length,—the largest weighing above 40 lbs., the smallest barely 2 oz. There are also several marble ducks, with cuneiform inscriptions upon them, of Babylonian rather than Assyrian characters. These appear to have been the commercial weights used by the people of Assyria and Babylonia. They were distinguished by cuneiform inscriptions on the back, which must have been originally well engraved, although they are now a good deal defaced, and in some cases so much obliterated as to leave scarcely the slightest trace. Several of the lions had also cursive characters marked upon their sides, resembling those of the Phœnician alphabet, but more rudely drawn, or rather scratched, with very much less distinctness than the cuneiform inscriptions. Some of the figures have two or three such lines; one or two on the side of the figure, and another on the side or bottom of the flat stand, which was cast with it. No one yet appears to have troubled himself about these cursive inscriptions; they are very short, the difficulty of deciphering them would be in proportion to their brevity; and they have probably been thought hardly worth deciphering.

In the course of an inquiry which I was making sometime ago into the weight of the Babylonian talent, I examined the lithographed copy of the inscriptions given in Mr. Layard's book.[1] I thought the first word looked liked מִנָה, the Hebrew appellation of the *mina*, turned by the Greeks into *μνᾶ*, and known throughout the East by a name which the English have corrupted to *maund*. This word is followed by a horizontal line, and five perpendiculars, which I concluded must signify 15,—a conjecture confirmed by finding that fifteen strokes were marked upon the side of the weight. This lion weighed almost 41 troy pounds. I found on the next lion the same word, *manah*, followed by five perpendicular strokes; and saw that five lines were marked on the side of the figure, which weighed between 13 and 14 lbs., one-third of the first; the proportion indicated

[1] Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, 1853, p. 601.

by the number of marks. As the talent was equivalent to 60 *minæ*, the large weight would therefore be a quarter of a talent. The third lion, which was marked with three *minæ*, and the fourth and fifth with two, shewed precisely the same result,—the former weighing about three-fifths, and each of the two last-mentioned about two-fifths, of No. 2. I may here anticipate my reading of the inscriptions, by stating that I found proportionate results on nine out of the fifteen lions; three, numbered 6, 10, and 11, having only half the weight which I expected from the inscriptions; the two numbered 7 and 9, were altogether doubtful; the last and smallest requires a distinct notice.

The nine weights mentioned are here tabulated in five columns; the first column shewing their weight, as I suppose it may have been when they were new, and unaffected by the damage and corrosion which has obviously diminished them. As the largest lion weighed something more than 40 lbs. troy weight, the integral number of 41 lbs. next above the actual weight is taken as a basis; in the next column is placed the actual weight, as found by careful weighing at the British Museum; in the third, the actual loss in weight; in the fourth, the loss per cent., and in the fifth, the supposed weight in minæ. As evidence that the basis is not taken too high, it will be remarked, that the loss is always below seven per cent.; and in the larger ones, under two per cent.; I think it is hardly taken high enough. Several have lost their handles, if they ever had any, which of course would be a source of diminished weight. The value of the smallest weight, No. 15, shall be discussed when I come to speak of the inscription upon it.

No.	Assumed original Weight.	Actual Weight.	Loss in Weight.	Loss per Cent.	Number of Minæ.
	lbs. oz. dwts. grs.	lbs. oz dwts. grs.	oz. dwts. grs.		
1	41 0 0 0	40 0 5 0	11 15 0	1·88	Fifteen
2	13 8 0 0	13 6 4 0	1 16 0	1·09	Five
3	8 2 8 0	7 8 1 0	6 7 0	6·45	Three
4	5 5 12 0	5 4 0 12[1]	1 11 12	2·72	Two
5	ditto	5 2 1 0	3 11 0	6·41	Two
8	2 8 16 0	2 6 13 18	2 2 6	6·44	One
12	ditto	0 7 14 13	0 7 11	4·63	A quarter
13	0 8 2 0	0 7 12 3	0 9 21	6·16	ditto
14	0 6 11 $4\frac{4}{5}$	0 6 7 11	0 3 $17\frac{4}{5}$	2·83	A fifth
15	.. ..	0 1 14 21			

[1] Some of the copies of Mr. Layard's plate, have erroneously the weight 5 lbs. 0 oz. 4 dwts. 12 grs. here. The numbers given in the letter press, p. 601, are altogether erroneous, and must have been printed before the lions were weighed at the Museum.

It follows from this that the Assyrian talent would be equal to 164lbs. troy, and the manah, to 32oz. and 16dwts. It is curious, though it is probably a mere accidental coincidence, that a maund weight, used by the Arabs of Jidda—a people of cognate race with the Assyrians, is very nearly 32oz. 9dwts. troy, as appears from Prinsep's Tables, p. 83 [87], where it is stated at 2lbs. 3oz. $9\frac{3}{5}$dwts. avoirdupois, which is equivalent to the troy weight mentioned.

I then proceeded to the weights numbered 6, 10, and 11, in Mr. Layard's list, the first of which was marked as equivalent to two manahs, and the others to one manah. The respective weights of these three lions were 2lbs. 5oz. 8dwts. 8grs., 1lb. 3oz. 8dwts. 17grs., and 1lb. 3oz. 1dwt. 5grs.; and it was seen at a glance that the lions when new must have weighed only one half of what would be expected from the amounts marked upon their sides,—proving that we had here two systems of weights, one of which was of double the value of the other. This second system would therefore give a talent weighing 82lbs. troy, and a manah equivalent to 16oz. 8dwts. This weight of 82lbs. troy I was aware could not be far from that of the Babylonian talent, as deduced from the data handed down to us by the Greeks. It may be readily calculated from the weight of the Greek silver drachma, which we know, from the specimens in our museums, to be of 66·5 grains. The Attic mina was equal to 100 such drachmas, or 6650 grains, and, according to Aelian, who in his first book speaks of the presents given by the Persian kings to the ambassadors who came to their court, the Babylonian talent equalled 72 Attic minæ. Taking the weight of the Greek silver drachma, 66·5grs., as our basis, the computation will then be:—$66{\cdot}5 \times 100 \times 72 = 478{,}800$grs., or 83lbs. $1\frac{1}{2}$oz.—the weight of the Babylonian talent, of which a sixtieth part, or 16oz. $12\frac{1}{2}$dwts. would be the manah. It seemed now highly probable, that these three lions were really weights of two and one Babylonian manahs, which had not lost very much of their original amount. The estimate of Aelian probably did not pretend to minute accuracy; it is a little more than 1 per cent. above the basis we have taken, which we shall shew to be somewhat too low; it was certainly very near the truth.

After making this calculation, I looked at the first duck, weighing 40lbs. 4oz. 4dwts. 4grs., and read the cuneiform inscription, printed at page 600 of Mr. Layard's book, "Thirty manahs (followed by a word unintelligible to me) of the great Irbamerodach, king of Babylon."[1] Here there was without a doubt, a genuine Babylonian

[1] A letter received from Colonel Rawlinson in the course of last year, gave this reading, and suggested the probability of the king's name being that of Evil-merodach. See Duck No. 1 in the lithograph.

weight of thirty manahs, equal to the largest Assyrian weight examined, of fifteen manahs, confirming the conjecture first founded upon the three lions, Nos. 6, 10, 11, that the proportion of the Assyriau to the Babylonian system was that of two to one. On examining the second duck, of white marble, without a head, and therefore somewhat diminished in weight, a slight doubt was cast upon this conclusiou by finding 30 manahs given as the weight, aud the title of the monarch, Nabopolassar, (?)[1] recorded as "king of Assyria." But this was hardly sufficient to invalidate the preceding evidence; a Nabopolassar may have assumed to be king of Assyria, and if the name be that of a real king of Assyria, he may very well have had weights made for his dependent province of Babylonia; and the form of the alphabet is Babylonian rather than Assyrian.

The three remaining ducks caused a difficulty of another sort. They were all less thau a manah; and the two largest were marked with the numeral "six," followed by a character of uncertain value, in this way ;[2] while the smaller had the numeral "eight," followed by the character .[3] These unknown monograms represented perhaps the sixteenth and thirty-second parts of a Babylonian

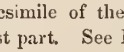
[1] The word looks like Nabovulibar, a name quite unknown to me. See Duck No. 2.

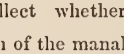
[2] One of these had also a legend in four lines, a good deal peeled off. I have attempted a facsimile of the characters remaining, but they are doubtfully rendered for the most part. See Duck No. 4.

[3] Dr. Hincks in a paper printed in the proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. v. p. 405, mentions his discovery of the value of those two characters, being respectively $\frac{1}{15}$th and $\frac{1}{30}$th of a manah; the one of course which I suppose to be the Babylonian weight. He has subsequently favoured me with the following note:—

"I cannot recollect whether I had any other grounds for valuing the as a sixtieth of the manah, when I published my letter in the 5th volume of the proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, than the following:

"The manah is the sixtieth part of the tikun or talent; and it is natural to expect that the sexagesimal divisiou would be continued, more especially as the Assyrians had a word for denoting 'sixty' of anything, analogous to our 'dozen' and 'score,' viz. *susi;* whence, as applied to years, the *σώσσος* of Abydenus.

"Iu conformity with this, the lion-shaped weights in the museum give the  nearly one-fifteenth, and the nearly one-thirtieth of the manah, which would be quadruple and double shekels , if this were a sixtieth of the manah.

"All doubt on the subject is, however, removed by a tablet which I saw in the museum this spring; which proves positively that the mana contained 60 aud this last contained 30  (a weight not previously known

manah, though the weights of the ducks in the museum are a trifle in excess of the weights thus deduced; but the uncertainty in which we are as to the value of the monograms, renders any determination uncertain at present.

I tabulate these weights as was done with the first ten :—

Weights.	Assumed Original Weight.	Actual Weight.	Loss in Weight.	Loss per Cent.	Name.
	lbs. oz. dts. grs.	lbs. oz. dts. grs.	oz. dts. grs.		
Lion No. 6	2 8 16 0	2 5 8 8	3 7 16	10·3	Two Bab.-Minæ
„ „ 10	1 4 8 0	1 3 8 17	0 19 17	6·0	One do.
„ „ 11	1 4 8 0	1 3 1 5	1 6 9	8·0	One do.
1st Duck	41 0 0 0	40 4 4 4	7 15 10	1·5	Thirty do.
2nd „	41 0 0 0	39 1 1 6	22 18 8	4·6	
3rd „	....	0 6 2 3			
4th „	....	0 5 14 3			
5th „	0 4 2 0	0 4 2 3			

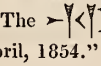
It appears here, that the loss per cent. upon the three lions which I suppose to be Babylonian, is greater than in the Assyrian weights of the first table, and it might be thence inferred that the proportion was not exactly two to one; but the weight of the largest duck, of 30 Bab. manahs, a quarter of a pound heavier than the Assyrian weight of 15 manahs, quite restore the probability. The marble was less subject to wear and tear than the metal.

The last weight appears to have gained rather than lost, but this is only a further proof that we have assumed a basis a little too low. The weight of the manah taken at 16 lbs. 12½ oz., as before stated, will give a quarter manah (= eighth Assyrian) as 4 lbs. 3 oz. 2½ dwt.; the loss will then be a little more than one per cent. From the third and fourth duck we can infer nothing.

I now proceed to the inscriptions on the weights. I have already said that the beginning of the line on the side of the largest lion was certainly to be read 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 ־ מנה, or 15 manahs; but I could go no further with it. The line on the base, with a correction in the first letter, would be read, without much doubt, המשא עשר מנה; this

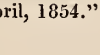
to me), and which appears to indicate moreover, that accounts of money were kept in these three denominations.

"The mana contained about 7740 grains.



"The 𒁹𒁹𒁹 „ 129 „

"The 𒁹𒁹𒁹 „ 4·3 „



"Killyleigh, 19 April, 1854."

would be good Biblical Chaldee, signifying "fifteen manahs;" and if the last letter of the first word should be thought more like ה than א, it will make no difference. This was satisfactory; but no other legend in the plate was intelligible, except the 11th, which could be read מנה מלך, "royal weight." I therefore went to the British Museum, to examine the originals; all the inscriptions on the lions were found to be much more faint and uncertain than I had anticipated; but with the kindness and help of Mr. Vaux, who assisted me with good impressions in gutta percha, and aided me in reading several doubtful letters, I was enabled to make the facsimiles contained in the accompanying lithograph, which may be read as follows:—

On the first weight, the line on the side may be מנה ־ ||| ||| ||| די ארקא: "fifteen manahs of the country (?)" in which the second word די, is doubtful. It certainly looks here more like בל; but the first character is like a not unusual form of ד, and the second letter, very faint on this weight, is, on the other lions, where the same word occurs, more like י: a space follows, with traces of letters; and in No. 2, in the same word, there is a third letter, which may be *nun* or *samech*. If the word בין could be undertsood as "within," as well as "between," there would be good reason for reading it so; but this is, I fear, inadmissible.

The word ארקא, "the earth," is curious; it is found only in the single Chaldee verse of Jeremiah, which the Jews supposed to be addressed to their countrymen of the captivity in Babylon. It is quite plain on several of the lions; but I admit that its non-occurrence in our usual Chaldee texts makes the reading suspicious.

The line on the base is certainly חמשא עשר מנה, "fifteen manahs," the only doubtful letter being the final of the first word. There are faint traces of cuneiform letters on the back, under the handle; but not one satisfactorily legible.

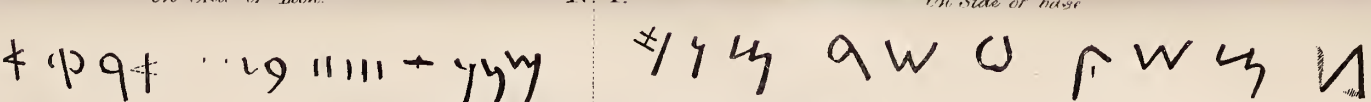
The inscription on the side of the second lion is like that on the first, with the sole change of the numerals, but rather more legible, and written in two lines. Of the inscription on the base, I can read only the word חמשה "five." The first characters of the cuneiform inscription are given doubtfully in Mr. Layard's plate, ; but is visible enough on the lion,—"five manahs."

On the third lion we have again the same legend, but with the numeral 3. The line on the base is very faint, but in a good light, the characters given in the plate may be distinctly seen. The whole line may be completed without much doubt in this way, שלשה מנה מלך, "three royal manahs." The form of the numeral is Hebrew

On Side of Lion.

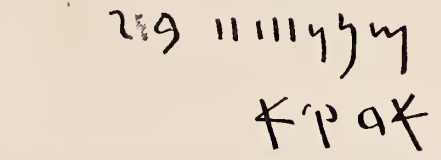
Nº 1.

On Side of base



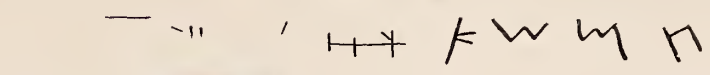
Slight trace of Cuneiforms at back under handle.

On side of Lion.



Nº 2.

On side of base.

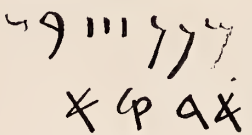


On back

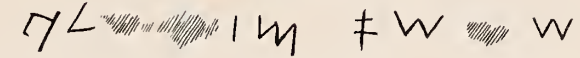
not fac simile

Nº 3.

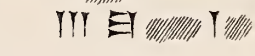
On side of Lion.



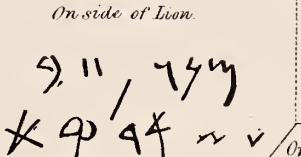
On side of base



On back, not fac simile.

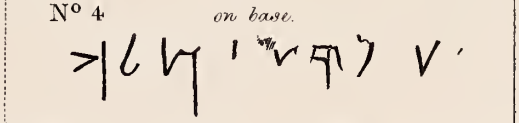


On side of Lion.

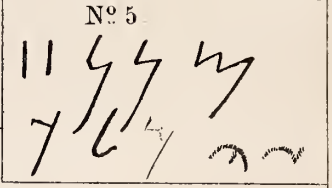


Nº 4

on base.

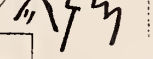


Nº 5.



Nº 7 has no mark visible of any kind, the work is coarse.

On side.



Nº 8.

On base.

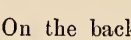
On top

not fac simile.

Nº 6. After the name of the King the following characters are faintly seen.

No cursive Inscription.

H. E. Bowler lith

rather than Chaldee. On the back  "three manahs," is still visible in a good light.

On the fourth weight, we have a repetition of the legend, with the number 2; and on the base, a line, of which the last word will be מלך. The whole line must mean, "two manahs of the king," or "two royal manahs;" but I have not succeeded in reading it, though I think the first two letters are שנ. The cuneiform inscription on the back reads, pretty clearly, "The Great Sennacherib . . . . two manahs of the king." The words obliterated were, no doubt, "king of Assyria," which are visible enough on the weights numbered 5, 6, and 12.

The fifth must be read, "two manahs of the king;" מנה ‖ מלך. The cuneiform legend contains "The Great Shalmanubar, king of Assyria, two manahs of the king."

The sixth lion, which is only half the weight of the preceding, has no cursive inscription. The cuneiform name is that of Tiglath pileser; and the character following the word manah, is perhaps the monogram of Babylon. If this be really so, it is a corroboration of the opinion, that the value of the Babylonian weight is one-half of that of the Assyrian; but the engraving is very much effaced; the character on the plate is much too decided.

There is nothing visible on No. 7; and the workmanship is coarser than that of the others.

On the side of No. 8, the word מנה is deeply and clearly engraved; very differently from the superficial scratches found on most of the other weights; on the base we see מנה מלך. There are three cuneiform lines on the back; on the first, the royal name is quite gone, but we see "king of Assyria" in the second line, and "one manah of the king" in the third.

On No. 9, the legend may be מנה ‖ ארקא, but the מנה is unlike that of any other examples, and the weight unusually light. On the back some portion of the cuneiform legend is visible, but the handle, which appears to have been fixed after the engraving was done, goes quite through the name.

Nos. 10 and 11 have both מנה מלך; but on the bottom of the weights, so as not to be seen without taking them up; in No. 10 the words are preceded by the numeral. The weight is in both cases that of one Babylonian mina—it would thus appear that the word מלך was not a mark of distinction between the two systems of weights, as I at first supposed; it was probably used to authenticate the correct amount. The cuneiform legend reads "one manah of the king," but the king's name is uncertain.

No. 12 has a word which may be קדש, the last letters are certainly דש and the first is a not uncommon form of ק. This is the word which is frequently attached to weights in the Bible, and which our translators have rendered "weight of the sanctuary," in probable distinction to the אֶבֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ, "the king's weight," which occurs in 2 Sam. xiv. 26. The cuneiform legend on the back is "The Great Sennacherib, king of Assyria," followed by the word manah only, the numeral and addition being lost.

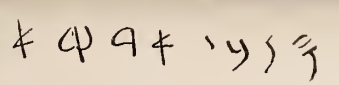
On No. 13, the legend is plainly רבע ארקא. It denotes "a quarter," and the form of the word is rather Hebrew than Chaldee. The weight is really the quarter of an Assyrian talent, allowing for a loss by wear of 6 per cent. The traces of cuneiform letters look like the name of Sennacherib.

The cursive letters on No. 14, are given on the side and on the bottom, representing in both cases the word חמש, "five" or "the fifth." The weight being just the fifth part of the Assyrian talent, deducting only 2 per cent. for loss, of course the word חמש must be read accordingly.

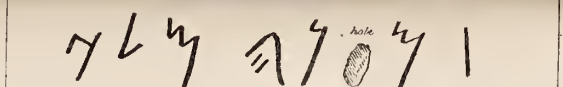
On the 15th weight the inscription is faint, as usual; the three letters which precede the number I read at first מלך, though thinking the last letter more like ן or ה; but on a closer examination I saw that this could not be right. I therefore concluded that it was the name of a smaller weight, and the numeral shews that three of them were contained in the weight under examination. The question is, what was the smaller weight? It must have been something larger than 279 grains, which is one-third of the weight of the lion in the museum, for it is certain that the bronze cannot be heavier now than when new. The usual estimate of a loss of 3 or 4 per cent. would make it nearly 300 grains. The word might have been perhaps אַדַרְכֹן or דַּרְכְּמֹן, both which are found in the Bible, and are equivalent to drachmas. These words look very much like Greek; but as the Greeks certainly borrowed the מנה, which has Semitic analogies everywhere, they may have borrowed the drachma, and it is not impossible that the name of the coin or weight called a daric may be connected with it. But the largest daric we have, 236 grains, would be too small, being 43 grains less than one-third of our weight in its present condition. The drachma would be still more inadmissible.

As a last resort, I recurred to the shekel; and as the last letters of the inscription might, with some little hesitation, be read קלן, and there were traces of another letter, we might have the word שקלן, — a possible plural of שקל. There were traces of another word preceding, one letter of which looked like ל, which might

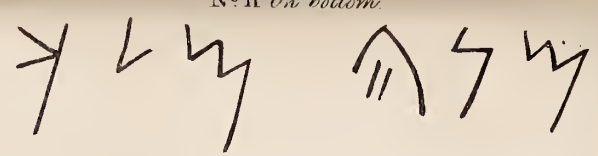
№9 *On side of base.*

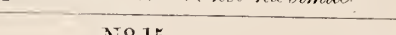


№ 10. *On bottom.*

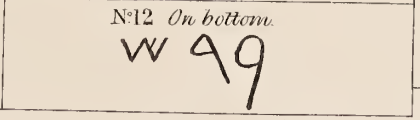


№11 *On bottom.*



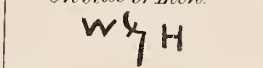
On top  *not fac simile*

№12 *On bottom.*

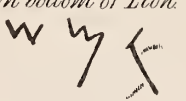


№13.
On bottom.

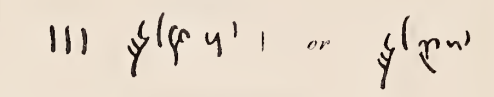
On side of Lion.



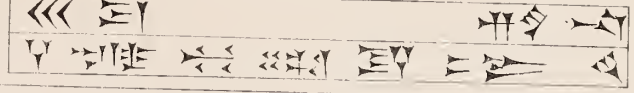
№14. *On bottom of Lion.*



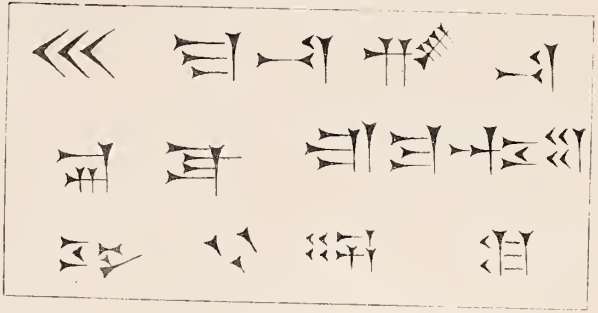
№15.



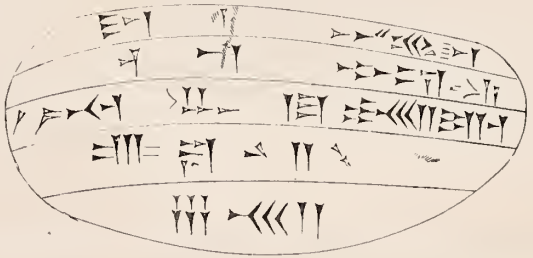
№ 2.
White marble Duck.



№ 1.
Syenite Duck.

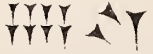


№ 4.
Duck.



№ 3.
Duck.

№ 5.
Duck.



have been a part of שלש, "three," and we should have thus "three shekels." The three strokes which follow are perfectly visible, and decisive as to the number. If this be the reading, which I admit is doubtful, we have before us the means of attaining to a closely approximate estimate of the value and relative proportion of the Hebrew weights, about which such very various estimates have been made; but as my opinion depends a good deal upon assumptions that are not universally admitted, I will first state what these assumptions are. I assume that the Hebrew kikkar contained 60 manahs, because the Septuagint renders the Hebrew word כִּכָּר by "talent", and the Greek talent certainly contains 60 minæ, which was of course well known to the translators; but this is I believe admitted pretty generally. I infer that the Assyrian and Babylonian talents had the same relative value to their respective manahs, because in the case of the Assyrian talent, we have, in the weights before us, the aliquot parts of such a talent, the 15-manah and 5-manah weights being its $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{12}$ parts; and for the Babylonian talent we have Greek testimony, shewing it to be equal to 60 of such manahs as we find here. I believe that there were Hebrew weights of two kinds, one the double of the other, as we find in the case of the Assyrian and Babylonian weights, first, because we have the testimony of the Rabbins, that there was such distinction of weights, the one exactly double the other, and because the names attributed to these weights, which are also found in the Bible, —"the weight of the king," אֶבֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ (2 Sam. xiv. 26), and שֶׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ (Exod. xxxviii. 24), are actually found upon the Assyrian and Babylonian weights in the Museum, though I admit that the distinction does not appear in every case to correspond with the difference in weight. The Rabbinical testimony is found in the Aruch.[1] The last assumption, and the one perhaps which will be the most disputed, is, that the reading of these legends is correct; and I acknowledge that in the case of the weight before us it is doubtful.

There is really no direct authority for the weight of the shekel in the Bible, or its relative value to the manah. It may be gathered from Exod. xxxviii. 24, &c., by calculation from the number of men who paid their contribution towards the tabernacle, and the amount received, that 3000 shekels were equal to one kikkar, or talent; therefore if 60 manahs be equal to a talent, it follows that one

[1] "The legal shekel is equal to four דִּינָרִין, and the dinar is the zuz (or drachma.) The shekel of our Rabbins is but one half, and contains two dinars." Aruch, quoted in Schindler's Lexicon Pentaglotton.

manah would be equal to 50 shekels. The shekel is usually said to be the 100th part of a manah, because in 2 Chron. ix. 16, the weight of the shields made by king Solomon is stated in our translation to be 300 shekels; while the same shields, in 1 Kings, x. 17, are given as weighing each three manahs. But the word is not in the original at all. We have only שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת זָהָב, "three hundred of gold," which may have been some other weight, probably the adarkon, or darkemon, which, like its Grecian namesake the drachma, was likely to have been the hundredth part of the manah. The 12th verse in the xlvth chap. of Ezekiel would be decisive, but its meaning is doubtful. Our version gives it with accuracy: "twenty shekels, five-and-twenty shekels, fifteen shekels shall be your maneh." This last verse has led to an opinion that there were 60 shekels in the manah, because 25 and 20 and 15, make up 60; but it would be a very odd way of expressing this, and there is no copulative conjunction. Some have supposed, in consequence, that shekels of three different weights were by this verse directed to be employed. The practice of our own country, in which we have at this moment two different pounds in actual use,—one the avoirdupois of 7000 grains, and the other the troy of 5670 grains, shews the possibility of this interpretation, which is countenanced by the terms "shekel of the sanctuary," and "shekel of the king," and by the testimony of the rabbins.

We will now see what would be the value of the shekel under these different suppositions, taking the two kinds of Hebrew manah to be equal to the Assyrian and Babylonian manahs respectively, as we have supposed them to be in the table above given—the Assyrian being 15,744 grs., and the Babylonian, 7,872 grs.—the former equivalent to the weight of the sanctuary, the other to the weight of the king.

	Assyr.	Bab.
	15744	7872
Shekel at $\frac{1}{100}$	157·44	78·72
" $\frac{1}{60}$	262·4	131·2
" $\frac{1}{50}$	314·88	157·44
" $\frac{1}{25}$	629·76	314·88
" $\frac{1}{20}$	787·2	393·6
" $\frac{1}{15}$	1049·6	524·8

The first is a shekel of 100 to the manah, as inferred from the comparison of Kings and Chronicles above referred to.

The second is of $\frac{1}{60}$th, from Ezekiel, according to the first interpretation.

The third of $\frac{1}{50}$th, from the 38th chapter of Exodus.

The three last from the second mode of interpreting the same verse of Ezekiel.

The first of these is inadmissible for the reasons above given, as being without positive authority. The second is doubtful, because the testimony, though positive, is not easily intelligible. The third, which has the positive authority of the passage in Exodus, with the single assumption, generally admitted, that there were 60 manahs in the talent, gives one shekel of 314 grains and one of 157 grains. The fourth, fifth and sixth, are from a positive authority, but are doubtful by reason of uncertain interpretation; of these the fourth gives shekels of 629 and 314 grains. The weight of 314 grains is common to the third and fourth estimates; it is the largest of the two as deduced from the record in the book of Exodus, where the shekel of the sanctuary is expressly mentioned, and the smallest in the case of Ezekiel, who may have assumed the smaller weight as a basis, when he gave the larger proportion of "twenty-five shekels to the maneh."

Greek authority favours this valuation of the shekel. Suidas, alleging the authority of Moses in the Old Testament,[1] gives the weight as five drachmas, the 20th of a mina; and Hesychius gives two attic drachmas,[2] the 50th part; and although he speaks of Attic weight, we may fairly suppose that his authority gave the Hebrew weight; he probably took his statements from tho Septuagint, which sometimes translates shekel by didrachma, meaning that of Alexandria, which numismatists inform us was equal to the attic tetradrachma. Rabbinical testimony, as we have seen, agrees with this; and the Targum on Samuel translates the "fourth part of a shekel" of 1 Sam. ix. 8, by זוּזָא חֲדָא "one drachma."

The result of this discussion is a conviction on my mind that there were two Hebrew shekels, one of about 314 grains, and another of half that value. The weight of the lion which I assume to have upon it a legend meaning "three shekels" as stated before, is 1 oz. 14 dwts. 21 grs., or 837 grains; and one-third of this amounts to 279 grains, a sufficiently near value to the shekel which was the 50th part of the Assyrian, or 25th of the Babylonian manah, to render it a probable inference that this is a multiple of the shekel; the loss by wear and corrosion would be 11 per cent.[3] I fully admit, however, that the reading is very doubtful.

[1] *Σίκλον ἀργυρίων ε'· Μωϋσῆς φησὶν ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ.*

[2] *Δύναται δὲ ὁ σίγλος δύο δραγμὰς Ἀττικάς.*

[3] The note communicated by Dr. Hincks, inserted in page 218 may perhaps be thought to invalidate this conclusion; but the Hebrew division might have been different from that of the Babylonians.

The principal interest of these readings appears to consist in the proof furnished of the antiquity of the Phœnician alphabet, of very nearly the same form and character as we find it in later monuments, and in the presumption that Phœnician or Canaanite merchants were resident in Assyria as early as the 9th or 10th century before the Christian era, if the name of Shalmanubar be read correctly; and certainly as early as Tiglath Pileser in the 8th century.[1] The language was probably the same throughout the country S.W. of Assyria, with dialectical differences only; and although it is hardly safe to make inferences from such fragments as we have before us, it appears to have been rather Hebrew than the Chaldee of Daniel and the Targums. I confess I was disappointed at the result, as I had hoped to find a transcription of the genuine Assyrian language in a known alphabet, and I fear we may now assume that the cursive legends found here and there upon Assyrian and Babylonian relics, are either notes of explanation or translations, and not transcripts. It would, however, be premature to speak confidently until some longer inscription be laid open to our investigations.

[1] It has been suggested, and it is certainly possible, that these legends may be in the cursive Assyrian alphabet, which would then have been subsequently adopted by the Phœnicians; but the cursive characters on undoubted Assyrian monuments, though allied to these, are still different, and the language of the inscriptions before us, fragmentary as they are, seems peculiarly Hebrew or Chaldee, rather than Assyrian.

NOTE TO COLONEL SYKES' PAPER ON THE MINIATURE CHAITYAS.

Since the paper passed through the press two further notices by Mr. Prinsep of inscribed versions of the Buddhist formula have come to my notice. The first is upon a Buddhist image, found at the fort of Indra Pye, in Bhagulpoor, and an engraving of which is published in Franklin's Palibothra. Of this Mr. Prinsep says, "the two lines separately given are, though miserably perverted by the copyist, precisely the same as the *Ye dharmma hetu*, &c., of Sarnath. The three lines on the pedestal, though stated in the text to be different, would appear to be the same also; at least the two first words, *Ye dharmmá* are distinct." The second is upon an image of Buddha, found in the year 1794, along with two urns, in the vicinity of the temple of Sarnath, by workmen employed in digging for stones among the ruins of some ancient buildings. A copy was published by Mr. Jonathan Duncan, in the Asiatic Researches (vol. v., p. 133), and Mr. Prinsep in noticing it says, "I was much pleased to discover the identical sentence 'Ye dharmma,' &c., about which so much discussion has lately taken place, occupying the two lines at the bottom of the page—they are disguised by several very gross errors of the copyist, and it is therefore not surprising that no attempt should have been made by Wilford, who alludes several times in his Essay to the other part of the inscription, or by other Sanscrit scholars, to read it. The lines are thus given:

Swadharmmahetu prakaro hetum teshám tatháphalohyavadat
Teshám chayovirodha evam vádí mahásramanah

Major Kittoe, in his explorations of the Viháras and Chaityas of Behar, found many Buddhist images, especially at Buddha Gaya, all of which had the formula Ye dharma engraved upon them.[2]

I would also call attention to another inscription published in the Bengal Journal,[2] (vol. iv., page 56,) which is called "Copy of an Inscription on a stone found near the ruins of a Buddhist temple in Province Wellesley, Malayan Peninsula," and of which no further account is given, excepting an entry in the Proceedings of its presentation by Captain J. Low. This slab bears upon it the representation of

[1] Bengal Journal, vol. iv., 286. Ib. 713.
[2] Bengal Journal, vol. xvi., 266.

a dagopa, with the usual seven stories or stages, and the Tí. On the surface of the slab is an inscription in characters, which Mr. Dowson considers indentically the same as those of the inscription from Kedah, and which he has no difficulty in reading as :

Ajnánách chíyate karmma janmanah karmma-káranam

There are four or five more letters, apparently by a different hand and much less deeply cut, which look as if they were intended for the commencement of the second line. On the sides of the slab there is another inscription, several of the letters of which are clearly legible, but the stone is in such a mutilated condition that no consecutive sense can be made out—no trace of the Ye dharmmá is visible.

Art. XIII.—*On Buddha and Buddhism.* *By* Professor Wilson, *Director of the R.A.S.*

[*Read as a Lecture, April* 8, 1854.]

Much has been written, much has been said in various places, and amongst them in this Society, about Buddha, and the religious system which bears his name, yet it may be suspected that the notions which have been entertained and propagated, in many particulars relating to both the history and the doctrines, have been adopted upon insufficient information and somewhat prematurely disseminated. Very copious additions, and those of a highly authentic character, have been, but very recently, made to the stock of materials which we heretofore possessed, and there has scarcely yet been sufficient time for their deliberate examination. Copious also and authentic as they are, they are still incomplete, and much remains for Oriental scholars to accomplish before it can be said that the materials for such a history of Buddha as shall command the assent of all who study the subject, have been conclusively provided. I have, therefore, no purpose of proposing to you in the views I am about to take, that you should consider them as final; my only intention is to bring the subject before you as it stands at present, with some of that additional elucidation which is derivable from the many valuable publications that have recently appeared, and particularly from the learned and authentic investigations of the late Eugene Burnouf, the only scholar as yet who has combined a knowledge of Sanscrit with that of Páli and Tibetan, and has been equally familiar with the Buddhist authorities of the north and south of India: unfortunately he has been lost to us before he had gone through the wide circuit of research which he had contemplated, and which he only was competent to have traversed; and although he has accomplished more than any other scholar, more than it would seem possible for any human ability and industry to have achieved, it is to be deeply and for ever regretted that his life was not spared to have effected all he had intended, and for which he was collecting, and had collected, many valuable and abundant materials. Still he has left us, in his Introduction à l'Histoire de Bouddhisme, and in his posthumous work Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, an immense mass of authentic information which was not formerly within our reach, and which must contribute effectually to rationalize the speculations that may be hazarded in future on Buddha and his faith. Some of those which have been started by the erudition and ingenuity of the learned in past ages will

best introduce us to the opportunity we now have of ascertaining what is probable, if we cannot positively affirm that it is all true.

It is sometimes supposed that the classical authors supply us with evidence of the Buddhist religion in India three centuries before the era of Christianity, drawing this inference especially from the fragments which remain of the writings of Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus to Chandragupta, about the year B.C. 295, according to his latest editor, Schwanbeck, and to whose descriptions of various particulars respecting India the other ancient writers are almost wholly indebted. It is well known that he divides the Indian philosophers into two classes, the Brachmanai and the Sarmanai; and the latter it has been concluded intend the Sramanas, one of the titles of the Buddhist ascetics. This is not impossible. If we trust to the traditions of the Buddhists, their founder lived at least two centuries before the mission of Megasthenes, and in that case we might expect to meet with his disciples in the descriptions of the ambassador. At the same time Sramana is not exclusively the designation of a Buddhist, it is equally that of a Brahmanical ascetic, and its use does not positively determine to which class it is to be applied.[1] In truth, it is clear from what follows that the Brahman was intended, for Megasthenes proceeds to say; "of the Sarmanai, the most highly venerated among them are the Hyllobii," that is, as he goes on to explain the term, "those who pass their lives in the woods (ζωντας εν ταις υλαις), and who live upon wild fruits and seeds, and are clothed in the barks of trees," in other words the Vánaprastha of the Brahmanical system; literally, the dweller in the woods, the man of the third order, who, having fulfilled his course of householder, is enjoined by Manu to repair to the lonely wood to subsist upon green roots and fruit, and to wear a vesture of bark. Major Cunningham, indeed, who is a courageous etymologist, derives Hyllobii from the Sanscrit *Alobhiya*, "one who is without desire," that is, the Bodhisatwa, who has suppressed all human passions; but *Alobhiya* is not a genuine Sanscrit word, nor is there any authority for its application to a *Bodhisatwa*, and Megasthenes may be presumed to have understood his own language. His interpretation of Hyllobii, the dwellers in the woods, is in such perfect conformity with the meaning of Vánaprastha, that we cannot doubt the identity of the two designations.

Nothing of any value, upon this subject at least, is derivable from classical writers in addition to the information furnished by

[1] When Arjuna goes to the forest he is attended amongst others by *Sramanah Vanaukasah*, forest-dwelling Sramanas: these could not have been Buddhists.—*Mahábhárat*, Adi Parva, v. 7742.

Megasthenes; but when we come later down, or to the early ages of Christianity, various curious notices of Buddhism occur in the writings of the Fathers of the Church, which though meagre are in the main correct. We need not be surprised at this: there is no doubt that Buddhism was in a highly flourishing state in India in the first centuries of Christianity, and it is not extraordinary that some indications of its diffusion should have found their way to Syria and Egypt.

Clemens of Alexandria, who lived towards the close of the second century, had evidently heard of the monastic practices, and of the peculiar monuments or Topes of the Buddhists. When he speaks of the Brachmanai and the Sarmanai as two distinct classes of Indian philosophers, he uses the very words of Megasthenes, and merely, therefore, repeats his statement; but that he does not understand Buddhists by Sarmanes is clear enough, for he proceeds to add, "there are of the Indians some who worship Buddha, or Boutta, whom they honour as a god"; and in another passage he observes: "those of the Indians who are called Semnoi cultivate truth, foretell events, and reverence certain pyramids in which they imagine the bones of some divinity are deposited; they observe perpetual continence; there are also maidens termed Semnai." Semnoi and Semnai might be thought to have some relation to Sramanas, but the words, perhaps, bear only their original purport, "venerable or sacred."

About the middle of the following century, Porphyry repeats information gathered from Bardesanes, who obtained it from the Indian envoys sent to Antoninus; and although the account is somewhat confused, there is an evident allusion to Buddhist practices. "There are," he says, "two divisions of the Gymnosophists, Brachmans, and Samanai,"—not Sarmanai, but Samanai,—"the former are so by birth, the latter by election, consisting of all those who give themselves up to the cultivation of sacred learning: they live in colleges, in dwellings, and temples constructed by the princes, abandoning their families and property: they are summoned to prayer by the ringing of a bell, and live upon rice and fruits." Cyril of Alexandria also mentions that the Samanæans were the philosophers of the Bactrians, showing the extension of Buddhism beyond the confines of India; and St. Jerome, who, like Cyril, lived at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century, was evidently acquainted with Buddhistical legends, for he says that Buddha was believed to have been born of a virgin, and to have come forth from his mother's side. From Cyril of Jerusalem and Ephraim, writers of the middle of the fourth century, we learn that Buddhism tainted some of the heresies of the early Christian Church, especially the Manichæan, which the

latter terms the Indian heresy; the former states that Terebinthus, the preceptor of Manes, the Persian Mani, took the name of Baudas. Hyde and Beausobre explain this to mean no more than that the word Terebinthus in Greek was the same as Butam in Chaldaic, a kind of tree; but the word in Cyril is Baudas, not Butem, and it is more likely that Terebinthus styled himself a Bauddha, or a Buddha, especially as an Indian origin was assigned to the doctrines he introduced. Epiphanius, indeed, explains how this happened by going a step further. According to him Scythianus, *quasi* Sákya, the master and instructor of Terebinthus, was an Arabian or Egyptian merchant, who had grown rich by trading with India, whence he imported not only valuable merchandise, but heretical doctrines and books. Suidas calls Manes himself a Brahman, a pupil of Baudda, formerly called Terebinthus, who, coming into Persia, falsely pretended that he was born of a virgin. These accounts are no doubt scanty and in some respects inaccurate, but they demonstrate clearly that the Buddhism of India was not wholly unknown to the Christian writers between the second and fifth centuries of our era.

Without at present referring more particularly to the information furnished us by Chinese travellers in India between the third and sixth centuries, we may next advert to the strange theories which were gravely advanced, by men of the highest repute in Europe for erudition and sagacity, from the middle to the end of the last century, respecting the origin and character of Buddha. Deeply interested by the accounts which were transmitted to Europe by the missionaries of the Romish Church, who penetrated to Tibet, Japan, and China, as well as by other travellers to those countries, the members of the French Academy especially, set to work to establish coincidences the most improbable, and identified Buddha with a variety of personages, imaginary or real, with whom no possible congruity existed; thus it was attempted to show that Buddha was the same as the Thoth or Hermes of the Egyptians,—the Turm of the Etruscans; that he was Mercury, Zoroaster, Pythagoras; the Woden or Odin of the Scandinavians:—Manes, the author of the Manichæan heresy; and even the divine author of Christianity. These were the dreams of no ordinary men; and, besides, Giorgi and Paolino, we find amongst the speculators the names of Huet, Vossius, Fourmont, Leibnitz, and De Guignes.

The influence and example of great names pervaded the inquiry, even after access to more authentic information had been obtained, and shews itself in some of the early volumes of the researches of our venerable parent the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Thus Chambers is divided between Mercury and Woden. Buchanan looks out for an

Egyptian or Abyssinian prototype, and even Sir William Jones fluctuates between Woden and Sisac. In the first instance he observes: "nor can we doubt that Wod or Odin was the same with Budh;" but in a subsequent paper he remarks: "we may safely conclude that Sacya or Sisak, about 200 years after Vyasa, either in person, or by a colony from Egypt, imported into this country [India] the mild heresy of the ancient Bauddhas." This spirit of impossible analogies is, even yet, not wholly extinct; and writers are found to identify Buddha with the prophet Daniel, and to ascribe the appearance of Buddhism in India, to the captivity and dispersion of the Jews. When, however, a more profound acquaintance with the literature of the principal Buddhist nations began to shed genuine light upon the subject, it soon scattered the shadows which the darkness of ignorance had begotten. The languages of the Chinese and of the Mongols, were assiduously studied in the early part of the present century, especially by Klaproth, Remusat, and Schmidt; and the application of their acquirements to the illustration of Buddhism, was evinced in numerous interesting and authentic contributions to the early volumes of the Journal Asiatique, and the transactions of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburgh, and more particularly in the copious annotations which accompany the French translation, by Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse, of the travels of the Chinese priest, Fa Hian, in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries. Valuable as this work undoubtedly is, as a Buddhist picture of the condition of India at that period, it would have been in many respects almost unintelligible without the amplification of its brief notices into the extensive views of the system and its authors, which are to be found in the notes attached to the text; the details contained in which are mainly derived from the Buddhist literature of China, with some accessions from that of the Mongols.

In the mean time, however, the interest, which had languished in India, subsequently to the first vain conceits of the Bengal Asiatic Society, revived; and a whole flood of contributions of a character equally novel and important was poured upon the public, both from the north and from the south. The former took the lead, and Buddhism as still prevalent in Nepal and the adjacent Himalayan regions was zealously investigated by Mr. Hodgson, the results of whose inquiries were communicated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and subsequently to the Royal Asiatic Society. Besides the information which he himself collected, he contributed still more importantly to the progress of the investigation, by first bringing to our knowledge the existence of a number of Buddhist writings in Sanscrit, as well as that of a most

voluminous body of works, chiefly if not exclusively Buddhist, in the language of Tibet. He did more; he procured the books, and in the exercise of a sound judgment, as well as a generous liberality, sent them where they were likely to be turned to good account, to the several Asiatic Societies of Calcutta, London, and Paris. To the former, between 1824 and 1830, he presented nearly 50 volumes in Sanscrit, and 200 in Tibetan: to this Society he presented above 100 volumes in Sanscrit and Tibetan, and at various dates he forwarded to the Société Asiatique 88 volumes of Sanscrit, besides the whole of the great Tibetan collections, the Kah-gyur and Stan-gyur, in more than 300 volumes. He finally presented to the East India Company, a copy of the two Tibetan collections, which are now at the India House. Mr. Hodgson sent these books to Europe, not, as M. Burnouf observes, hat they might slumber in undisturbed repose upon the shelves of a library, but that they might be made to yield the information they might contain. That these expectations have not been wholly disappointed is due, I am sorry to say, to no zeal or acquirement native to the soil; and the books in the Society's possession have done little more than repose in dust and oblivion upon the shelves where they were originally deposited.

The accumulations of Mr. Hodgson have, however, not been made in vain. The Tibetan volumes especially were fortunate in finding an expounder in Alexander Csoma Körösi, whose ardent aspirations after knowledge led him, penniless and friendless, from Transylvania to Ladakh, where, with the aid of our equally adventurous countryman Moorcroft, he was enabled to study and to master the language of Tibet. Placed subsequently in communication with the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, he devoted much of his time to the examination of the volumes of the Kah-gyur, and has given the results of his labour to the public in the Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and in the 20th vol. of the Researches; he has also afforded, by a grammar and dictionary of Tibetan, the means of prosecuting the cultivation of the language in Europe; and the Transactions of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburgh, as well as other publications, evince the scholarship of Mr. Schmidt in Tibetan as well as in the literature of the Mongols. We have also a very valuable contribution to the History of Buddhism in a life of Buddha, translated originally from Sanscrit into Tibetan, and from that language into French, and published two or three years since by M. Foucaux. M. Burnouf also qualified himself to make use of the Tibetan books supplied by Mr. Hodgson, but found abundant occupation for his time in translating from the Sanscrit originals. His Introduction to the History of Buddhism contains copious

translations from many of the principal Buddhist works, whilst the work published after his death, the "Lotus de la Bonne Loi," is a translation of a Sanscrit Buddhist work which has been known to be highly estimated for centuries wherever Buddhism is professed.

At the same time that Hodgson and Csoma were illustrating the literature of Buddhism, as it existed in the north of India, a like spirit of research animated the regions of the south, and the Páli scholars of Ceylon began to draw from the stores within their reach, new and valuable sources of information. Besides various contributions to the Ceylon periodicals, and to the Journal of the Bengal Society, the late Mr. Turnour has in his edition and translation of the Mahâwanso furnished us with an authentic record of the notions which are current not only amongst the people of Ceylon, but those of Ava and Siam, who belong to the same school, and whose authorities are identical. The course commenced by Mr. Turnour has been followed up with great ability by the Rev. Mr. Gogerly in the Friend of Ceylon, and the proceedings of the branch Asiatic Society instituted on the island, whilst Mr. Hardy in his Eastern Monachism, and Manual of Buddhism, has brought together all that is at present known of the Buddhism of the South.

We are not, therefore, in want now of genuine means of forming correct opinions of the outline of Buddhism, as to its doctrines and practices, but there are still questions of vital importance to its history for the solution of which our materials are defective. Disregarding all the fancies of speculation which are based upon imperfect knowledge, and receiving with caution the accounts given us by the Chinese missionaries, the most rational course to be adopted in seeking for information on which dependence may be placed, is, to consult the works which the Buddhists themselves regard as their scriptures, and from which their own history and doctrines are derived: but then, who will answer for the authorities? what is the history, what is the date, of the numerous works that are available, and which consist of two great divisions, the Sanscrit and the Páli? and what is the comparative value of the respective classes? Are they to be regarded as synchronous and independent? and if not, which is the senior, which is the original? These are questions which M. Burnouf himself declares cannot yet be answered with confidence: an exact comparison between the two series of works, he declares to be impossible in the present state of our knowledge. We are not yet in possession of all the works that may exist in either class, but even if they were all collected in any European library, they must be read and studied, translated and commented upon, and the translations and comments must be published. This task, more tedious than diffi-

cult, would require the cooperation of many laborious and patient scholars, and upon its completion in a satisfactory manner could critical investigation alone commence.

Although, however, it is perfectly true that conclusions on which implicit reliance is to be placed must be preceded by such a series of operations as M. Burnouf indicates, yet, as that preliminary process is indefinitely deferred and may never be perfected, we must be content in the meanwhile to make use of such means as we possess, and from them to form a conjectural approximation, if not a positive propinquity, to the solution of the question upon which the whole depends—the antiquity and authenticity of the writings in which the Buddhists themselves record the history of their founder and the doctrines which they maintain, and from which alone we can derive information that is of any real value. The great body of the Buddhist writings consists avowedly of translations; the Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese, Cingalese, Burman, and Siamese books, are all declaredly translations of works written in the language of India—that which is commonly called *Fan*, or more correctly *Fan-lan-mo*, or "the language of the Brahmans;" and then comes the question, to what language does that term apply? does it mean Sanscrit or does it mean Páli? involving also the question of the priority and originality of the works written in those languages respectively; the Sanscrit works as they have come into our hands being found almost exclusively in Nepal, those in Páli being obtained chiefly from Ceylon and Ava.

Until very lately, the language designated by the Chinese *Fan*, was enveloped in some uncertainty. Fa Hian in the fourth century takes with him *Fan* books not only from India but from Ceylon, and the latter it has been concluded were Páli. No Sanscrit Buddhist works, as far as we yet know, have been met with in the south any more than Páli works in the north, although Sanscrit works are not unfrequent in Ceylon in the present day. The mystery, however, is now cleared up. In the life and travels of Hwan Tsang, written by two of his scholars and translated from the Chinese by M. Julien, the matter is placed beyond all dispute by the description and by the examples which the Chinese traveller gives of the construction of the *Fan* language, in which he was himself a proficient, having been engaged many years in the study whilst in India, and in translating from it after his return to China. We learn then from him, that the words of the *Fan* language are distinguished under two classes, *Ting-anta* and *Sup-anta*, the Sanscrit grammatical designations of *verbs* and *nouns;* that the former have eighteen modifications or persons, in two divisions, nine in each, one called *Pan-to-sa-mi*, or, in Sanscrit, *Parasmai;* the other *Ota-mo-ni*, or in Sanscrit, *Atmane*. All verbs and

nouns have three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, of which he gives us examples both in conjugation and declension. All this is Sanscrit; and what is more to the point, it is not Mágadhi, the proper designation of the dialect termed in the south Páli. No form of Prákrit, Páli included, *has a dual number*, and the termination of the cases of the noun are, in several respects, entirely distinct.[1] Hwan Tsang also correctly adds that the grammar in use in India, in his time, was the

[1] The following examples are given by Hwan Tsang of the inflexions of a verb and noun:

VERB.

	Chinese.	Sanskrit.	English.
Third Person.			
Sing.	P'o-po-ti	Bhavati	He is
Du.	P'o-po-pa	Bhavapa (for Bhavatah)	They two are
Pl.	P'o-fan-ti	Bhavanti	They are
Second Person.			
Sing.	P'o-po-sse	Bhavasi	Thou art
Du.	P'o-po-po	Bhavapa (for Bhavathah)	You two are
Pl.	P'o-po-t'a	Bhavatha	You are
First Person.			
Sing.	P'o-po-mi	Bhavámi	I am
Du.	P'o-po-hoa	Bhavávah	We two are
Pl.	P'o-po-mo V. P'o-po-mo-sse	Bhavámah	We are

NOUN.

	Chinese.	Sanskrit.	English.
Nominative.			
Sing.	Pu-lu-sha	Purushah	Man
Du.	Pu-lu-shao	Purushau	Two men
Pl.	Pu-lu-sha-so	Purushás	Men
Accusative.			
Sing.	Pu-lu-shan	Purusham	Man
Du.	Pu-lu-shau	Purushau	Two men
Pl.	Pu-lu-shoang	Purushán	Men
Instrumental.			
Sing.	Pu-lu-shai-na	Purushena	By a man
Du.	Pu-lu-sha-pien	Purushábhyám	By two men
Pl.	Pu-lu-sha-pi / Pu-lu-sha-sse	Purushábhih / Purushais	By men
Dative.			
Sing.	Pu-lu-hia-ye	Purusháya	To man
Du.	Pu-lu-sha-pien	Purushábhyám	To two men
Pl.	Pu-lu-shai-cho	Purusheshu (for Purushebhyah)	To men
Ablative.			
Sing.	Pu-lu-sha-to	Purushát	From a man
Du.	Pu-lu-sha-pien	Purushábhyám	From two men
Pl.	Pu-lu-she-cho	Purusheshu (for Purushebhyah)	From men
Genitive.			
Sing.	Pu-lu-sha-tsie	Purushasya	Of a man
Du.	Pu-lu-sha-pien	Purushábhyám (for Purushayoh)	Of two men
Pl.	Pu-lu-sha-nan	Purushánám	Of men

work of a Brahman of the north, a native of Tula or Sálátula, named Po-ni-ni, or Pánini, the well known Sanscrit grammarian ; and he notices a form of the verb peculiar to the Grammar of the Vedas, (Fei-to).

The evidence of Hwan Tsang, therefore, is conclusive as to the language of the books which were sought for and studied by the Chinese Buddhists in India, and carried with them to China, and there translated into the form and under the appellation in which they still exist. Whether the books they took from Ceylon were Sanscrit or Páli, we have no further indication than the name *Fan*, which it seems most probable that Fa Hian employed in the same sense as Hwan Tsang, or that of Sanscrit ; and it is also to be observed that the principal works of Ceylon are subsequent to his time, which makes it further almost certain that the *Fan* books of Ceylon were also in Sanscrit.

The Buddhist authorities of India Proper, then, were undeniably Sanscrit; those of Ceylon might have been Páli or Mágadhi : were they synchronous with the Sanscrit books, or were they older, or were they younger, more ancient or more modern ? To answer these questions we must endeavour to determine their relative chronology, from the imperfect means which are within our reach. Both sets of authorities undoubtedly, Sanscrit and Páli, were in existence in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. The Sanscrit works, according to the testimony of Chinese travellers, were carried from China to India in very considerable numbers from a much earlier date ; in one instance it is said two years before Christ, but it was not till after A.D. 76, the date of the introduction of Buddhism into China, that they were imported in any number, and not till the third and fourth centuries that they had become very numerous. In a Chinese history of celebrated Buddhist teachers, published between 502 and 556, and from which M. Julien has given us extracts, a Buddhist priest named Dharma, is said to have brought to China one hundred and sixty-five works, amongst which were several that may be readily identified with the Sanscrit works procured by Mr. Hodgson: we cannot hesitate, for example, to recognise in the Ching-fa-hua, meaning "The Flower of the

	Chinese.	Sanskrit.	English.
Locative.			
Sing.	Pu-lu-sh'ai	Purushe	In a man
Du.	Pu-lu-sha-yu	Purushayoh	In two men
Pl.	Pu-lu-shai-tseu	Purusheshu	In men
Vocative.			
Sing.	Hi (He) Pu-lu-sha	Purusha	O man
Du.	Hi (He) Pu-lu-shao	Purushau	O two men
Pl.	Hi (He) Pu-lu-sha	Purushâh	O men

The verb does not differ materially from the Páli verb; but the inflexional terminations of the cases of the noun differ very widely: some of them are misstated, but this is probably from errors of transcription.

right Law," the Sad Dharma Pundaríka, "Le Lotus de la bonne Loi," which, as has been mentioned, was the last labour of M. Burnouf. Of this work, repeated translations have been made into Chinese, the first of which dates A.D. 280, whilst of the Lalita Vistara, or life of Sákya Muni, the earliest Chinese version was made between A.D. 70—76. We may be satisfied, therefore, that the principal Sanscrit authorities which we still possess were composed by the beginning of the Christian era at least; how much earlier is less easily determined.

According to the Buddhists themselves, the doctrines of Sákya Muni were not committed to writing by him, but were orally communicated to his disciples, and transmitted in like manner by them to succeeding generations. When they were first written is not clearly made out from the traditions of the north; but they agree with those of the south in describing the occurrence of different public councils or convocations at which the senior Buddhist priests corrected the errors that had crept into the teaching of heterodox disciples and agreed upon the chief points of discipline and doctrine that were to be promulgated. The first of these councils was held, it is said, immediately after Sákya Muni's death; the second 110, and the third 218 years afterwards, or about 246 B.C. The northern Buddhists confound apparently the second and third councils, or take no notice of the latter in the time of Asoka, but place the third in Kashmir under the patronage of Kanishka or Kanerka, one of the Hindo-Sythic kings, 400 years after Buddha's Nirván, or B.C. 153. Both accounts agree that the propagation of Buddhism, by missions dispatched for that purpose, took place after the third council.

According to the traditions which are current in the south as well as the north, the classification of the Buddhist authorities as the Tripithaka, (the three collections,) took place at the first council; the portion termed Sútra, the doctrinal precepts, being compiled by Ananda; the Vinaya, or discipline of the priesthood, by Upáli; and the Abhidharma, or philosophical portion, by Kásyapa—all three Buddha's disciples. Their compilations were revised at the second council, and were finally established as canonical at the last. Their being compiled, however, does not necessarily imply their being written; and, according to the northern Buddhists, they were not committed to writing until after the convocation in Kashmir, or 153 B.C; whilst the southern authorities state, that they were preserved by memory for 450 years, and were then first reduced to writing in Ceylon.

It is to the former of these periods that M. Burnouf would ascribe the composition of the principal Sanscrit works which are still extant. That they continued to be written for four or five centuries afterwards

is obvious from internal evidence, and even from their number and extent. In the sixth century Hwan Tsang and his assistants translated 740 works, forming 1,335 volumes. Of these he himself took to China 657, and they had been brought thither in great numbers before his time. There is also a considerable body of works of a still more recent date, forming the basis upon which many adulterations have crept into Buddhism; evidently borrowed from the Tantras of the Brahmans: 700 works, however, all undoubtedly prior to the sixth century, must have been the work of many years, and have furnished full occupation to the Buddhist scholars of several centuries preceding. We may consider it then established upon the most probable evidence, that the chief Sanscrit authorities of the Buddhists still in our possession were written, at the latest, from a century and a half before, to as much after, the era of Christianity.

Now what is the case with the Páli authorities of the South? We have it most explicitly stated in the great Cingalese authority, the Maháwanso, that the doctrines of Buddha were handed down orally, for more than four centuries after his death; and that they were not reduced to writing till the reign of Wattagámini, between B.C. 104 and 76. And that then the Pittakan were first written in Páli, and the commentary upon them (the Atthakatha) in Cingalese. The latter did not exist in *Páli* until the *fifth century* of the Christian era, or between A.D. 410, 432, when Buddhaghosa, originally a Brahman of Magadha, arrived in Ceylon, and gave the first impulse to the cultivation of his own dialect, the Mágadhi, to which the people of the south have applied the term Páli; meaning, according to M. Turnour, "perfect, regular." The word is not known in India: it is not an Indian term. Buddhaghosa, it is said, repaired with his books to Pegu, and thence also dates the introduction of Páli as the sacred language of the Buddhists of Ava and Siam. Shortly after his time, or between A.D. 459 and 477, the other great Páli work of the Cingalese (the Maháwanso) was composed. Of the Dípawanso another of their authorities, the date is not specified; but as it brings down the history of Ceylon to the beginning of the fourth century when it was left unfinished, and as Buddhaghosa was the main instrument of introducing the use of Páli into Ceylon, it must be of the same period, or the fifth century. The principal Páli works of the South are, therefore, of a period considerably subsequent to the Sanscrit Buddhistical writings of India Proper, and date only from the fifth century after Christ. Their subsequent date might also be inferred from internal evidence; for, although they are in all essential respects the very same as the Buddhist works of India—laying down the same laws and precepts and narrating the same marvellous legends—they

bear the characteristics of a later and less intellectual cultivation, in their greater diffuseness, and the extravagant and puerile additions they frequently make to the legendary matter. They seem also to be very scantily supplied with the Abhidharma or metaphysical portion of the Tripithaka, as compared with the Sútra and Vinaya. Such portions of the Pittakan as have been translated are, however, essentially the same as the Sanscrit Sútras, whilst the Atthakathas, or the commentaries, take a more discursive range, and are of a less authentic character; being in fact the compositions of Buddhaghosa, *taken*, as he himself states, *not translated*, from the Cingalese Atthakatha which are no longer extant. How much therefore is his own, cannot be now determined.

Of the three classes of works constituting the Tripithaka, that of the Sútras is historically the most important. A Sútra is properly a brief aphorism or precept, conveying a position or dogma in a few concise, and not unfrequently obscure, terms. The Buddhist Sútras are not exactly of this nature. They are supposed to be the *ipsissima verba* of Sákya himself, the Buddha-vachana, repeated by Ananda as he had heard them; and they all begin, whether in Sanscrit or in Páli, with the expression: "This has been heard by me.—Etan-mayá srutam, Eso maya-suttam." They are in the form of a dialogue, in which the disciple asks questions and Sákya explains; illustrating his explanation by parables and legendary tales of various extent. M. Burnouf has shewn, however, that the Sútras are of two different descriptions. In one class, no doubt the oldest, the style is much more simple, and is wholly prose; and the legends are less extravagant. They are called by M. Burnouf, the simple Sútras. In the other, which the Buddhists themselves term Vaipulya Sútras, "expanded or developed Sútras," the style is more diffuse, and is mixed prose and verse; and the latter is very remarkable, as containing many ungrammatical forms; the narratives are prolix and marvellous; and new persons are introduced who, although unknown to the simple Sútras, evidently performed a conspicuous part in the subsequent dissemination and corruption of the Buddhist religion; such are Nágárjuna or Nágasena, Manjusrí, and Padmapáni, to the latter of whom the invocation that is now so conspicuous in the temples of Nepal and Tibet is addressed under a modified name in ungrammatical Sanscrit, and with additions palpably borrowed from the Tantras of the Brahmans—Om! Manipadme! Hum!—Glory to Manipadma—Húm! Another personage is also, for the first time, introduced,—Avalokiteswara, who is regarded by the Tibetans as their particular patron, and who is an object of especial worship to the Mongols and Chinese, amongst whom he is sometimes

represented as having eleven heads and eight arms; or sometimes a thousand eyes and a thousand hands, as expressed by his Chinese name Kwan-shi-in. Many absurd legends respecting this Bodhisatwa are current amongst the Buddhists of the north, but they, and the multiplied limbs of Avalokiteswara, are, no doubt, unauthorized additions, even to the texts of the Vaipulya Sútras. The introduction of such legendary and mythological personages is, however, sufficient evidence that these works are later than the simple Sútras, although most of them were current in India when visited by the Chinese in the fifth and sixth centuries.

It is, therefore, to the simple Sútras that we are to look for the earliest and least corrupt form in which, according to Buddhist notions, the doctrines of their founder are delivered. M. Burnouf has given us specimens in the Mándhátri and Kanakavarna Sútras, portions of a larger work, the Divya-avadána; they record severally the names of Buddha when he was the king Mándhátri, a name well known in Pauranik fiction, and when as king Kanakavarna, he gave away to a Bodhisatwa the last morsel of food which a long drought and famine had left for his sole sustenance. Of course this act of charity was followed by an immediate fall of rain and the return of plenty. To judge from these specimens, the simple Sútras, although the earlier, are not the most interesting of the Buddhist writings, and details which are of more value to the history, if not to the doctrine only, are to be found in the Vaipulya Sútras—constituting the authorities of the Maháyána, the great vehicle, which were the particular objects of Hwan Tsang's studies and collections. Amongst these we may particularize the Lalita Vistara—the expansion of the sports [of Buddha]; being his life—and in Buddhist belief, his autobiography—having been repeated by himself. The Sanscrit original is not very rare in India, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal has undertaken the publication of the text and translation by Rajendra lal Mitra: the first fascicle only has appeared. The entire work has been published at Paris, translated from the Tibetan, as I have mentioned, by M. Foucaux, who has compared it carefully with the Sanscrit, and bears testimony to the closeness of the Tibetan translation. He ascribes its composition to a period subsequent to the third convocation, or about 150 years B.C. It was translated, as I have stated, into Chinese in the first century after, which is compatible enough with the date assigned to its first composition, and there is internal evidence in favour of the same date.

It is, undoubtedly, subsequent to the Mahá-bhárata, which I have elsewhere conjectured to be about two centuries prior to Christianity; for it is said, that when the choice of the family in which the Buddha

should be born was under consideration in the Tushita heaven, that of the Pándavas of Hastinapura was objected to, because they had filled their genealogy with confusion, terming Yudhishthira the son of Dharma, Bhímasena the son of Váyu, Arjuna of Indra, Nakula and Sahadeva of the Aswins; all very correct citations. In the proofs also of his skill in archery which Sákya displays in his youth, he pierces with his arrow an iron effigy of a boar, the very feat which Arjuna performs, only that the Pándu prince achieves it within the reasonable compass of a meadow, whilst, in the usual strain of Buddhist exaggeration, Sákya hits the mark at the distance of ten *kos*, or twenty miles off: these circumstances clearly refer to the Hindu poem, and concur in placing the age of the Lalita Vistara about a century and a half before the Christian era. It embodies, however, no doubt, the traditions of an earlier date, traditions not long subsequent to the first dissemination of the principles of Buddhism.

The circumstances of Buddha's life, as told in the Lalita Vistara, have furnished all the Buddhist nations with their traditions. The life and acts of Buddha are always related to the same purport, and very nearly in the same words, in Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Páli, Burman, Siamese, and Cingalese. After an infinitude of births in various characters, during ten millions of millions and one hundred thousand millions of kalpas, the shortest of which consists of sixteen millions of years, and the longest of thirty-two millions; after this, he attained the rank of Bodhisatwa, that which is inferior only to a Buddha, in the Tushita heaven, where he taught his doctrine to innumerable millions of Bodhisatwas, or future Buddhas, and gods and spirits; and was glorified by Sakra, Brahmá, Maheswara, Nágas, Gandharbas, Yakshas, Asuras, and other creations of the Brahmanical mythology. To rise to the elevation of a perfect Buddha one existence more on earth was necessary, and he, therefore, becomes incarnate as the son of the Sákya prince Suddhodana, king of Kapilavastu, and Máyá his wife: he is born miraculously from his mother's side, who died seven days after his birth: as soon as born he took seven steps to each of the four quarters, announcing aloud his supremacy in language, which the Lalita Vistara and the Buddhist writings of Ava and Ceylon similarly repeat, at least substantially. The Lalita Vistara, for instance, makes him say in the east; "I shall proceed, the first of all existences, springing from the root of virtue:" in the south, "I shall be worthy of the offerings of gods and men:" in the west, "This is my last birth; I shall put an end to birth, old age, disease, and death:" in the north, "I shall have no superior amongst beings." So Mr. Hardy, translating from various Buddhist works in Páli, says: "at his birth he was

received by Mahá Brahmá in a golden net, from which he was transferred to the guardians of the four quarters, who received him on a tiger's skin, from the dewas he was received by the nobles, who wrapped him in folds of the finest and softest cloth, but at once Bodhisat descended from their hands to the ground, and looked to the four points, and to the four half points, and above and below; when he looked towards the north he proceeded seven steps in that direction and exclaimed: 'I am the most exalted in the world. I am chief in the world. I am the most excellent in the world. Hereafter there is to me no other birth.'" The legend is evidently the same although slightly varied.

Siddhártha, his name as a prince, was educated as a prince, married to different wives, and led a life of pleasure and enjoyment, until the vanity of worldly existence was impressed upon his conviction by his meeting, on three several occasions, with a sick man, a corpse, and a mendicant, on which he resolved to abandon his royalty and devote himself to solitary meditation. His father disapproves of his intention, and places him under restraint; but he makes his escape miraculously by night, with one attendant, and having reached a convenient distance from the city changes his dress with a hunter, —a demigod in disguise,—and with his sword cuts off his own hair. According to a Páli authority quoted by M. Burnouf, this was the origin of the curly hair of the figures of Sákya, which induced early European writers to consider him as of Abyssinian origin, for the hair, shortened to the length of two fingers, turning upwards, remained in that position the rest of his life. He then engages in sacred study under different Brahmans, but, dissatisfied with their teaching, retires into solitude, followed by five of his fellow-disciples, and for six years practises rigorous austerities: finding their effects upon the body unfavourable to intellectual energy, he desists and adopts a more genial course of life, on which his five disciples quit him and he is left alone. He is then assailed by the demon of wickedness, Mára, "the killer," who is identical with Káma-deva, or the God of Love; but terrors and temptations fail to disturb his serenity, and the Tempter is compelled to acknowledge his defeat, and to withdraw. Buddha, resuming his meditations, contemplates the causes of things, which is the key to the well-known formula of the Buddhists found upon so many of their images, and of which the various readings, as given in a communication by Colonel Sykes, in the forthcoming number of our Journal,[1] are evidently nothing more than the blunders of ignorant

[1] Ante, p. 37.

transcribers, or defects in cutting the letters on clay or stone. In the Lalita Vistara, Buddha's meditations are thus recapitulated:—

"Thus thought the Bodhisatwa: 'from what existing thing come disease and death? age and death being the consequences of birth, birth is the cause of disease and death.'" He then proceeds to analyse in the same strain the causes of birth, of conception, of desire, of sensation, of contact, of the senses, of name and form, of comprehension, of ideas; and concludes that ignorance, Avidyá, is the cause of ideas, and is the remote cause of existence.

The next subject of his meditations is the means by which this chain of causes is to be counteracted, and he concludes: "Birth being no more, old age and death are not; therefore, by annihilation of birth, old age and death are annihilated; and as ignorance is the ultimate cause of existence, then by the removal of ignorance all its consequences are arrested, and existence ceases, by which means old age, death, wretchedness, sorrow, pain, anxiety, and trouble, the whole mass of suffering, becomes for ever extinct." This is the summary of Buddhistic wisdom set forth in the popular stanza,

"Ye dharma hetu-prabhavá,"

with which we have long been familiar.

The Lalita Vistara is somewhat silent on the subject of Sákya's peregrinations, and represents him as chiefly engaged in discourses to his Bhikshus, or mendicant followers, or in intercourse with the Nágas and the Devas. He attains to the perfection of a Buddha at Bodhimanda, which is apparently ancient Gaya, and resides there until he thinks it necessary to look out for some person who may succeed him as teacher of the law; he then proceeds to Benares, and on his way, having no money to pay for being ferried across the Ganges, he transports himself over it in the air. At Benares he recovers his five original disciples, but it does not appear that they are appointed to succeed him, on the contrary, Buddha addressed these words, it is said, to Mahá Kásyapa, Ananda, and the Bodhisatwa Maitreya; "Friends! the Supreme Intelligence, perfect and full, which I have acquired in a hundred thousand millions of kalpas, I deposit in your hands. Do you yourselves receive this part of the Law, teach it fully in detail to others." He then praises the Sútra, the Lalita Vistara, after which, "the sons of the gods, the Máheswaras, and the rest of the gods, the Siddhakavásakáyikas, Maitreya, and, all the other Bodhisatwas, Mahásattwas, Mahá Kásyapa, and the rest of the Mahá Srávakas, Ananda, and the worlds of the gods, of men, of Asuras, of Gandharbas, rejoiced, and praised aloud the instructions of Bhagaván."

As the Lalita Vistara is attributed to Sákya himself, it cannot

contain any account of his death. For this we must have recourse to the Mahá Parinirvána Sútras, of which we have only the Tibetan translation, in the eighth and two following volumes of the Nya volume of the Do Class of the Kahgyur, and of which Csoma has given us an abridged translation; we have it also in the life of Sákya in the Mongol, as translated by Klaproth in the Asia Polyglotta, and we have what is no doubt the same work in Páli, the Parinibbana Suttan, a section of the Dígha nikáyo, of which Mr. Turnour has given us an analysis (J. A. S. B., vii., 991). The accounts, as far as they go, are substantially the same, but the proximate cause of Sákya's death, illness brought on by eating pork, seems to be an addition of the compiler of the Cingalese narrative; no such incident is alluded to by either Csoma or Klaproth, and it seems very inconsistent with Sákya's recommendation of abstinence: as also Sákya had attained the age of eighty he might have been allowed to die of natural decay. The Páli legend adds that the pork was provided for him, and for him alone, by his host, at his particular desire, because he knew it would cause his death. According to both narratives he directed his disciples to dispose of his remains after the fashion of that of the Chakravarttís, or universal monarchs, the ashes of whose bodies, after burning, were collected and deposited in stately pyramidal monuments. Accordingly his ashes were at first placed in a monument erected where he died, in Kusinagara, or Kusia in Gorakhpur, but portions were claimed by various persons; and the warriors of Kusa, although they at first refused to give up any of the precious deposit, were at last induced by the mediation of a Brahman, who is not named in Csoma's analysis, but is termed Dono, that is, Drona, by Turnour, to assent to a division. The distribution is in some respects not very intelligible; one part is for the champions of Kusa, one for those of Digpachan or Tibet, one for the royal tribe of Baluka, one for the royal tribe of Krodtya, one for a Brahman of Vishnudwípa, one for the Sákyas, one for the Lichhavis of Allahabad, and one for Ajátasatru, king of Magadha: they all built chaityas over them and paid them worship. The urn in which the reliques had first been placed, was given to the Brahman who had mediated, and another Brahman received the cinders: they also erected chaityas. Of the four eye-teeth, two were distributed to the deities called Trayastrinsats, and the Nágas; one was placed in "The Delicious City," and one in the country of the king of Kalinga, whence in time it found its way to Ceylon, where it is still preserved. Hence originated the practice of constructing the monuments called Sthúpas, or Topes, which have excited so much interest of late years, and of which a subsequent sovereign of Magadha, Asoka, is said to have constructed 84,000. In many parts of Tibet, where they are

more usually termed Chaityas, or Chaits, they are numerous but small, containing, it is supposed the ashes of distinguished Lamas. Chaitya, which is a Sanscrit term, is in fact equally applicable to any sacred object, a temple, or a tomb; every Sthúpa may be a Chaitya, but a Chaitya may be also something else of a religious character.

These accounts of Sákya's birth and proceedings, laying aside the miraculous portions, have nothing very impossible, and it does not seem improbable that an individual of a speculative turn of mind, and not a Brahman by birth, should have set up a school of his own in opposition to the Brahmanical monopoly of religious instruction, about six centuries before Christ; at the same time there are various considerations which throw suspicion upon the narrative, and render it very problematical whether any such person as Sákya Sinha, or Sákya Muni, or Sramana Gautama, ever actually existed. In the first place, the Buddhists widely disagree with regard to the date of his existence. In a paper I published many years ago in the Calcutta Quarterly Magazine, I gave a list of thirteen different dates, collected by a Tibetan author, and a dozen others might be easily added, the whole varying from 2420 to 453 B.C. They may, however, be distinguished under two heads, that of the northern Buddhists, 1030 B.C. for the birth of Buddha, and that of the southern Buddhists, for his death B.C. 543. It is difficult, however, to understand why there should be such a difference as five centuries, if Sákya had lived at either the one or the other date.

The name of his tribe, the Sákya, and their existence as a distinct people and principality, find no warrant from any of the Hindu writers, poetical, traditional, or mythological; and the legends that are given to explain their origin and appellation are, beyond measure, absurd. The most probable affinity of the name is to that of the Sakas, or Scythians, or Indo Scythians, as if they were an offshoot from the race that dislodged the Indo-Bactrian Greeks, but this is not countenanced by any of the traditions, Brahmanical or Buddhist.

The name of Sákya's father, Suddhodana, "he whose food is pure," —suggests an allegorical signification, and in that of his mother, Máyá, or Máyádeví, "illusion, divine delusion,"—we have a manifest allegorical fiction; his secular appellation as a prince, Siddhártha, "he by whom the end is accomplished,"—and his religious name, Buddha, "he by whom all is known," are very much in the style of the Pilgrim's Progress, and the city of his birth, Kapila Vastu, which has no place in the geography of the Hindus, is of the same description. It is explained, "the tawny site," but it may also be rendered, "the substance of Kapila," intimating, in fact, the Sánkhya philosophy, the doctrine of

Kapila Muni, upon which the fundamental elements of Buddhism, the eternity of matter, the principles of things, and final extinction, are evidently based. It seems not impossible, after all, that Sákya Muni is an unreal being, and that all that is related of him is as much a fiction as is that of his preceding migrations, and the miracles that attended his birth, his life, and his departure.

At the same time, although we may discredit the actuality of the teacher, we cannot dispute the introduction of the doctrine, and there may have been, about the time attributed to Sákya's death by the southern Buddhists, a person, or what is more likely, persons of various castes, comprising even Brahmans, who introduced a new system of hierarchical organization, for that seems to have been the chief, if not the sole innovation intended by the first propagators of Buddhism. The doctrine of transmigration was common to the Buddhists and to every division of the Brahmanical Hindus: the eternity of matter and the periodical dissolution and renovation of the world were also familiar to all the schools; the Buddhists did not abolish caste, they acknowledged it fully as a social institution, but they maintained that it was merged in the religious character, and that all those who adopted a religious life were thereby emancipated from its restrictions, and were of one community: the moral precepts which they inculcated, with at least one exception—the prohibition of taking away animal life, were common to them and to the Brahmans; and the latter seem to have adopted from the Buddhists, very possibly, the merit of *Ahinsá:* the Buddhists recognised the existence of all the gods of the Brahmanical pantheon, with perhaps one or two exceptions which may have been of later date, such as Krishna for instance: the notion of final extinction or Nirván, although more unqualified, was not exclusively confined to the Buddhists. In short, the philosophy of Buddhism, as is observed by Mr. Gogerly, was essentially eclectic, and the main point of disagreement was the political institution of a religious society which should comprise all classes, all castes, women as well as men, and should throw off the authority of the Brahmans as the sole teachers of religious faith. It seems likely also that the same innovators discarded the ritual of the Vedas, and discontinued the adoration of the Hindu divinities, placing the observance of moral duties and the practice of a life of self-denial and restraint above the burthensome and expensive charges of formal worship. Their departure from the Brahmanical system started about the time ascribed to Sákya's teaching, became gradually developed as the organization of those by whom they were professed became more perfect, and by the middle of the third century before Christ, they may have enjoyed the

patronage of Asoka, the Raja of Central India, as the Buddhist traditions maintain, and under his encouragement a convocation may have been held, at which the associated Buddhists commenced that course of propagation which spread their religion throughout India and beyond its confines to the north and to the south. I do not think that the difficulties which attend the identification of Asoka with Piyadasi have yet been cleared up, but we may admit that the edicts on the columns and the rocks were inscribed about the time of Asoka's reign, or in the third century before Christ. We may admit also that they are intended to recommend Buddhism, but their tone is not that of a triumphant or exclusive form of belief, and the spirit of toleration which they breathe is an unequivocal proof of a nascent faith, a system that courts compromise rather than provokes and defies hostility. At this period we may conceive the marvels of Sákya's life and the more detailed expansion of the doctrines ascribed to him to have been devised, as calculated to excite the admiration and win the belief of the natives of India, ever ready to give credit to the supernatural, and to pay superstitious homage to the assumption of divinity. Besides the inscriptions attributed to Asoka, he is said to have been a profuse constructor of Viháras, Buddhist monasteries, and of Sthúpas or monuments over Buddhist reliquiæ. Viháras were probably multiplied about this time or even earlier: we have not yet met with any Sthúpas to which so high an antiquity can be confidently assigned. It seems little likely that Sákya, or the first propagators of the system, would have enjoined the construction of monuments to preserve the frail relics of humanity, when their first dogma was the worthlessness of bodily existence, and it could not have been until Sákya was elevated by his followers to the rank of something more than a god that his relics, or those of his early disciples, should have been held entitled to such veneration; at any rate we have no evidence of the erection of any Sthúpa as early as the middle of the third century before Christ, whilst we have several proofs of their construction after the era of Christianity, down as late as the sixth century afterwards. These are afforded by the discovery, in the solid body of the monuments, of the coins of the consular families of Rome, and of the first Cæsars; of the coins of the emperors of Constantinople, Theodosius, Marcian, and Leo, who reigned from A.D. 407 to A.D. 474; and of great quantities of the coins of the Sassanian princes of Persia, down to Kobad, who died A.D. 531. These coins are found in the Topes of the Panjáb and Afghánistán, and establish beyond dispute that the practice of constructing monuments of this class prevailed in the north-west of India from some time after the beginning of the Christian era until the

sixth century. The most remarkable monument of this class in Central India is that of Bhilsa or Sánchi, in its neighbourhood. This was first brought to notice by Captain Fell, who published a description of it in the Calcutta Journal in 1819 ; this description, with additions, was repriuted by Mr. J. Prinsep, in the third volumc of the J. B. Asiatic Society, and at his suggestion sketches of the most remarkable objects and facsimiles of inscriptions abounding on the spot, were sent him by Captains Smith and Murray, and published by him, with translations and important comments, in the sixth volume of the Journal. Morc recently, Lieutenant Maisey has been employed by the government of Bengal to make careful drawings of these remains; and some of his sketches which have been sent home evincc his great merit as an artist as well as an antiquarian. The publication of these documents has been anticipated by Major Cunningham, who had associated himself with Lieutenant Maisey in the investigation, and who has published the results of his own labours in a work entitled The Bhilsa Topes, in which he has given not only sketches of various interesting objects, but copies and translations of more than 200 inscriptions. They are mostly short, merely specifying the liberality of some devout Buddhist in a gift which is not specified ; as, Dhamma rakhitasa bhichchuno dánam, "the gift of the mendicant Dharma Rakshita." Major Cunningham conjectures the gifts to have been stones or sculptured contributions to the structure. From one of them he infers the date of the inclosure to have been the early part of the reign of Asoka—"Subahitasa Gotiputasa Raja-lipikarasa dánam—the gift of the king's scribe, Subahita, son of Goti;" Gotiputra being the teacher of the celebrated Moggali-putra. From an inscription in one of the gateways in which the name of Srí Sát Karni occurs, Major Cunningham concludes the gateways were erected about the beginning of the Christian era, in which Lieutenant Maisey concurs. These, however, he considers long posterior to the body of the building, which he would carry as far back as 250 B.C., or even 500 B.C., on somewhat insufficient evidence; its being as old as Asoka, depending upon the identification of Gotiputra the teacher of Moggali-putra, who presided, it is said, at the third council in A.D. 241, a statement altogether erroneous, as Mogali-putra, Maudgala, or Maudgaláyana, was one of Sákya's first disciples, three centuries earlier. In the second and third of the topes of Sánchi, Major Cunningham found relic boxes, inscribed with the names of Kásyapa, Mogaliputra, and Sáriputra, from which he would seem to infer that the topes must have been erected soon after their deaths, or some time between 550 B.C. and 250 B.C.; but, as he himself remarks, the reliques of Buddha and his principal

disciples were very widely scattered, being found in different places; and once the notion of their sanctity was adopted, they were no doubt multiplied, as so many pious frauds, in order to give a reputation to the building in which they were said to be enshrined ; similar vases were also found at Satdhara and Andher, furnishing examples of this multiplication of relics in the same immediate neighbourhood. Their asserted presence, in any monument, is no more a proof of its antiquity than would the hairs of Buddha, if ever dug up, prove the Shwedagon of Rangoon to have been built in his day. No legitimate conclusion can be drawn, therefore, from inscriptions of this class, as to the date of the Sánchi monuments, whilst the name of a Sát Karni prince is a palpable indication of their being erected subsequent to the Christian era. The topes of Ceylon, however, appear to be of an earlier date, if we may credit the tradition which ascribes the erection of the Ruanvelli mound at Anurádhapura to king Dutthagámini, who reigned, 161 B.C. to 137 B.C.

A somewhat earlier period than that of the Indian Sthúpas may be assigned to another important class of Buddhist monuments—the Cave Temples belonging to that persuasion—but they also, as far as has been yet ascertained, are subsequent to Christianity. The Rev. Mr. Stevenson has lately furnished important illustrations of this subject to the Journal of the Branch Asiatic Society of Bombay, in his translations of the inscriptions in the Cave Temples of Kanheri, Karlen, Junir, Nasik, and other places in the Sahyádri range of hills, from facsimiles taken under the authority of the government by Mr. Brett. They, like the inscriptions on the Sthúpas, are usually brief records of gifts not specified, by persons, for the most part, of no mark or likelihood, but there are a few names of historical value, as well as a few dates. In one case, the excavation at Nána Ghát, Mr. Stevenson conjectures for it an antiquity of 200 B.C., but there do not seem to be sufficient grounds for such a conjecture. In another case he proposes, for a column at Karlen, the date 70 B.C., as it was set up by Agnimitra, son of Mahárája Bhoti whom he would identify with the last of the Sunga dynasty, Devabhúti; but this, to say the least, is problematical, and in this, as well as in the preceding, Mr. Stevenson himself queries the chronology : the dates which he proposes without hesitation begin with A.D. 189, but we tread upon tolerably safe ground when we come to various dates from 20 B.C. to A.D. 410, because the inscriptions give us several of the names of the Ándhra-bhritya, or, in the dialect of the inscriptions, Ádhá-bhati princes; such as Bálin, Kripa Karna, Gautamiputra, and Yajna Srí Sát Karni, members of a dynasty who were the powerful princes of the "Andhra gens," noticed by Pliny, and who, we learn from the Puránas, confirmed by the accounts of the Chinese

travellers, extended their authority to Central India, and reigned at Pátaliputra from the commencement of the Christian era to the fifth century after it, which period we may consider as the date of the principal Buddhist excavations in the west of India.

The evidence thus afforded by the Sthúpas, and the caves, of the time in which the principal monuments of Buddhism were multiplied, harmonises with that which we have derived from the more lasting literary monuments of the same faith, and leave no doubt that the first four or five centuries after Christ, were the period during which the doctrine was most successfully propagated, and was patronized by many of the Rájas of India, particularly in the north and in the west. Ever ready as the Chinese traveller, Fa-Hian, at the end of the fourth century, is to see Buddhism everywhere dominant, he furnishes evidence that in the east, and particularly in the place of its reputed origin, the birth place of Sákya, which had become a wilderness, it had fallen into neglect. In the seventh century, Hhwan Tsang abounds with notices of deserted monasteries, ruined temples, diminished number of mendicants, and augmented proportion of heretics. It has been already conjectured that this was the term of its vitality, and that the seventh century witnessed its disappearance from the continent of India. Traces of Buddhism lingered, no doubt, till a much later period, as is shewn by the inscription found at Sárnáth as late as the eleventh century; but it was then limited to a few localities, and had shifted its scene to the regions bordering on its birth-place, being shortly afterwards so utterly obliterated in India Proper, that by the sixteenth century the highest authority in the country, the intelligent minister of an inquiring king, the minister of Akbar, Abulfazl, could not find an individual to give him an account of its doctrines.

It would be impossible, in the limited time at our disposal, to enter upon a detail of what those doctrines are; but I may briefly advert to one or two of those which may be regarded as most characteristic. Some of those which are common to Buddhists and Brahmans have been noticed, and of those which are peculiar, the difference is rather in degree than in substance.

Thus the attribution to a Buddha of power and sanctity, infinitely superior to that of the Gods, is only a development of the notion that the gods could be made subject to the will of a mortal, by his performance of superhuman austerities; only the Buddhists ascribed it to the perfection of the internal purity acquired during a succession of births. The notion of Buddha's supremacy once established, the worship of the gods became superfluous; but as the mass of mankind are in need of sensible objects to which their devotions are to be

addressed, Buddha came to be substituted for the gods, and his statues to usurp their altars. In the course of time, in some of the Buddhist countries, at least other idols, several of them very uncongenial with the spirit of Buddhism, and evidently borrowed from Hinduism, came to be associated with him, particularly in Tibet and China, in which latter country the temples commonly present three principal colossal images, which are the representatives of Buddha and two of his chief disciples, Sákya, Sáriputra, and Maudgaláyana; or, according to some authorities, of Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha, or Buddha, the Law and the Community. They are sometimes also said to be the Buddhas of the past, present, and future ages. The temples, however, present many other idols, such as a goddess of mercy, a queen of heaven, a god of war, a god of wealth, a tutelary divinity of sailors, tutelary divinities of cities, and various other fanciful and not unfrequently grotesque beings, amongst whom we have Ganesa with his elephant head. In Japan, if we may trust to Kæmpfer, we have representations of the avatárs of Vishnu; and in Nepal and western Tibet, as already remarked, we have the Dhyáni Buddhas, and Bodhisatwas, Manipadma, Manjusrí, and Avalokiteswara, and a host of inferior spirits and divinities, of whom pictures or statues fill the courts, or cover the walls of the temples. The representation and worship of these idols, although not prohibited by anything in the religion of Buddha, is obviously incompatible with its spirit, and must be regarded as exotic corruptions; no such auxiliaries seem to be admitted in those countries where the system exists in its greatest purity, as in Ava, Siam, and Ceylon, as, although the images in the temples are often exceedingly numerous, they are, with exception of subsidiary figures which are not worshipped, such as dragons and lions, all of the same character, representing Gautama or his disciples generally in a sitting posture, with the legs crossed, and the hands in the act of prayer or benediction; the indefinite multiplication of the images arising from its being considered an act of merit to set up a statue of a Buddha or of a Buddhist priest of reputed sanctity.

The organization of a regular priesthood from all classes, and their assemblage in Viháras or monasteries under a superior, is also one of the distinguishing features of Buddhism, as opposed to Brahmanism, although not wholly unknown to the institutes of the latter. The monastic system, however, does not seem to have originated with Sákya himself, for he and his immediate followers were migratory, passing from one part of central India to another, except during the rainy season, when they dispersed to their respective homes, reassembling after the rains; the organization commenced probably with the

first convocation, and was brought to perfection by the third. In the first instance, the heads of the communities were elected by the associates, on account of their superior age and learning; but other motives, no doubt, soon came to influence the choice, and in time new principles were introduced, which were not originally recognized, although not wholly foreign to the spirit of the system, particularly the notion that guides the election of a successor to a deceased Dalai Lama of Lhassa, or a Tashi Lama of Teshulambu, the selection of a child in whose person the soul of the deceased is supposed to have become regenerate, being in fact that of a Buddha on his way to perfection. This notion is now, at least, no longer confined to Teshulambu, or to Lhassa; but is spread very generally through Tartary according to the French missionaries; and every monastery of note seeks, upon the demise of its Superior, for a child to succeed him, sending usually to western Tibet to discover him, and detecting him by placing before the boy a variety of articles, from which he picks out such as had belonged to the deceased, and which he is supposed to recognize as having been his property in a prior existence. This, if true, may no doubt be easily managed by a little dexterity, but Messrs. Huc and Gabet suspect that Satan is at the child's elbow, and prompts the verification of the articles. The notion however is admitted to be of comparatively modern introduction, as late as the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

Another essential difference between Brahmanism and Buddhism, was the proselyting spirit of the latter. Although Brahmanism has spread into countries where it could not have been indigenous, yet a Brahman, like a poet, "nascitur non fit;" and, consistent with the spirit of the code, a man must be born a Hindu, he cannot become a Hindu by conversion. The Buddhists adopted the opposite course, and hence, no doubt, their early success. The public teaching of Buddha or of the founders of the faith must have been so novel and attractive, that we can easily believe the Buddhist narratives, that vast multitudes of all classes and of both sexes attended the public preaching of the Buddhist missionaries, an encouraging precedent we may observe, by the way, for those of a pure religion. There are, however, some peculiar features in the teaching of Sákya and his disciples, which render it more surprising that it should ever have been successful than that its success should have been of temporary duration. Its object is not the good of the people in their social condition: it no doubt enjoins the observance of moral duties, and reverence to parents and teachers, and the general practice of compassion and benevolence, but to whom are these injunctions addressed? according to the authorities of the religion,

whether Sanscrit or Páli, to Bhikshus and Bhikshunís, persons who have separated themselves from the world, and who, besides professing faith in Buddha, engage to lead a life of self-denial, celibacy, and mendicancy, and to estrange themselves from all domestic and social obligations : with all its boasted benevolence it enjoins positive inhumanity where women are concerned and in its anxiety for the purity of the mendicant, prescribes not only that he should not look at or converse with a female, but that, if she be his own mother and have fallen into a river, and be drowning, he shall not give her his hand to help her out; if there be a pole at hand he may reach that to her, but if not, she must drown. An interesting illustration of this barbarity occurs in the drama called Mrichchhakati, which represents Buddhist institutions with singular fidelity. In this spirit is the whole of the Vinaya or Buddhist discipline conceived : it is a set of rules for individuals separated from society, in whom all natural feeling is to be suppressed, all passions and desires extinguished, consistently enough with the doctrine that life is the source of all evil, and that one means of counteracting it is by the checking the increase of living beings. Rigid compliance with the restraints imposed, has, however, been found impracticable, and considerable latitude has been allowed in practice. The rules of abstinence and celibacy must be strictly observed whilst the individual continues in the order of the priesthood, but he may withdraw from that order, either for ever or for a season, and may marry and lead a secular life ; he may, after an interval, be readmitted, and his second admission is considered as final, but even this does not seem to be very rigorously enforced.

Belief in a Supreme Being, the Creator and Ruler of the universe, is unquestionably a modern graft upon the unqualified atheism of Sákya Muni : it is still of very limited recognition. In none of the standard authorities translated by M. Burnouf, or Mr. Gogerley, is there the slightest allusion to such a First Cause, the existence of whom is incompatible with the fundamental Buddhist dogma, of the eternity of all existence ? The doctrine of an Ádi Buddha, a first Buddha, in the character of a Supreme Creator, which has found its way into Nepal, and perhaps into Western Tibet, is entirely local, as is that of the Dhyání Buddhas and the Bodhisatwas, their sons and agents in creation, as described by Mr. Hodgson. They are not recognised in the Buddhist mythology of any other people, and have no doubt been borrowed from the Hindus. There can be *no First* Buddha, for it is of the essence of the system that Buddhas are of progressive development: any one may become a Buddha by passing through a series of existences in the practice of virtue and benevolence, and there have

been accordingly an infinitude of Buddhas in all ages and in all regions. One of the Páli authorities records the actions of twenty-four; Schmidt, from a Mongol work, has given us the names of a thousand Buddhas. (Trans. Soc. St. Petersburg, 2, 68.) There are Sanscrit authorities for seven in the present age of the world, whose praises I have translated, (Asiatic Researches, vol. xvii.) and who are represented in the Ajunta paintings. An eighth, Maitreya, is to come; but these are only a few, confined to certain periods: the number during all the extravagant intervals of Buddhist chronology has no limitation, and there can no more be a *first* than there can be a *last*, each passing on in his turn to the end and aim of his existence,—extinction—nirvána.

Utter extinction, as the great end and object of life, is also a fundamental, and in some respects a peculiar, feature of Buddhism. Nirvána is literally a blowing-out, as if of a candle,—annihilation : it has been objected to this that Buddhism recognises a system of rewards and punishments after death, and no doubt its cosmology is copiously furnished with heavens and hells; but this it has in common with Brahmanism: it is a part of the scheme of transmigration; the wicked are punished and the good rewarded, but the punishment and reward are only in proportion to their bad or good deeds, and when they have been balanced the individual returns to earth to run up a fresh score, to incur in fact, according to Buddhism, a fresh infliction of suffering, life being the cause of evil from which there is no escape, but by finally ceasing to be. Brahmanical speculation contemplates equally with Buddhism, exemption from being born again as the summum bonum, but proposes to effect this by spiritual absorption either into universal spirit, or into an all-comprehending divine spirit; but the Buddhists recognize no such recipient for the liberated soul. No doubt, amongst the Buddhists, as amongst the Brahmans, differences of opinion occasionally prevailed, giving rise to various schools; four of these were known to the Brahmanical controversial writers before the sixth century; but, besides them, who are styled Sautrántika, Vaibháshika, Mádhyamika, and Yogáchára, there was an Aiswarya, or theistical school, with which the notious admitted into Nepal may have originated : the more ancient and genuine school, however, was that of the Swabhávikas, whose doctrine is thus summarily indicated in a Buddhist Páli book : "Whence come existing things? from their own nature,—*swabhávát.* Where do they go to after life? into other forms, through the same inherent tendency. How do they escape from that tendency? where do they go finally? into vacuity,—*sunyatá,*" such being the sum and substance of the wisdom of Buddha. That this was the meaning of Nirvána is shown in numerous passages both in

Sanscrit and in Páli. In the Saddharma Lankávatara, Sákya is represented as confuting all the Brahmanical notions of Nirvána, and concludes by expounding it to be the complete annihilation of the thinking principle, illustrating his doctrine by the comparison generally employed of the exhaustion of the light of a lamp which goes out of itself. In the Brahma-jála, a Páli Sútra, where again Sákya is made to confute sixty-two Brahmanical heresies, he winds up by saying: "Existence is a tree; the merit or demerit of the actions of men is the fruit of that tree and the seed of future trees; death is the withering away of the old tree from which the others have sprung; wisdom and virtue take away the germinating faculty, so that when the tree dies there is no reproduction. This is Nirván."

The segregation of the Buddhist priesthood from the people, although, in the first instance, probably popular, from the priestly character being thrown open to all castes alike, must have been unpropitious to the continued popularity of the system, and its success can only be attributed to the activity of its propagators, and the indolent acquiescence of the Brahmans. When the influence acquired by the Buddhists with the princes of India gave them consideration, and diverted the stream of donations as well as of honours, the Brahmans began to be aroused from their apathy, and set to work to arrest the progress of the schism. The success that attended their efforts could have been, for a long time, but partial; but that they were ultimately successful, and that Buddhism in India gave way before Brahmanism, is a historical fact: to what cause this was owing is by no means established, but it was more probably the result of internal decay, than of external violence. There are traditions of persecution, and it is very possible that local and occasional acts of aggression were perpetrated by the Brahmanical party: the Buddhist writings intimate this when they represent the Bodhisatwas as saying to Buddha: "When you have entered into Nirvána, and the end of time has arrived, we shall expound this excellent Sútra, in doing which we will endure, we will suffer patiently, injuries, violence, menaces of beating us with sticks, and the spitting upon us, with which ignorant men will assail us. The Tírthakas, composing Sútras of their own, will speak in the assembly to insult us. In the presence of kings, of the sons of kings. of the Brahmans, of Householders, and other religious persons, they will censure us in their discourses, and will cause the language of the Tírthakas to be heard; but we will endure all this through respect for the great Rishis. We must endure threatening looks, and repeated instances of contumely, and suffer expulsion from our Viháras, and submit to be imprisoned and punished in a variety of

ways; but recalling at the end of this period the commands of the chief of the world, we will preach courageously this Sútra in the midst of the assembly, and we will traverse towns, villages, the whole world, to give to those who will ask for it, the deposit which thou hast entrusted to us." This is the language of the Sad-dharma Pundaríka, which, as I have mentioned, had been translated into Chinese before the end of the third century, and shows that the career of the Buddhists had not been one of uninterrupted success, even at so early a date, although the opposition had not been such as to arrest their progress: this, if it at all occurred, was the work of a later period, but we have no very positive information on the subject. According to Mádhava Áchárya, a celebrated writer of the fourteenth century, the Buddhists of the south of India were exposed to a sanguinary persecution at the instigation of Kumáril Bhatta, the great authority of the Mimánsakas, who, as he preceded Sankara Áchárya, may have lived in the sixth or seventh century, or earlier. Mádhava asserts that, at his recommendation, a prince named Sudhanwan issued orders to put the Buddhists to death throughout the whole of India:

"Á setor-á-tushádre Bauddhánám vriddhabálakán
na hanti sa hantavyo bhrityán ityanwasát nripah."

"The king commanded his servants to put to death the old men and the children of the Bauddhas, from the bridge of Ráma to the snowy mountain; let him who slays not be slain."

We do not know who Sudhanwan was, but his commands were not likely to be obeyed from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya, and whatever truth there may be in his making Buddhism a capital crime, his authority must have been of restricted extent, and the persecution limited to his own principality. The dissemination of Buddhism, however, in the countries beyond the Bay of Bengal does seem to have received a fresh impulse about the sixth or seventh centuries, and this may have been connected with some partial acts of persecution in India, and consequent emigration of the Buddhists; we have no record, however, of its having been universal, and its having been of any great extent may be reasonably doubted: it seems more likely that Buddhism died a natural death. With the discontinuance of the activity of its professors, who, yielding to the indolence which prosperity is apt to engender, ceased to traverse towns and villages in seeking to make proselytes, the Buddhist priest in India sunk into the sloth and ignorance which now characterise the bulk of the priests of the same religion in other countries, especially China, and seem there to be productive of the same result, working the decay and dissolution of the Buddhist religion.

Although expelled from India, and apparently in a state of decline in some of the regions in which it took refuge, Buddhism still numbers amongst its followers a large proportion of the human race. According to Berghaus, as quoted by Lassen, there are four hundred and fifty-five millions of Buddhists, whilst the population of the Christian states is reckoned at four hundred and seventy-four millions: Mohammedans and Hindoos are very much fewer. The enumeration of the Buddhists, however, includes the whole of the population of China, without adverting to their distribution as the followers of Confucius or Taü-se, or, as we have lately learned, as the professors of a composite Christianity.

Numerous, however, as the Buddhists still are, the system seems to be on the decline, where it is not upheld by the policy of the local governments, or where the priesthood does not constitute a very large share of the population. The people in general do not seem to take much interest in the worship of the temples, nor to entertain any particular veneration for their priests. The temples are always open, and service is regularly performed, usually three times a day, like the Sandhya of the Brahmans: on these occasions the priests assemble, usually seated in two divisions or semi-choirs, who chaunt passages from the sacred books, Tibetan, Páli, or Sanscrit, the two latter being utterly unintelligible to the people, and understood by very few of the priests. The chaunting is relieved by the accompaniment of bells, and cymbals, and drums, and the blowing of the conch shells or brass trumpets, or, in the eastern Himalaya, of trumpets made of human thigh bones; incense is burnt before the images of the Buddhas, and fruit and flowers, and dishes of food placed before them. The people take no part in this performance, and come in small numbers, at their own convenience, and make their offering and prostration, and then depart. The priests, again, are said to enjoy little personal consideration, not that they forfeit it by any conduct inconsistent with their profession, for, although there may be occasional exceptions, they seem in general to lead inoffensive, if useless, lives. In Ceylon, according to Sir Emerson Tennent, the people pay more respect to the garb than to the wearer, and take every opportunity of making it known that the yellow robe, and not the individual, is the object of their veneration. According to Mr. Hardy, the whole number of priests in Ceylon, although many of the communities possess extensive landed estates, the gifts of the piety of former princes, does not exceed 2,500, dispersed in monasteries, the largest of which has seldom more than twenty resident members. In Fa Hian's time there were, according to him, from 50,000 to 60,000 priests in

Ceylon, and in one of the monasteries at Anurádhapura, there were 5,000. Mr. Hardy adds: "in no part of the island that I have visited, do the priests as a body appear to be respected by the people: although occasionally an individual may recommend himself by agreeable manners:" they are sometimes treated unceremoniously; and he mentions an instance in which a priest was driven out of a village by the women armed with their brooms, and threatening him with personal castigation. In the Burma country the priests are more numerous, but there also they are said to have but little influence over the minds of the people, who sometimes say, not without some reason, in excuse of impropriety of conduct, that the precepts of the law are not for them but for the priests. The system, however, is supported by the Government, and a high priest resides at the capital, by whom all the Punghis, or heads of establishments, are appointed. Although tolerant of the practice of other religions by those who profess them, secession from the national belief is rigidly prohibited, and a convert to any other form of faith incurs the penalty of death. The condition of Buddhism is said to be prosperous; from 2,000 to 3,000 lay worshippers make daily offerings at the great temple of the Shwe-dagon, near Rangoon; and new temples and Kyums are daily springing up, even in the districts under British authority. One great source of influence in Ava is the monopoly of education by the priesthood, and which, such as it is, is very general. Almost every Burman can write and read, for which he has to thank the Kyum or monastery of his village. Buddhism is also flourishing in Siam, where, as in Ava, it is connected with the political institutions of the state, and, with the mass of the population: every male must enter the order of the priesthood at some period of his life, for however short a time; even the king must become a priest for two or three days, wearing the mendicant dress and soliciting alms of his courtiers. The high officers of the state sometimes take up their abode in a monastery, and conform to all the rules of the fraternity for two or three months together. The priests, or Talapoins as they are termed, from carrying a Tála or palm-leaf as a fan, are consequently numerous, but the permanent inhabitants of the monasteries are either persons disgusted with life, or the old and infirm; the younger and more active members continually falling back into society. The share taken by the sovereign in the organisation of the system seems to be the chief source of its prosperity.

We have no very recent accounts of the condition of Buddhism in Japan, although, to judge from the drawings of Col. Siebold in his "Nipon," the ordinary objects of Buddhist worship are numerous, and

comprehend many of the later saints of the system as well as personages apparently of peculiar and local sanctity. Buddhism also is broken up into various sectarial divisions. In China, as far as there has been any opportunity of ascertaining, which however is almost confined to the maritime districts, it is evidently on the wane: although a few monasteries are respectably tenanted, the residents are much less numerous than they have been, and many are altogether deserted; many of the temples also are in a state of decay. The majority of the priests are illiterate, and seem to hold their offices and their idols in little veneration; the people regard the priests with little respect, or in some instances with contempt, and attach no great sanctity to the objects of their worship,—a curious instance of this indifference in both is mentioned by the Rev. Mr. Smith, the present Bishop of Victoria. In a temple belonging to a monastery, where he was allowed to occupy a residence, he first inadvertently and then designedly, overthrew several idols, which, being of clay, were broken by the fall, amidst, he says, the laughter of the bystanders. He resided several weeks in the monastery of Teen-tsung near Ningpo, where he constantly distributed Christian tracts in Chinese, without any hindrance or molestation.

The late Mr. Gutzlaff, in a paper in our Journal now in course of printing,[1] agrees entirely in the description given by Bishop Smith of the ignorance of the Buddhist priesthood, of the low estimation in which the priests are held, and the absence of all really religious feeling in the people.

It is in the north and north-west of China, extending thence through Mongolia and Eastern Tibet to Lhassa, that the chief seats of Buddhism are to be found, as we learn from the travels of the French missionaries, Messrs. Huc and Gabet, who traversed the whole interval. Throughout their entire route they met with, or heard of, what they term Lamaserais, that is, Viháras, or monasteries connected with temples, inhabited by numerous resident Lamas, as well as having attached to them a number of itinerant mendicant brethren. At a monastery, at a place called Chor-chi, there were two thousand resident Lamas. At a city, which they translate Blue-town, there were twenty establishments, large and small, inhabited by at least twenty thousand Lamas. At the monastery of Kun-lun, where they were allowed to take up their residence for several months, there were four thousand resident Lamas. At the chief monastery of Tartary, that of the Khalkas and in its vicinity, there were, it is said, thirty thousand

[1] Ante, p. 73.

Lamas, the head of whom exercised the temporal as well as spiritual authority of the whole country, and was an object of uneasiness to the court of Pekin. In the province of which Lhassa, the acknowledged high seat of Lamaism, is the capital, there were said to be three thousand monastic establishments, in three of which, Khaldan, Prebung, and Sera, there were in each fifteen thousand Lamas. The missionaries estimate the Lamas at one-third of the whole population; all the males of a family, except the eldest, being expected to enter the order, at least for a term; it being allowable in Tartary, as well as in other Buddhist countries, for a member of a monastery to return to active life. Every monastery has its Superior, who is very commonly originally a boy brought from Tibet, being supposed to be the late principal regenerated; he being, in fact, as before observed, a Buddha on his way to perfection.

The vast number of the Lamas of Tartary and Tibet naturally suggests the inquiry, how countries so poor, upon the whole, and thinly peopled, can support so large a proportion of unproductive members. Some of their subsistence is derived from grants and endowments made by the Emperors of China, whose policy it has been to encourage Lamaism, as tending to keep down the population, and repress the martial spirit of the nomadic tribes: further means are supplied by the people, who are a simple and credulous race, and who, although not animated by any devotional fervour, are liberal contributors to the temples at public festivals, and to the itinerant mendicant brethren, giving largely from their stores of sheep, and wool, and butter, and various articles of consumption. The chief maintenance of the Lamas is, however, their own industry. In the Buddhist countries of the south, as Ceylon, Siam, and Ava, and apparently in China, a priest is strictly prohibited from exercising any mechanical art, or following any secular occupation; but in Tartary, the Lamas are permitted to support themselves by their own industry, even whilst living in the monastery: the monastery being, in fact, a small town of a priestly population, dwelling in houses, in streets collected round a principal temple or temples, and the main buildings occupied by the Pontiff with his staff and servants. The other Lamas are the sculptors, painters, decorators, and printers of the establishment; those who are qualified are the schoolmasters of the children of the neighbourhood, who have no other teachers; and those who are not engaged in the service of the monastery, may employ their time for their own profit. There are amongst them, consequently, handicraftsmen, as tailors, shoemakers, hatters; some keep cattle and sell the milk and butter to the brethren, and some even keep

shops; the consequence is great inequality of condition; those who are active and enterprising become opulent, whilst the inert and idle, who trust solely to the pittance which is doled out periodically to every member, from the common fund, may be almost in a state of starvation.

The general organization of the monasteries in Tartary and Tibet, the costume of the Lamas, and many particulars of the manner in which religious service is celebrated in the temples, have often struck travellers as presenting close analogies to the conventual system and the religious offices of the Roman Catholic Church. In this latter respect, we have the admission of the French missionaries, whose enumeration we may safely follow, and who specify the use of the cross, the mitre, the dalmatic, the hood, the office of two choirs, the psalmody, the exorcisms, the censer of five chains, the benediction of the lamas by placing the right hand on the head of the faithful, the rosary, celibacy of the clergy, spiritual retirement, the worship of saints, fasts, processions, litanies, and holy water, as so many coincidences with the Romish ritual, the origin of which cannot be accidental. The present costume and ceremonial are said to have originated with a celebrated reformer, who was born in the latter half of the fourteenth century, named Tsong Kaba, who founded the monastery of Khal-dan, near Lhassa, in 1409, and died in 1419. The chief pontiff of Lhassa at first opposed the innovations of Tsong Kaba, and having in vain invited him to a conference, paid a visit to the reformer, and expatiated at great length upon the sacredness of the ancient practices and his own pre-eminence; he was interrupted in his harangue by Tsong Kaba, who had previously taken no notice of him, and who suddenly exclaimed: "Wretch, let go the flea that you are torturing between your thumb and forefinger! I hear his groans, they penetrate to my heart." Fleas, it seems, are very abundant in Tibet, and the Grand Lama, in violation of the precept that says, Thou shalt not kill, was privily in the act of committing murder, when thus rebuked by Tsong Kaba. Struck by this proof of Tsong Kaba's divine perception, the Grand Lama acknowledged his supremacy, prostrated himself before him, and adopted his reforms. Tradition speaks of a stranger Lama from the west, who was Tsong Kaba's preceptor, and who was remarkable amongst other things for a long nose; noses in Tartary are somewhat of the shortest; from which circumstance, as well as from the palpable resemblances adverted to, Messieurs Huc and Gabet infer, not without some plausibility, that Tsong Kaba derived his innovations from the instruction of a Euro-

pean missionary, several of whom at this early period had penetrated into Tibet, Tartary, and China.

The peculiarities of the costume are certainly foreign to the original institutes of the Vinaya, which is much more faithfully followed in the south. The shaven head and yellow robes of the priests of Ceylon, Ava, and Siam, are much more orthodox than the red robes and yellow hats or mitres of the Lamas of Tartary and Tibet.

Notwithstanding the liberality shewn by the people of Tibet, especially at particular festivals, to their monasteries and temples, they take no part in the celebration of the religious services, nor do they evince any stronger devotional interest than prevails in other Buddhist countries. In all of them, however, there are powerful means by which the priests work upon their feelings, and secure their adherence, and extort their bounty. Everywhere, except in China, learning, such as it is, is confined to the priesthood, and they are the sole instructors of youth ; they are also the collectors and vendors of drugs, and the practisers of medicine. They still, as in the days of Clement, foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven, or even, eventually, the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstition, and their fears ; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the Lamas, as their only protection against them; the Lamas in Tartary are, therefore, constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing, no doubt, very often, the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud. In the most northern provinces of Russia, Buddhism, degraded to Shamanism, is nothing more than a miserable display of juggling tricks and deceptions, and even in the Lamasarais of Tibet, exhibitions of the same kind are permitted, whatever may be the belief and practice of those of the community who are better instructed, and take no part in them, themselves. Ignorance is at the root of the whole system, and it must fall to pieces with the extension of knowledge and civilisation. A striking conformity in this conclusion is expressed by the missionaries of different Christian communities. Messieurs Huc and Gabet observe : " After all we have seen in our long journey, and especially during our sojourn in the monarchy of Kun Lun, we are persuaded that it is by education, not by controversy, that the conversion of these people is to be most efficaciously promoted;" and we

learn from Erman, in his late travels in Siberia, that both the Russian and English missionaries at Irkutsk, and on the Selinga, had abandoned all attempts at direct conversion, and had confined themselves to the cultivation of the Mongol and Manchu languages, in order to qualify themselves to give education to the people. The process is unavoidably slow, especially in Central Asia, which is almost beyond the reach of European activity and zeal, but there is no occasion to despair of ultimate success. Various agencies are at work, both in the north and the south, before whose salutary influence civilisation is extending; and the ignorance and superstition which are the main props of Buddhism, must be overturned by its advance.

Art. XIV.—*A brief Notice of the Vegetable Productions of Ceylon.* By John Capper, M.R.A.S.

[Read March 6th, 1852.]

The following notes upon the Vegetable Productions of the island of Ceylon have been thrown together in the hope that, although devoid of any originality, they may be deemed worthy the honour of a reading by this Society. The writer has been led to draw up this paper chiefly from the many inquiries made of him, as the Commissioner for Ceylon at the Great Exhibition, in reference to the produce of that colony. It would appear that whilst the larger articles of coffee and cinnamon are well enough known as staples of the Ceylon trade, but few have any knowledge of the less prominent produce of the island, more especially of those articles which are cultivated for local use only, or for export to the neighbouring Indian states.

Without entering upon minute or technical details, which might extend these notes to a volume, it is proposed to give a concise and simple detail of the growth, locality, and value of each article of production.

These articles are as follows: coffee, cinnamon, coir, sugar, rice, tobacco, cotton, areca nuts, cocoa nuts, cardamoms, pepper, arrow-root, maize, manioca, fine grains, arrack, cocoa-nut oil, essential oils of cinnamon, citronella, and lemon-grass: dye-wood, ebony, and other furniture woods. It is a fact worth noting that of the above only one article has been introduced into the island by Europeans, during the 350 years they have been connected with it. The sugar cane was brought from the Mauritius, by a merchant of Colombo, about twenty years since.

It may, perhaps, not be without use if the above products be classified under three heads: those which are chiefly exported to Europe; those which are shipped to the adjacent states of India, as well as used on the island; and such as are only produced for local consumption.

The first class comprises coffee, cinnamon, coir, sugar, cardamoms, dye wood, ebony, cocoa-nut oil, and essential oils. Of these the most important by far is

Coffee. When Ceylon became a British possession it was considered as valuable only for its pearls and spice; at the present time the pearl fishery of the island has ceased to be productive, whilst the trade in cinnamon has sunk into an almost profitless speculation. Coffee is now the great staple of the island, and deservedly ranks first

on account of the money value of the yearly exports, not less than the great number of persons, both Europeans and natives, to whom it affords a regular employment. When the Portuguese first settled in the island, in the early part of the sixteenth century, coffee was found growing in many parts of the hilly districts of the interior, though entirely uncultivated, and only known to the priests, who reared it in their temple-gardens, and prepared a medicinal beverage from the berry. The Portuguese settlers in the East paid far more attention to religious than to agricultural or commercial matters, and we accordingly hear nothing of coffee as an article of culture or trade, until late during the Dutch rule in Ceylon. Even at that period it seems to have been shipped to Holland rather as an object of curiosity, and up to the close of the Dutch administration of the island the entire yearly quantity said to have been grown throughout the country was 2,200 cwts.; though one of the Dutch revenue officers, in his report to the government, gave it as his opinion that ten times that quantity, or 22,000 cwts., might possibly be produced annually. The yearly crops have of late amounted to 300,000 cwts.

Although the British government obtained possession of the maritime provinces of Ceylon from the Dutch in the year 1796, the interior or Kandyan province was not ceded to the crown until 1815, and, inasmuch as coffee will not grow to any extent in the maritime or low country, it followed that no improvement could take place in this culture until after the latter period, when the hill districts became tranquil, and were gradually opened up by good roads. From 1820 to about 1830 the quantity of coffee shipped to England yearly increased, although it still consisted entirely of the native grown, badly prepared berry, reared without any attempt at cultivation, and ranking below almost every other kind of coffee. In 1830 the first attempt at coffee-cultivation and curing was made on a proper scale by the governor of the island, Sir Edward Barnes. The success which attended this experiment, although partial, added to the lowering of the import duty on British East India coffee, by the imperial legislature in 1835, induced several merchants and others to apply for waste forest land, for the cultivation of coffee on the West Indian principle. During 1836 and 1837 upwards of 7,000 acres of crown lands were purchased, and partly cleared and planted. The success of these first operations drew many capitalists to Ceylon for similar purposes, and the land sales, which in 1838 amounted to 10,000 acres, grew to 78,000 acres in 1841. By the end of 1847, when fresh operations had ceased, about three millions sterling appear to have been invested in coffee planting in this island, chiefly by Europeans. The number of plantations formed was

330, the majority of which contained from 120 to 300 acres of cultivated coffee. The total acres brought under this culture, up to 1849, were 50,840, of which, however, several thousands had ceased to be productive. These estates are situated at a great variety of altitudes, ranging from 1000 to 4,500 feet above the sea level. As a rule, good coffee cannot be profitably grown in Ceylon at a less altitude than 2,500 feet: the most favourable height being from 3000 to 3,500 feet.

The best plantations are situated in the Kandyan province, where the thermometer ranges at noon about 76°, and in the morning not higher than 60°. The principal drawback to the success of these properties has been the absence of roads in many directions, compelling the planter to convey his half-dried crop on the heads of coolies, or on the backs of bullocks, for a distance of 25 to 35 miles, before finding any carriage transport. The dampness and coolness of the hill climate renders it impossible to perfectly cure the coffee berry in those elevated regions; it has therefore to be conveyed to Colombo, where a constant high temperature enables the merchant to complete the drying process, which the planter had but commenced. In this way, a crop of coffee costs as much to transport it from the estate to the place of shipment, distant about 100 miles, as it will to convey it thence to England.

The labour by which these properties are cultivated is almost entirely imported from the adjoining coast of India, a few Singalese occasionally assisting to gather the crops, when a high rate of pay is held out to them. The coffee thus grown under European superintendence, is known in this country as "Plantation" kind, whilst that which is still allowed to grow wild about the Singalese villages, gathered half-ripe, and rudely cured, is known as "Native" or ordinary Ceylon coffee.

The quantities of the two sorts exported to Europe of late years, have been as follows:

In 1848	. .	cwts. 280,000,
1849	. .	„ 328,000,
1850	. .	„ 319,000,
1851	. .	„ 273,000,

of which above two-thirds were Plantation coffee. The island consumption amounts to about 25,000 cwts., during low prices; but when coffee becomes more in demand the natives content themselves with using the black and damaged pieces picked out from the marketable berries. This circumstance will partly account for the small shipments of 1848 and 1851, both years of lower prices than in 1849.

Cinnamon. From the earliest period at which any record existed concerning the use of this spice, and which extends back to the days

of the Roman republic, up to the year 1760, during the latter portion of the Dutch rule in Ceylon, cinnamon grew in a wild state, amongst the thick jungles of the low and hilly country, the best always having been cut upon the light soil of the maritime provinces. The Dutch governor Falck was the first who attempted to bring the wild plants into a state of cultivation, amidst much opposition from the native chiefs. His plan, however, only extended to draining the land, and freeing the bushes from weeds and low jungle, so as to admit the light and air around them. Nothing further appears to have been done until the island had been in our possession twenty years, when extensive improvements took place. Large tracts of cinnamon land were cleared and opened by the hoe, and, after draining, the vacant spaces were filled up with young plants. The low-country headmen were induced to co-operate by means of promotions and honorary rewards, and by these means the government, in whose hands the culture and trade had always been vested, found itself in possession of five tracts of well-planted cinnamon, varying in extent from 6000 acres to 600 acres, the yearly produce of which rendered supplies from the wild bushes of the forests no longer necessary.

This spice is to be found only in the western, southern, and central provinces, and there appears little doubt that it was the abundance of cinnamon growing on the west coast of the island, which induced the first Portuguese settlers to fix the seat of their government at Colombo, a spot devoid of any harbour or shelter for shipping.

In 1833 the trade in this article was thrown open to the public, and six years later the government commenced the sale of their preserved plantations by monthly auctions. In this way the whole of them, with but one exception, have been disposed of, chiefly to English merchants and capitalists. In some cases, the gardens, as these lands were called, have been brought into a much higher state of cultivation than was previously the case ; but in frequent instances they are much neglected, and, upon the whole, the quality of the spice, as now shipped, will not bear comparison with the produce of former years. The forests are still searched for the jungle cinnamon, by the natives, especially when there happens to be a little better demand for the spice ; but the quality of this sort is far below that of the cultivated bark, as much as three-fourths of it being generally devoid of any flavour or aroma.

The cinnamon gardens afford employment to a considerable number of Singalese at most times of the year, both for cultivating the bushes, and for preparing the crops, which are taken off twice annually, during the rains attendant on the change of each monsoon. These croppings or peelings continue for about five months in each year, and a great

portion of the remaining seven months is required for putting the gardens in order. Amongst other recent improvements may be mentioned pruning and manuring the bnshes; these have, in some instances, brought the produce of an acre of land from 50 lbs. to 350 lbs. of spice during the year, and this too upon considerable tracts.

The operation of peeling, or removing the bark from the stick, is performed by one particular caste of natives, called "Chalias," a low class of persons, whose ancestors were originally appointed to the duty by the Singalese kings; and who until lately enjoyed many privileges and exemptions from taxation, in consideration of their services.

The trade in this spice has fallen away sensibly of late years, in spite of the efforts made to save it by liberal redncticns of the export duty. During the early part of the Dutch rule in Ceylon their yearly shipments amounted to 10,000 bales, of 88lbs. each; of which 2000 were for India, Persia, and Arabia. These latter places have long ceased to take any cinnamon, whilst the exports to Europe have been reduced to 7,000 bales of 100 lbs. in 1849, 6,000 bales in 1850, and 5,800 bales in 1851, although the selling price in the London market has been brought down to about one-third of that realized twenty years since. In 1835 the export duty in Ceylon was 2*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.* according to quality; it is now only 4*d.* per lb., on all sorts.*

Coir and Cocoanut Oil being both the products of the cocoa-nut palm or *Cocos nucifera*, equally exported to Europe, may be noticed together. The palm-tree may be seen in almost every part of the island, but its favourite locality is the low country within twelve or fifteen miles of the sea-coast. The natives believe most firmly that these trees will not thrive out of reach of the sea-beach and the salt-spray from the ocean; and accordingly, when planting their young palms at any distance from the coast, they place a quantity of salt about its roots. That this is erroneous may be seen by examining those trees nearest the sea: they will be found far less fruitful than those a short distance away. The real fact is, that the soft roots of the cocoa palm grow more rapidly in the light sandy soil of the low country, whilst at some distance inland the gronnd is too hard for them, and the temperature too low, especially at night. They are chiefly to be found skirting the coast from Calpentyn in the north-west province to Matura in the southern proviuce. The natives have been accustomed to treat these in the same manner as their coffee and cinnamon, leaving the young plants to take care of themselves, exposed to the destructive attacks of wild animals and insects. In this manner twelve and often twenty years are required to bring a cocoa-nut tree into bearing, the

* The duty has since been altogether removed.

wonder being that these neglected palms ever bear fruit at all. Of late years European capital and skill have been brought to bear upon this produce with remarkable results. In the western province about 6,000 acres are now covered by fine cocoa-nut trees, many in bearing at their fifth and sixth years. In the northern province about 10,000 acres have been cultivated in the same manner, whilst on the eastern coast from 3,000 to 4,000 acres are similarly planted. The ordinary yield of a good tree in full bearing is 50 cocoa-nuts yearly; many trees on European lands produce from 150 to 200 per annum.

For the European market the tree is only available as producing coir fibre and rope from the outer husk of the fruit, and cocoa-nut oil from the kernel when dried in the sun. The manufacture of cordage and rope dates back before the Portuguese period. During the Dutch rule this was an important branch of native industry, and the trade in them became a source of considerable profit to those servants of government who were allowed the monopoly as a remuneration for their services. When properly made from good fibre, coir rope is very soft and of a bright yellow colour, but in quality the manufacture of the present day cannot compare with that of the old Dutch time. In Ceylon scarcely any other rope or cord is used than coir; even the planks of the Singalese trading Dhonies of 50 to 100 tons are fastened together by coir yarn alone. This manufacture is confined to certain districts between Colombo and Galle along the south coast. Coir is exported to this country not only in yarn and rope, but in the fibre, in bales closely pressed: the total shipments of all sorts have lately been about 30,000 or 40,000 cwts. to Europe, and 20,000 cwts. to the states of India and colonies.

The manufacture of cocoa-nut oil for shipment to Europe has only been carried on during the last twenty-five years, although long previously made by the natives for their own use. The bullock-mill employed by them to crush the nut and express the oil is of the rudest make, and has remained unimproved for the last 500 years: a good description of it may be seen in Davy's account of Ceylon.

The first steam oil-mills and hydraulic presses were erected by the government in 1829; and when found to work well, and the article had become known and valued in this country, the establishment was sold to private parties. This oil has ever since assumed an important place amongst the exports of the island.

In 1849 the quantity shipped to England was 512,457 gallons: in 1850, 792,791 gallons, and in 1851, 322,500 gallons. It is this oil which forms the foundation of Price's Patent Candles; it is also much used by soap and pomatum manufacturers. The quantity consumed in the island must be annually about half of the above quantities.

Sugar, as already observed, is the only article, the manufacture of which has been introduced into Ceylon by Europeans. The first canes planted with a view to the manufacture of sugar, were carried thither from the Mauritius in the year 1832; they were planted in the central province, in the valley of Dombera. The first few acres produced abundantly, and of a good marketable quality; prices in this country being then high, the early shipments left a fair profit, whilst that sold on the spot paid handsomely. Several sugar estates were a few years later formed in the Kandyan country, and eventually eight or ten plantations of some magnitude were commenced in the southern and western provinces. Experience has shown that although one or two good crops may be obtained from newly planted land, the soil is naturally of such a poor nature as to render after-cultivation hopeless, without an outlay for manure which the crops will not justify. From 1846 to the present time sugar cultivation has been gradually abandoned, and at the present time there are but three estates in partial cultivation, and that almost entirely for local consumption. The largest quantity shipped to England in any one year was 10,000 cwts.

Cardamoms are collected by the natives in the central and some parts of the southern and western provinces, from plants growing in a wild state amongst dense forests or low jungles. In appearance and strength they are inferior to those brought from the Malabar coast, and sell here for about one-half of the value of the latter. Very little care is given to their drying and packing, which is of course injurious to their appearance, and there can be little doubt but, that were the plants grown in the many village-gardens, together with other produce, a very marketable article would be the result. The shipments of this do not exceed 100 to 150 cwts. annually.

Ebony is found in great abundance in the north of the island, and to some extent in the Kandyan country. The great weight of the timber renders its transport very costly unless where water conveyance can be obtained, which is seldom the case but during the rainy months. Immense forests of this wood are still existing in the island, but to a great extent too far from a port of shipment to be available. The exports of ebony have varied much of late years, from 15,000 to 5,000 cwts.

Sapan or dye-wood is shipped to this country, where it is employed as a red dye. The tree, of which this is the mature woody part, grows abundantly in the western, southern, and central provinces, without any cultivation. It is fit for cutting when about five years old, at which time it attains a height of ten or twelve feet. The exports have been for the last few years about 6,000 cwts. annually.

Essential Oils, of cinnamon, citronelle, and lemon-grass, are made chiefly in the neighbourhood of Galle, in the southern province. The oil of cinnamon is also made largely at Colombo; it is obtained from the broken or inferior pieces of bark rejected in packing the bales of spice. The other oils are the produce of two highly scented grasses, cultivated to a considerable extent by both natives and Europeans for the purpose of distillation. The extent of the trade in these may be thus stated, say for 1849:—oil of cinnamon, 32,400 ounces; oil of lemon-grass, 28,000 ounces.

The second division of this paper includes tobacco, areca nuts, cocoa-nuts, and arrack, as articles exported only to the neighbouring states as well as consumed upon the island.

Tobacco is cultivated with some attention and success by the Singalese of the western province, the Kandyans of the interior, and the Tamils of the northern districts of the island. The Dutch bestowed some care upon this article, but they do not appear to have succeeded in obtaining tobacco suitable to European markets. At the present time the natives frequently prepare a leaf which is mild and fragrant in use, although unsightly in appearance; but the bulk of the tobacco is coarse and rank. This arises from no want of labour expended in the culture, but rather from the leaves being gathered when too old, and from imperfect curing. The Singalese are very careful in the selection of ground for this plant, as well as in its treatment prior to and after planting. Manure is applied to the land in the first instance and once or twice to the young plants, which are also kept constantly watered during dry weather. Not a weed is allowed to appear amongst them, and every care is bestowed that is likely to forward their growth. The gathering and drying processes are managed with as little discretion as can be imagined. Very small attention is paid to the state of the weather at the picking time, and when gathered the leaves are left in heaps until they commence to ferment, when they are suspended on strings or the stalks of the cocoa-nut leaf. One estate has been formed by an European in the southern province, but at present with doubtful success. The principal export of tobacco is to the Travancore country on the Indian continent; a little goes eastward and some to the Maldive Islands, in exchange for salt-fish, shells, and mats. The yearly shipments have of late amounted to about 22,000 cwts.; at one period they reached 40,000 cwts.

Areca or Betel Nuts have for a long period formed a large item of the export country trade. These nuts are used by nearly all Asiatics,

who masticate them with a little lime, much in the same way as tobacco is used by sailors. The first luxury which a young Singalese or Malabar indulges in is a metal betel-box, worn in the girdle; and those who are too poor for such an ornament content themselves with wrapping their daily supply in a leaf. The areca palm which produces this nut, is one of the most graceful of that tribe; it thrives at a much greater altitude and in a cooler temperature than does the cocoa-palm, though, like the latter, it prefers the light soil and damp heat of the low country. Although flourishing wherever the cocoa-nut tree is found, the districts in which the areca tree grows most abundantly are about the borders of the western, central, and north-western provinces (between Kornegalle and Matele). The fruit grows in clusters, similar to those of the cocoa-nut, at the summit of the tree, each tree yielding about 200 yearly. They are about the size of a large walnut; and when deprived of their shell, which is of no value, the nut is found to be equal in size to a nutmeg. They are exported to Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Singapore, Penang, and the Maldive Islands, to the yearly value of £30,000.

Cocoa-nuts also form a prominent feature amongst the exports to Indian states, both in the raw and dried state, in which condition they are known by the name of *copperah*. It is scarcely possible to over-estimate the value of the cocoa-nut palm to the natives of Ceylon and other parts of India. With it they may be said to be independent of all other means of subsistence; and, with a little cotton for a girdle, they could exist without any other resource. Not a part of the tree is useless; every portion is made to minister to the daily wants of the grower. Oil, vinegar, arrack, toddy, sugar, medicines, are produced from the nuts and the sap of the flower. The husk of the fruit yields him fuel, fibre for ropes, and cordage, with which he rigs ships and canoes, and secures his cattle and his fences; and when unspun forms a soft mattrass for his couch. The inner hard shell is converted into boxes, drinking-vessels, spoons, forks, and a variety of ornaments. The wood of the tree serves to construct chairs, tables, window-frames, and beams and rafters for the roof, which is thatched by the plaited dry leaves of the tree fastened down by the fresh green leaflets. These plaited leaves also form a substitute for plates and dishes. The hollowed trunk of the tree forms a good canoe, in which the villager puts off to fish with a net of coir yarn, whilst the smaller trees form useful spouts to carry off the rain-water from the eaves of his little hut.

The cocoa-nut when but half grown contains a rich, sweet, cooling liquid, termed milk, though as clear as spring-water; around the

inside of the shell is a coating of young nut, soft and agreeable to the taste. These two parts of the fruit form the simple meal of many thousands of the natives. When fully ripe the kernel is thick and hard, and the milk has nearly disappeared; in this state it is employed in curries, or, when dried, into copperah for oil-making or exporting. The shipments take place chiefly at Galle and Colombo, and amount in value to about £14,000 yearly.

Arrack is a spirit distilled from the fermented juice of the cocoa-nut flower, and is prepared in certain districts of the southern province of the island, under licenses from the government. It is an article scarcely known in this country, being very seldom imported: during the Dutch period in Ceylon a good deal of it was shipped to Holland and Java, but for many years past the only exports have been to the Indian presidencies, and some of the eastern islands. Until within the last ten years arrack was served out to the troops in the Madras presidency; of late, however, they have had, in place of it, East-India rum. Of the total quantity of this spirit made there are no records. The right of vending it in shops or bazaars is farmed out annually in each province, under the title of the "arrack rent," and generally realizes about £55,000.

The shipments of arrack have fallen off, from 1000 pipes in 1845, to 520 in 1850.

The third division of Ceylon vegetable produce comprises cotton, rice, pepper, jaggery, arrow-root, maize, manioca, and fine grains.

Cotton is grown very generally by both the Singalese and Tamil inhabitants of Ceylon; but upon no regular plan, nor to any extent: in some few cases the villagers produce more than they require, and barter their surplus stock with the travelling pedlars for a little salt or dried fish. In the northern and eastern districts some few landholders rear considerable patches of an inferior sort of cotton, which they dispose of to the weavers of Jaffna and Batticaloa; but nearly all the cotton goods manufactured in the island are from imported yarn. Attempts have been made, on several occasions, to introduce American cotton seed, with improved culture, but as yet without any decided success. Fine samples have been produced, valued in this market at from sixpence to eightpence per pound; but, either from exhaustion of the soil, or the heavy cost of production, these experiments have ceased. The Singalese method of cultivation is to place four or five seeds in a patch between their young cocoa-nut plants, or

plantains, at the commencement of the rains in either monsoon. The seedlings will be thinned out when a few inches high, and afterwards weeded once or twice by hand, but no further care is bestowed upon them until the pods are ready for gathering, which they will be in about three months from the appearance of the seedlings. The means used to free the cotton from its seed are as simple as it is possible to conceive. The article is placed in a rush bag held by one hand, whilst with the other a cross-stick is rapidly twirled round amongst the cotton, tearing away the fibres from the seeds. In the north the Tamils pass their cotton between two wooden rollers revolving slowly against each other; and which draw the fibrous substance through, whilst the seeds, being detached, fall to the ground. The staple of Ceylon cotton is very short, but of a beautiful silky texture, and frequently very white. It is impossible to say with any certainty what quantity of this article is annually produced.

Of the very highest importance to this and other eastern nations is Rice: it is to them what corn, and potatoes, and animal food are to Europeans. Few Singalese taste much else, save cocoa-nuts, during the year; every villager is anxious to secure a patch of ground commanding water, on which he may rear this essential article of food. Although the present population of Ceylon does not exceed nine individuals to the square mile, it is yet found that the land does not produce nearly sufficient for the wants of the people, the annual importations of grain amounting in value to about 450,000*l.*; of this sum fully two-thirds consist of rice, prepared or in the husk, which gives about two bushels for every inhabitant; the grain being valued at two shillings the bushel. Three hundred years ago the population of the island was undoubtedly far greater than at present; yet at that period the inhabitants not only raised sufficient corn for all their wants, but were enabled to export it in some quantities to the eastward. The gradual destruction of the gigantic tanks which formerly existed in the northern districts, for the irrigation of the low lands, has led to the depopulation of that part of the island whence were drawn the chief supplies of corn. To cultivate rice without a plentiful supply of water would be impossible. In the hilly districts irrigation is carried on by means of watercourses cut along the sides of mountains, or carried, through bamboos, across valleys, often for a distance of many miles. In the low country, or maritime provinces, the rivers are dammed up during the rainy months, and the streams carried over the rice lands, from which they are gradually drawn off by means of small channels, cut in the margin of every field. Of so much importance is a good supply of water for cultivation, that the native sovereigns of

Lanka believed they performed as righteous an act in constructing a tank or a water-course, as in erecting a temple.

In Ceylon there are eleven kinds of rice grown, viz.: Ratcoonda, Ballanwary, Marlawarigey, Combilley, Tatterwell, Hienette, Sudu-hienette, Moodu-kirialla, Cooroovie, Balla-maha-vie, and the Dassa-an-alla. The first five are sown in March, and reaped in July; the next four varieties are sown at the end of May, and gathered at the latter part of July, or early in August; the two last kinds are sown in November and June respectively, requiring five and two months to arrive at maturity. The cultivation of rice in the low lands and the hilly regions of the interior differs in many respects. The supply of water in the maritime provinces is generally more abundant, though less to be depended on, than amongst the hills; added to which violent floods frequently carry away the young crops for many miles around. The soil of the lands in the interior is far more productive than that found in the maritime provinces, though in each situation varieties will be found. Many lands amongst the hills will yield two crops annually, and generally one; but in the low country the ground frequently lies fallow for several years; few fields being rich enough to produce even a crop every alternate year. The yield of crops varies greatly, according to soil, aspect, water, and altitude. Much land produces not more than three or four-fold, whilst some of the finest tracts in the interior yield as much as forty-fold. The Singalese have very little idea of manuring their lands: in some parts of the low country bones are applied on the land with success, but the cultivators are content with turning-in a few bullocks upon the land during the fallow season.

The Singalese have many superstitions concerning their agricultural operations, and never commence work without consulting the priest or the devil-dancer, as to a "lucky day." They hold it to be unfortunate to commence work upon the first or second day in the Singalese month, and after having begun their operations they must desist for a few days at certain intervals. In like manner the threshing of the corn is attended with various observances, and charms are placed around the fresh-gathered crop. When a newly sown field has been reaped, the owner would not dare to partake of any portion of the crop, until an offering of a small portion of it had been made to the nearest temple, in order that the priest might first eat of it.

The rice lands in the low country are seldom cultivated by the proprietors; they are usually given in charge to one or two villagers, who, with the aid of their neighbours, prepare the ground, and attend to the irrigation. The owner finds the seed, and shares equally with

the cultivator in the produce. In the Kandyan country the proprietors usually cultivate their own lands, with the aid of their poorer neighbours, who are paid in rice, or the labour given is returned upon the neighbours' fields.

Pepper, although only grown in sufficient quantity for local consumption, was at a former period an article of some importance amongst the exports of the island. The Dutch paid great attention to it, and spared no efforts to induce its cultivation, both in the low country and in the Kandyan districts. By the Dutch records it appears that during the early part of the last century, the shipments of this spice amounted to nearly 50,000 lbs., of which one-third was received in barter from the Kandyans, the remainder was grown at Battacalva, Calpentyn, and Negombo. Since our possession of the island, pepper has never been grown in any quantity; and when the government determined on shipping it loose amongst their cinnamon bales, in order to preserve the latter from sea-damage, the spice had to be obtained from the coast of India. The little that is now grown can scarcely be said to be cultivated; it is left almost entirely to chance, and consequently yields very indifferently.

Jaggery, or native sugar, is produced abundantly in the northern districts of Ceylon, from the juice of the Kittool or Jaggery palm, (*Caryota urens*). The sap is drawn off much in the same manner as that from the cocoa palm, but it does not flow so readily, and to obviate this the natives are in the habit of inserting within the surface of the cut flower-spike a small mixture of lime, garlick, sáte, and bruised pepper. This is left on the incision for a few days, when it is removed, and the flower again cut; the sap will then flow readily for several months continuously. The collected juice is boiled in earthen vessels to a certain consistency, when it granulates and forms a fair sample of sugar, capable of being refined to a good degree of purity. It is a curious fact that the wood of those trees which have been thus tapped, is very much harder than that of the unemployed trees in the forests, which is quite soft and spongy: the trees longest tapped are much the hardest.

Arrowroot and Manioca are both rather extensively grown in the maritime provinces, the former being inferior in quality to that grown in the West India Islands. They are both very exhausting in their effect on the land, which in those parts of the island is seldom fertile; consequently it is but rare that more than one crop of either can be taken from the same field without a long rest.

From the manioca the Singalese prepare a fine flour, resembling arrowroot, but much sweeter, and far more nourishing; boiled or

baked with milk it forms a most delicious meal, partaking of the nature of a rich custard.

Maize, or Indian Corn, is not grown to any great extent, and its cultivation is confined to the eastern and northern districts. It is employed in a variety of ways, in curries, ground into meal, or boiled whole as a vegetable. It is also given to the working bullocks, with oil-cake and cotton-seed, and is highly esteemed for this purpose.

The Fine Grains of Ceylon comprise a great variety of seeds employed by the poorer classes, as articles of food. The principal of these are Koorakam, Cooloo, Moongatta, Panna, Abba, and Ammoo. They, as well as an inferior description of Rice, called Hill Paddy, are grown on poor lands, and yield a very small return, often not more than three-fold. They are used in various ways, some being eaten in curries, some simply boiled, whilst others are ground, and the flour made into cakes or bread. These grains require no irrigation, though their yield depends upon the quantity of rain which may fall during the early period of their growth; and, from the poverty of most of the soil on which they are raised, whole crops are frequently lost in a very dry season. In the sowing and harvesting of these products the Singalese observe no ceremonies, and hold no superstitions regarding lucky days or evil spirits; a circumstance worthy of note, as being the sole exception to their many superstitious observances.

Art. XV.—*On the Natural and Artificial production of Pearls in China.* By F. Hague, *H. B. M. Consul at Ningpo.*

[*Read 17th December*, 1853.]

Mankind had probably no sooner taken to the use of oysters as food, than pearls were discovered, and at no period could they be so rude as not to prize the beautiful animal gem; hence, in the most ancient records which have come down to us, we find the pearl enumerated amongst precious articles. In China, so early as twenty-two and a half centuries before our era, pearls are enumerated as tribute or tax; and, at a later period, they are mentioned in the Rh-'ya (the most ancient of dictionaries, compiled more than ten centuries before our era) as precious products of the western part of the empire. They are also mentioned as ornaments, as amulets against fire, &c.

With their theory of the devil's powers, the Chinese are never perplexed concerning the nature of any object; it is sufficient to state that they are the female essence of the male principle. It is but fair to add that when Western naturalists, adhering to Pliny, taught that the oyster produced pearls from the heavenly dew on which it fed, a Chinese writer plainly states that pearls are the result of discoriation in the shell.

Fresh-water pearls were first in use in China, but soon after the commencement of intercourse with the continent of the Indian Ocean, they doubtless got them from thence in greater abundance. It was very early that official intercourse first took place. The Emperor Wuti (140-86 B. C.) sent to the sea for the purchase of pearls. After the introduction of Buddhism, and when intercourse with India became more common, pearls were also frequently referred to in Buddhist writings as "Moni pearls." From one of these "Moni pearls," the product of a dragon's hair, sufficient light was emitted to cook rice! A strange but not incredible story is given (806 A. C.) of a pearl as large as a pear which retained its lustre only three years; the result, doubtless, of molecular changes. Amongst the pearls of note, is one of Japan, as large as a hen's egg, of remarkable lustre by night; of another sent to court in the middle of the eighth century, of extraordinary brightness like that of the moon; and of another, three inches seven-tenths in circumference, which, with several others, was sent up from Fokien, probably derived from Ceylon.

A curious account is recorded of an embassy sent in 1023 A. C.,

from Shílóch'áyent'óh, by the king of Chinlien, by his ambassador named Púyáht'oli, and others, with presents of a cap and spencer, and of a quantity of true pearls; and thirty or forty years later, tribute-bearers again came from the same court, and solicited that in their audience they might be permitted to follow the customs of their own country, which was graciously accorded. On the day appointed the messengers appeared at the door of the audience chamber, kneeling and holding a golden tray containing pearls and golden figures of the water lily, and on approaching the throne they tossed the contents on the floor before the Emperor, which the courtiers instantly swept up and divided amongst them. They are noted as the most deferential of people. They must have been from some country which then existed in India, or Ceylon, or thereabouts. Marco Polo also mentions pearls in his work on China.

At what period the Chinese fishing for pearls commenced, cannot be ascertained, except perhaps by reference to local topographical works which it is very difficult, and almost impossible, to obtain. One account represents pearls as being found on the coast generally south of Canton. No particulars are given except of the fishery in the department of Lien-chan in the extreme southern part of the empire, in the Canton province (Kwantung). On the sea is an island on which there is a pool or lake, which the district magistrate annually visits to receive the tribute, personally inspecting the operation. The pearl fishers dive into the lake for pearls. The old shells are opened for pearls. The bottom of this lake is supposed to communicate with the sea—unfathomable in the centre—the crater, probably, of an extinct volcano: pearls as large as beans, sometimes an inch in circumference, have been found. The young shells are strung on a bamboo stick and dried in the sun, mixed with cassia, then roasted in some medicinal production: they contain pearls as large as millet: thus the womb of the shell is the flesh either of the large or small kinds.

Another account names the district in Lien-chan where the pearl fisheries are conducted. In the sea there is an island with a lake, into which the barbarous natives dive for shells; some years they are abundant, and in others scarce. There is a myth amongst the fishermen of a walled city at the bottom, guarded by monsters, containing pearls of large size and splendour, but which cannot be obtained for the guards; small ones, growing outside the city walls like grass, being the only ones obtainable.

Another writer says: "South-east of the Foo city, there is a smooth river with a sea (an island with a lake ?), Yuen-mei river, containing large oysters, having pearls. Visited by moonlight, fishermen descend

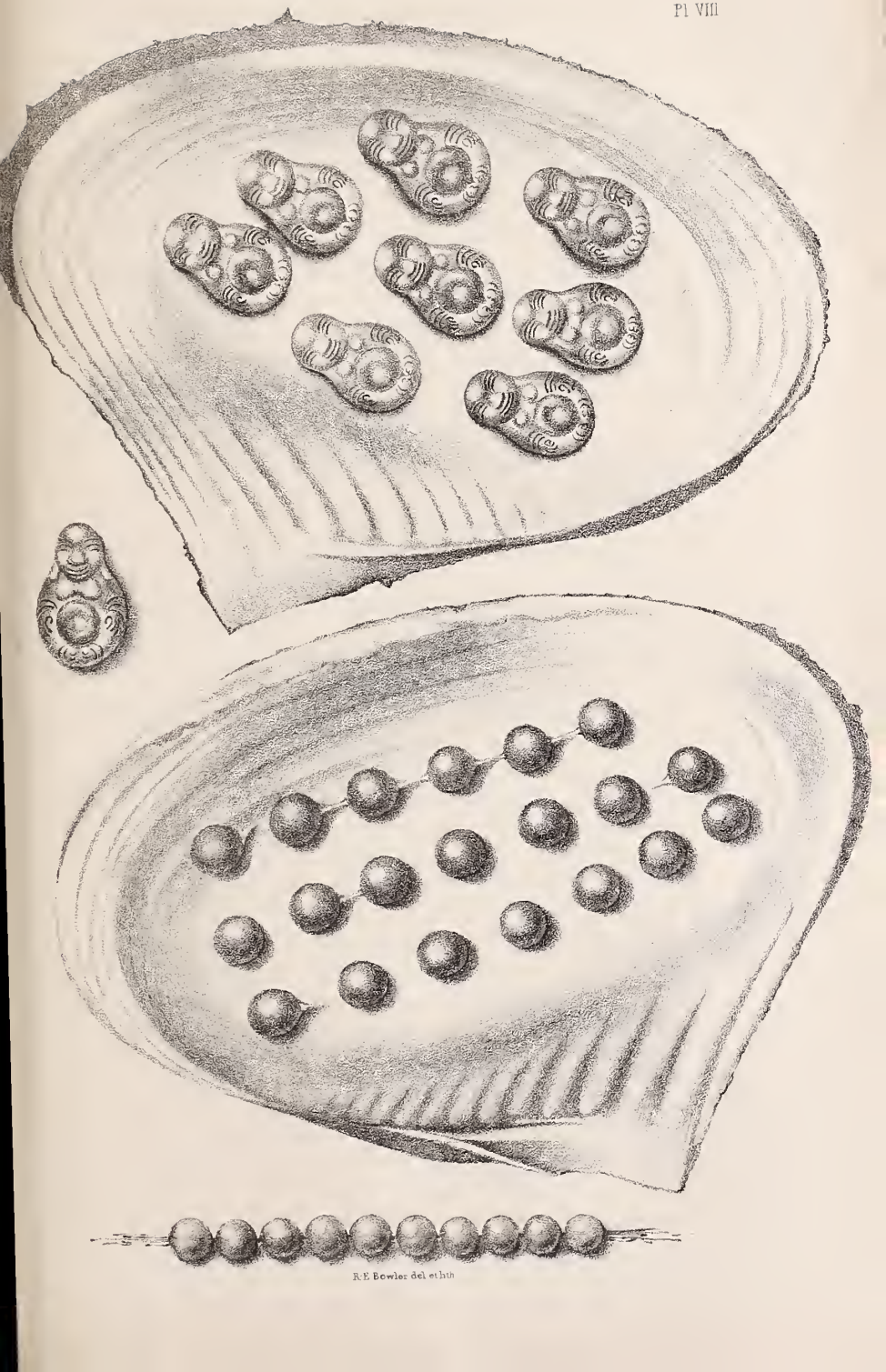
into the waters with a basket fastened to their waists; when they can hold their breath no longer, they give a signal to be brought up. Voracious fish sometimes attack the divers, when the rope floats upwards."

Yung-tai-kei, when at Canton, appointed a Pearl Inspector. The fishers would collect several baskets of sea plants, something similar to the willow, which they detached from the rocks under water, and brought them to the office. On the middle of these bushes were shells which contained pearls.

Another writer says: "The rude sea people at Canton dive for pearl shells and cut them out; they leave their sea vessels in which they live, and take to boats on the lake; they sink a heavy stone to anchor the boats, and then with a rope about the waist descend into the water; when they require breath they make a signal, and are aided up. It is stated that, between 1403-25, in consequence of so many of the divers being devoured by the sand-fish (shark), or nothing left but their limbs, the fishers contrived an iron rake for gathering shells without diving, but they got a few only. Afterwards, they contrived the method now pursued of a dredge—a scoop-like implement, one on each side of the boat, which, as the boats sailed along, gathered the shells.

The above remarks are gathered from old native authors, but it is not likely that the pearl fishery exists at present at all in China, the places being exhausted, as many others have been elsewhere: were they now in existence they could hardly have escaped the notice of foreigners resident at Canton. These ingenious people were the first to devise methods to imitate the pearl.

There is a note that, at the commencement of the seventh century, pearls were made of a composition or medicine. The art may have been lost, or it may be the same as that now employed at, and which originated at, Canton, and which appears to resemble that pursued by the French, who, however, have carried the art to a very much superior degree of perfection. The writer feeling much interest as to the method pursued by the Chinese with the "Muscle Pearl," in the winter of 1851-52 (in conjunction with a friend, Dr. McGowan, an American physician resident at Ningpo, by whose assistance he has been enabled to put together the preceding data), despatched an intelligent native to Hoochow, in the adjacent province, about three days' journey from Ning-po, where the manufacture of artificial pearls, &c., by means of the muscle fish, is carried on to a great extent, and he succeeded in obtaining shells shewing the process during the different stages, and also some live fish, the first ever seen by foreigners. The



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fish are collected together in April or May, and are opened principally by children, who put a small bit of bamboo in the orifice; the elders then insert whatever they wish. The foreign substance made use of, is composed of either brass, bone, pieces of round pebble, or mud. When the latter is used it is first well powdered, after which the pith or juice of a tree is mixed with it to give it solidity. These are put indiscriminately into the fish, and require nothing to keep them where they are placed; indeed, it would appear that the fish have no power of themselves to reject anything which may be placed in them.

After the fish have been operated upon, three spoonfuls of the scales of a fish well powdered and mixed with water are put into the smaller ones, and five spoonfuls into the larger ones; the pieces of bamboo are then withdrawn, and the fish are placed carefully in the ponds at a few inches apart. Some of the ponds, being small, will hold only about 5,000 fish, but the larger ponds contain a far greater number. The water in the ponds does not require to be deeper than from three to five feet, and in dry seasons water is occasionally worked into them from the canals which intersect the country in every direction for the irrigation of the land. Four or five times each year the ponds are well manured with night soil. The fish are generally taken out of the ponds after ten months, but if allowed to remain a longer time they come to greater perfection, three years being considered the maximum time. Several millions of these shells annually find a market at Soochow; the price varies considerably, some being worth about a penny the pair, while others readily fetch eightpence the pair. The greater portion of the shells are sold to the dealers as they are taken out of the ponds, but the Hoochow people prepare some few themselves, and the price of each pearl or image ready for use is from one farthing to fourpence. The shell is cut through with a fine saw as close to the pearl as possible; the bit of shell which remains attached to the pearl is then removed as well as the brass, bone, or whatever may be inside of it, white wax being substituted, and at the extremity a piece of the shell is again placed so as to render the pearl as perfect as possible. There are only a very few pearls of the best description, which no doubt arises from the haste in which the Chinese force them upon the market. It is several years since the attention of foreigners at Ning-po was first drawn to the "Muscle Pearl;" and previous to the discovery, I, as well as others, imagined the articles resembling pearls, which the wealthy natives wore so prominently on their caps, were real and valuable gems. The production of these artificial pearls is quite a trade in the neighbourhood of Hoochow, whole villages being engaged in it; indeed, it is stated that some 5,000 people find a

livelihood by these means. The process was first discovered by Ye-jin-yang, a native of Hoochow, A.D. 1200-1300. At his death, a large temple was erected to his memory, at a place called Seaou-Shang, about twenty-six miles distant from Hoochow. This temple is still kept up and plays are performed there every year to Ye's honor. A book is extant which contains every particular connected with this interesting subject, but it could not be purchased. Mention of the art is made in the book of the district of its producing an important article of commerce. The trade is a monopoly amongst a certain number of villages and families, and any other village or family commencing it is required to pay for some plays at Ye's temple, and likewise to subscribe something towards the repair of the temple.

The Chinese in the south of China (Canton) also manufacture artificial pearls, the two provinces, it is stated, having exchanged their secrets many years ago; but the Hoochow people do not succeed very well with the Canton process, and there must be some very great peculiarity in either the climate or fish, as it does not appear that the Canton people, who are so noted for their perseverance with anything by which they can earn even a trifle, have ever succeeded with the Hoochow method.

From the circumstance of the trading junks, both from the northern and southern provinces, buying up all they can meet with in the shops at Ning-po, it would seem as though Hoochow was the only place in China where this trade is pursued.

Art. XVI.—*The Gypsies of Egypt. By the late* Capt. Newbold, F.R.S., &c.

Those who chance to sojourn in the land of the Pharaohs longer than the ordinary run of travellers, and roam about the streets and environs of its large towns, can hardly fail to notice the strange appearance of certain females, whose features at once distinguish them from the ordinary Fellah Arabs and Copts of the country. In dress they differ little from the common Fellah females, the dark blue cotton *tob* being common to both; but they seldom wear the *shintiyan* (drawers), and are remarkable for going abroad without the *burka*, or veil. With the skin of a gazelle, or that of a sheep, thrown over their shoulders, they frequent the bazars and principal thoroughfares of the great towns, with unveiled faces bronzed by exposure, or stroll from village to village, occasionally calling out, in Arabic, in piercing but not unpleasing tones: "Come, ye that desire to foresee your destiny! the past and the future shall be revealed unto you;" or in shorter phrases, such as "Come and see your fortunes!" تعالي تعالي شفت البخت (*Taali, taali, shuft el bakht*), &c.

These wanderers over the face of Egypt have not escaped the keen observation of Mr. Lane; but he has erroneously confounded them with the Ghagar غجر (pronounced, in the softer dialect of Syria, Ghajar), another class of vagrants in Egypt, obscurely allied with the Helebi (حلبي) tribes now under notice. The Ghagar females are usually rope-dancers, musicians, &c.; and do not practise the arts of divination and palmistry like the Fehemi فهمي (wise) women of the Helebi tribes, who look down on them with sovereign contempt.

I have found Mr. Lane so extremely accurate in everything relating to Egypt, that it is with very great diffidence I have ventured to correct him on this one point; and I can only imagine the error to have happened from the circumstance of his having derived his information from other sources than from the gypsies themselves, who are looked down upon by the holy Ulema of Cairo, with whom this amiable and talented Arabic scholar is in close literary association, with almost the same horror as the Pariahs of India by the Brahmans.

This notice of the Helebis and Ghagars is derived chiefly from the lips of their Sheikhs; for, as among the Arabs, each tribe and sub-

division has its Sheikh or Elder. As they are extremely jealous and suspicious of any inquiry into their habits and mode of life, I had considerable difficulty in tracing them to their encampments and haunts in and about Cairo and other places, and in inducing them to unreserved communication. This circumstance will serve in part to apologize for the present very meagre sketch of these curious tribes, who are found, singular to say, strangers and outcasts—gypsies, in short—in the land which has given them a name, and has long been supposed to have given them birth. They live at once in the heart and veins of civilized life, on its outskirts, and yet totally distinct and isolated—scattered over the wide world, yet clearly recognized as one family by the irrefragable evidence of physical resemblance, in which the peculiar eye is not the least remarkable point, and by the perfect identity of habits so striking and characteristic. The different jargons they speak, too—though the original language is almost obliterated by changes and infiltrations from those of the various countries through which they have passed, or in which they have been vagrants for many generations—bear distinct evidence of a common origin, pointing to India, or possibly to ancient Chaldea or Babylonia. In my inquiries among the gypsies of Cairo I was materially indebted to the kind assistance of Mr. Rickards, and Mr. Walne, Her Majesty's Consul.

The Helebis.

The male Helebis are chiefly ostensible dealers in donkeys, horses, camels, cattle, &c., and pretend to great skill in the veterinary art; but their character for common honesty does not stand very high in the estimatiou of those who know them best. With their women, they lead a vagabond life, but return to the towns at stated periods. Their wanderings are confined to the Rif, or valley of the Nile, and to the Delta, rarely extending far into the desert, except when they go forth to meet the *Hájj*, on its return from Mecca, in order to cheat the way-sick pilgrims out of their jaded beasts, or to sell cattle-medicines. Some few accompany the *Hájj* all the way to Mecca; and, having performed the pilgrimage, are proud of prefixing *Hájji* to their names—a title, however, which among the more experienced Cairenes is supposed to add but little to a man's credit in the ordinary dealings of life. "If your neighbour," say they, "has performed *one hájj*, be suspicious of him; if *two*, avoid him; but if *three*, then by all means give up your house immediately, and seek another in some remote quarter."

The Helebis usually live in tents or *kheish* (portable huts), which they pitch on the outskirts of some large village or town. Near Cairo they are to be found at certain seasons (chiefly during the winter and spring), near a village on the right of the road from Cairo to Shúbra. They are expert in disguises, and hardly yield the palm to their brethren in Europe in cunning and deception.

Mr. Rickards writes me, that shortly after my quitting Egypt (April, 1847), the Pasha promulgated a most arbitrary edict, in which the *Musáhibín* (people not residing in their native villages) were ordered forthwith to repair to them. The distress this order gave rise to was indescribable; numerous gangs of the poor creatures, men, women, and children, were chained together, and driven from Cairo by a brutal soldiery to their distant villages, where they had no chance of employment, and consequently no means of support, except charity.

During these scenes of violence and misery, the gypsies, who were encamped at the usual place, took the hint, although they had no native villages to be driven to, struck their tents by night, decamped bag and baggage, and disappeared altogether. Not long after this flight Mr. Rickards one day met a man riding on a fine mare, gaily dressed, and looking for all the world like an Arab Sheikh in good plight. He thought he recognized the gypsy eye, and a second glance convinced him that it was no other but my gypsy friend, Sheikh Heridi, in this complete disguise.

The female Helebis (the Fehemis), as before stated, practice palmistry and divination. During their halts on the outskirts of towns and villages, and in roaming about the streets, bazars, and coffee-houses, in different disguises, they contrive to pick up, with wonderful tact and accuracy, the information necessary to their vocation, regarding the private history and prospects of persons with whom they are thrown in contact. In this secret intelligence department they are also assisted by their male relations, who, it is said, are to be found in every official department in Egypt, though not known to be gypsies; and, at all events, mingle much both with residents on the spot, and with strangers in the coffee-houses and caravanserais.

Practice of Palmistry and Divination.—In practising the art of palmistry, the Fehemi takes the right hand of the inquirer into the book of destiny into her own, holding it by the tips of the fingers, which she often bends gently back, so as to render the lines on the palm more distinct. Muttering some spell, she looks gravely and earnestly into these lines for a moment or two; and then raising her

penetrating eyes, fixes them steadily on those of the fortune seeker, gazing into them as if reading his destiny, written in large characters, at the bottom. She then unfolds to him the result with much decision and emphasis. The tale she tells is very much like what the gypsy women impart to the nursery maids and young lads on Blackheath. There are the different dangers and felicities awaiting them at different epochs of life—the dark or light lady, or gentleman, who is to love and be loved—the jealous enemy of whom they are to beware—the number of children they are to have, &c. It is almost unnecessary to add that in most cases the weight of the silver coin, with which the sybil's hand must be crossed, exerts a corresponding influence over the future (silvery or coppery, as the case may be) aspect of the aspirant's fortunes.

In divination, the Fehemi seats herself on a mat or carpet at the foot of the divan, or on the floor, and empties her gazelle-skin bag of a portion of its contents, viz., small shells, broken bits of glass, small coloured stones of agate, jasper, basalt, &c.; coloured bits of wax, &c. She throws the shells repeatedly on the carpet, after much jugglery, grimace, repeating spells, &c.; and from the position they chance to lie in she draws her inferences, much in the same way as the servant girls in England tell their fortunes from the arrangement of the grounds of tea at the bottom of their cups.

On one occasion the shell, which is supposed to represent the person whose fortune is being told, happened to fall in the centre of a circle formed by the other shells being accidentally ranged round it. This answer to the question, which was: "Will his friends prove faithful in the hour of need?" was interpreted as highly favourable.

Thus the Fehemi goes on casting the shells and divining from them. Money is required at various stages of the operation, and the farce usually concludes with the gypsy's presenting a few bits of coloured stone or wax to her employer as charms.

I witnessed a curious trick played by one of the Fehemi women near Cairo in this sort of divination. She put one of the shells—a small cowry—into a basin of clear water, which was placed on the carpet of the floor, at the foot of the divan where a friend and myself were seated, enjoying our chibouques and coffee. She then covered the basin with a cloth, and directed me to repeat after her an invocation in Arabic, and, while doing so, retired a few feet from the basin, after taking off the cloth, to the edge of the carpet. The shell was seen lying under the water, at the bottom of the basin as before; but no sooner was the invocation finished than the water bubbled up, and the shell was shot out to the distance of several feet, with some

of the water, with a slight explosion, like that of a percussion-cap thrown into the fire.

This, doubtless, was the effect of some chemical substance, placed probably in the shell itself; but whether the secret of its preparation be a remnant of the art of ancient Egypt, or vended to the gypsies by some itinerant charlatan from Europe, is doubtful. The last appears the more reasonable hypothesis.

The Fehemi women, as well as the men, have a family resemblance to the Kurbáts of Syria. They are noted for their chastity, in contradistinction to the Ghagar women. Intrigues, however, have happened, but, if discovered, they are punished with death; the woman being usually thrown into the Nile, with a bag of stones tied to her neck.

Until their marriage the young Fehemi females wear a cincture of silk or cotton thread round their loins, in token of virginity. They never intermarry with the Arabs, Copts, or other inhabitants of Egypt. In this respect they are as rigid as the Hindus. They are not remarkable for cleanliness either of person or apparel; in this respect, and their passion for trinkets of brass, silver, and ivory, they remind one of the Brinjári women of India.

They are remarkably intelligent, quick in gaining information, and would make capital spies in an enemy's camp. An instance of their shrewdness in this respect fell under my own observation. Passing their encampment one day, I persuaded my companion to stop and have his fortune told; to which, after some demur, he at last consented. While the gypsy woman was looking at the lines of his hand, I took the opportunity of inspecting the interior of their tents. They resembled those of the common Bedouin of the desert, and contained little beyond some wretched horse and donkey furniture, pots, pans, &c. Everything externally denoted the most squalid poverty, excepting only an enormous mess of fowls, mutton, and savoury vegetables, seething in a large iron cauldron over a wood fire; and which proved, to more senses than one, that the care of the flesh-pots of ancient Egypt had not devolved on a race insensible to their charms. On return, I found my companion still in the hands of the gypsy, now listening to her tale with as much seriousness in his face as there was merriment and mockery before.

When she had finished, he told me that he had been perfectly astounded in hearing from her lips a circumstance which, to the best of his recollection, he had never divulged to any person; but which, no doubt, must have on some occasion inadvertently escaped him.

Language.—Few of the words which I collected from the Helebis

are identical with those of the Kurbáts of Syria; their vocabulary appears to contain a much larger proportion of Arabic, and fewer Persian, Indian, and Turkish words. The term *Husno* is used by them in the same sense as that of *Busno* by the gypsies of Europe; under which appellation they class all strangers and tribes other than their own. A rascal, thief, or robber, is termed *kalo; ag*, or *yag*, is one of the words employed for fire; and *páni yen* for water.

Their numerals are defective, aud are usually borrowed from the Persian and Indiau numerals.

NUMERALS.

One	Ek.
Two	Dúi.
Three.....	Dúi ek (*i.e.*, two and one), *or* Sih.
Four	Char, *or* Dúi fi dúi (two and two).
Five	Penk, *or* Peng.
Six.....	Peng ek (five and one).
Seven.....	Peng i dúi (five and two).
Eight.....	Ister.
Nine	Now, *or* Peng-i-dúi fi dúi (five and two and two).
Ten	Dés, *or* Desh.
Eleven	Dés wa ek (ten and one).
Twelve	Dés wa dúi (ten and two).

The rest, up to twenty, similarly formed.

Twenty	Yuksi.
Twenty-one	Yuksi wa ek (twenty and one).

And so on to thirty.

Thirty	Yuksi wa dés (thirty and ten).
Thirty-one..	Yuksi wa dés wa ek (twenty and ten and one).

And so on to forty.

Forty.....	Kamáki.
Fifty	Kamáki wa dés (forty and ten).
Sixty	Kamáki wa yuksi (forty and twenty).
Seventy	Kamáki wa yuksi wa dés (forty and twenty and ten.
Eighty	Du kamáki (two forties).
Ninety	Du kamáki wa dés (two forties and ten).
A hundred..	Bank, *or* Dúi kamáki wa yuksi (two forties and twenty).
A thousand	Dés bank (ten hundred).

In their ordinary intercourse with the villagers, however, they employ the vulgar Arabic, both in conversation and in their accounts. Their own is used, and cant words employed, for purposes of concealment. I have not yet been able to discover that they possess any written characters other than the Arabic.

Origin.—The Helebis pretend to derive their origin from Yemen or the Hadramát; and assert that the early history of their race is chronicled in a written record, called the Táríkh ez Zír (تاريخ الزير), which, as far as I can glean, is an obscure and unsatisfactory document. I hope shortly to obtain a copy of this same MS.

From Yemen, they say, their tribes were expelled by the persecutions of Zír, a king of the Túba race; and wandered over Syria, Egypt, Persia, and Europe. The seven brother chiefs of the tribes which migrated into Egypt obtained from its sovereign the privilege of exemption from taxes, and of wandering about the country without molestation.

The tombs of these seven chiefs are regarded by the Helebis as holy places to this day. Two of them are said to be in the Bahriyeh district, one in the Kelyubiyeh, and the rest in the Syud.

They were unable to inform me of the derivation of Helebi (حلبي), the generic name of their tribes, which is also applied to an inhabitant of Aleppo, or Heleb (حلب).

Present Political Condition in Egypt.—The present energetic ruler of Egypt would appear to be a severer taskmaster than its old kings; for he has compelled the gypsies to pay a species of poll-tax, to elude which they practise every kind of deception: hence the difficulty of arriving at a faithful approximation of their numbers.

Their principal Sheikh enumerated to me four different tribes—*Arba Byút*—each comprising about fifty families, scattered about Egypt; but this statement, I have reason to believe, is much and designedly underrated. The names of the tribes and their Elders (or Sheikhs) are as follow—

TRIBE.	SHEIKH.
Batatíyeh	Hajji Bhai.
Súrútíyeh	Abu Salim.
Shoeiha	Hajji Mandi.
El Haweidát	Sheikh Herídi.

Of these four tribes one alone formerly exercised the art of palmistry and divination, viz., the Súrútíyeh.

Collectively, the Helebis sometimes call themselves Mahlebásh (محلباش). They affirm that some of their tribes are scattered over Abyssinia, but under different names. Kustáni was one of those given me.

Religion.—They have no known religion, priests, or houses of prayer. Yet, whenever policy or convenience demands, they conform externally to the observances of Islam.

The Ghagars.

This race, in physical appearance and vagabond habits, bears a family resemblance to the Helebis, and to the Kurbáts of Syria. During the summer months they wander about the cultivated portion of Egypt in tents and *kheish;* but in the winter they usually take up their abode in towns.

At Cairo they are to be found inhabiting a squalid quarter, called, after them, the "Hosh el Ghagar," behind the great mosque of El Hassan, at the foot of the citadel rock. Here they carry on the business of tinkers and blacksmiths, and vend ear-rings, amulets, bracelets, and instruments of iron and brass. Another colony of Ghagars take up their periodical residence in Ancient Cairo (Masr el Atíkeh).

Some of the men exercise the vocation of *pahlawáns* (athletes), mountebanks, monkey-exhibitors at fairs, &c. The women are often excellent rope-dancers; others are musicians, playing chiefly on the *tableh* (tambourine) and the *tetalla* (a sort of castanet). They are divided into distinct classes, such as Meddahín, Ghurradín, Barmeki (Barmecides), Waled Abu Tenna, Beit er Rifái, Hemmeli, Románi, &c. From their active habits of life, they are in general a fine athletic race. One of the most magnificent women I have ever seen in the East was a Ghagar rope-dancer at the palace of one of the Beys at Cairo. She had disfigured her features by tattooing the under lip and chin—a practice very common among the Arab women of Syria and Egypt, and which is often performed for them, as well as the operation of circumcision and boring the ears and nostrils, by the Ghagar women. They assert themselves to be of the same stock as the Helebis, but are never allowed to exercise the arts of palmistry and divination, and are looked down upon by the Fehemi women.

Language.—Many of their words are identical with those of the Helebis, and also with those of the Kurbáts of Syria. Some are apparently of Indian origin, such as *pani,* water; *machi,* fish;

bakra, sheep. With the villagers they converse in the ordinary vulgar Arabic. They have no peculiar written character.

Population.—It is impossible to obtain from the Ghâgars a true statement of their numbers, as they, too, like the Helebis, are subjected to a poll-tax. When the tax-gatherers are on the prowl, they take themselves off, and, ostrich-like, hide their heads in the sands of the desert. After paying a first visit to them in the Hosh el Ghagar, I returned the following day, but, to my surprise, found the quarter quite deserted. Suspicious of such unusual attention bestowed on them, they had quietly absconded, and, as I afterwards learned, had crossed the Nile to some village on the skirts of the desert. Subsequently, we became better acquainted.

Religion.—Like the Kurbáts and Helebis, they have none; but conform, as convenience dictates, to the predominant religion of the country where they happen to pitch their tent.

Since the reading of my first paper on the Gypsies of Egypt, I have received the following additional observations, furnished by H. S. Rickards, Esq., of Cairo, who kindly undertook to make them at my request.

The Helebis.

The Helebis do not give their daughters in marriage to the Ghagars, though they occasionally marry Ghagar damsels. The *húg* or *dilk* (zone of chastity) is often made of plaited leather, like the waist-covering of the women of Soudan, and is cut off on the wedding night.

The Helebi females, though chaste themselves, occasionally do not scruple to act as procuresses of Gentile or *Husno* women, and will even sometimes expose their own persons for a reward. The Arabs and Copts charge them with kidnapping children; but this they strenuously deny, as well as the common accusation of their eating cats and dogs, and other animals held in abhorrence by Moslems.

They bury their dead, but have no fixed places of interment.

The Ghagars.

The Ghagars speak of having brethren in Hongarieh (Hungary?), who have preserved their original language in much greater purity than the mingled jargon they now speak in Egypt. During the summer they often gain a livelihood by carrying jars of water, and sing

at the *mulids*. With few exceptions, they are all thieves. Mr. Rickards was not more successful in obtaining a true estimate of their number than myself, owing to their jealousy on this head, and their interest in diminishing the *bonâ fide* amount of population; but I think the total number in Egypt can hardly be estimated at less than sixteen thousand.

The Núris (نوري) or Náwer.

All the Núris, like certain tribes in India, are hereditary thieves; but are now employed as police and watchmen on the Pasha's *chifleks* (country estates), on the principle of setting thieves to catch thieves. They are nominally permitted to receive 50 per cent. on property recovered from the thieves they bring to justice. This arrangement they find so advantageous, that they now seldom engage in plunder, except occasionally in Cairo itself, where there is less chance of detection. It remained for the ingenuity of the present Pasha, by the plan just mentioned, to put a stop to the extensive robberies committed by the Náwers for a succession of generations, and which Mahomed Ali's predecessors were totally unable to check.

The Náwers were formerly protected, and employed for purposes of plunder, by the Billi tribe of Arabs. The relations of the sheikhs of this tribe with the lawless Náwers resembled those of the Highland chiefs with the caterans on their estates.

The Náwers in Egypt intermarry with the Fellahín, or Arabs of the soil, from whom, in physical appearance and dress, they can be hardly distinguished. Outwardly they profess Mahomedanism, and have little intercourse with the Helebis and Ghagars.

Their present chief is a sheikh named Yúsuf, formerly the most noted thief in Egypt.

Jargons spoken by these Tribes.

The following lists of words were procured by Mr. Rickards and myself, *vivâ voce*, from the Sheikhs and leading members, both male and female, of the several tribes, after various comparisons, revisals, and corrections. The orthography is that adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society.

It will be observed that there is a marked difference in the three dialects or jargons. That of the Ghagars most assimilates the language of the Kurbáts, or gypsies of Syria, and the gypsy dialect in Borrow's work: it contains also more words of Indian origin than the Helebi and Náwer jargons.

The Helebi comprises a large number of words of Arab root, indicating a long sojourn in Yemen, or other parts of Arabia. Its numerals, as also those of the Ghagars, bear strong marks of an Indian or Persian origin; though usually the Helebis adopt the vulgar Arabic numerals in use throughout Egypt.

The following are the numerals given me by one of the Helebi tribe, and which are also used by the Ghagars when secrecy is required.

One.....	Ek, *or* Yék.
Two	Dúi.
Three	Dúi ek, *or* Sih.
Four	Dúi fi dúi, *or* Chár.
Five	Penk.
Six	Penk ék.
Seven	Penk fi dúi.
Eight	Heshter.
Nine	Enna.
Ten	Das, *and* Deh, *and* Desh.
Eleven	Das wa ék (&c.)
Twelve	Das wa dúi (&c., to twenty).
Twenty	Yéksi.
Twenty-one	Yéksi wa ék, &c.
Thirty	Yéksi wa das.
Forty	Kumáki.
Fifty	Kumáki wa das.
Sixty	Kumáki wa yéksi.
Seventy	Kumáki wa yéksi wa das.
Eighty	Du kumáki.
Ninety	Du kumáki wa das.
Hundred.....	Bánk, *or* Sad.
A thousand	Das Bánk, *or* Das sad.

The numerals of the Nawers are evidently of Persian origin, as four.

One.....	Yék.
Two	Dú.
Three	Súso.
Four	Char.
Five	Fowi (to ten like Persian).
Ten.....	Halaheh.
A hundred	Benee.

All the tribes disclaim having any written character peculiar to

themselves; and it is rare to find one among them who can read the common Arabic of the country. I have been informed, however, by a respectable Copt, that they have secret symbols which they sedulously conceal. It seems to me probable that the whole of these tribes had one common origin in India or the adjacent countries on its western frontier, and that the difference in the jargons they now speak is owing to their sojourn in the various countries through which they have passed. This is certain, that the gypsies are strangers in the land of Egypt.

List of Words.

Relationship.

English.	*Helebi.*	*Ghagar.*	*Náwer.*
Father	gárúbi	bálo, mánush	báyábi.
Mother	ammámri	kuddi	
Brother	huwiji	búrdi	
Wife	kúdah	gaziyeh	gúd.
Sister	kháwishti	semah búrdi	
Husband	el baráneh	marash	maras.

Natural Objects, &c.

Sun	shems	kám, kárzi karieh	shems.
Moon	kamr	káno, kariz	mahtáweh.
Star	nejm	astra	
Air	hawa	barban, biar	mahbuseh.
Heavens	sema	kayes	
Earth	ard	turra	
Fire	megúnwara	ág *or* yág	ág *or* oug.
Water	hembi, *or* sheribni, *or* páni	páni	óah.
Rain	matr	bursunden, moga	aug.
Snow	telj	gharábi	
Cloud	reim	bárúd	
Light	núr	núr	
Sea	bahr	páni	
Mountain	gebel	melúsh, dúrúm	koh.
A spring	ain	moga	
Stone	hajjar	path	
Salt	melh	lón, iráki	namak.
Tree	mishgareh	kerian	kannín.
Milk	millanish, helwah	rágoon, rághebi chúti	rowan.
Barley	mushárish	jow	
Wheat	dahúba	ghiú	ghiúdem.
Iron	megow	sista	shir.

English.	*Helebi.*	*Ghagar.*	*Náwer.*
Night	dámúd	rátsi	
Day	menâhrish	chibish	
Onion	musunnum	piyaz	
Dhurra grain	meghidhurra	darineh	
Rice	rúz	barnu, fukiyeh, udbukh	
		Animals.	
A hare	erneb	kunder	
Dog	sunno	sunno	
Cat	ghutta	berkúka	
Horse	sohli	sohli, ghóra	
Mare	sohliyeh	sohliyeh, aghorai	
Ass	zowilli	kháris	
Sheep	hahaiya	bakra	
Cow	mubgursha	góru	
Bull	mutwárish	maia góru	
Fowl	chúriya	kagniyeh	búrih.
Pig	khauzír	hallúf	segel harmin.
Camel	húntif	hunt, ashtr	
Crow	gráb	mentuf, kil	
Snake	tábun	sámp	
Fish	semek	machchiyeh	
		Parts of the Body.	
Finger	sabaa	angústi	
Hand	kumáshteh	gadho, kustúr, chang	fowítak.
Eye	hazára	ankhi	
Hair	shára	bál *or* vál	
Ear	wúdu	kirkáwiyeh	
Neck	rékb	shiríti	
Knee	ruggal, *or* kumeyshtu	shang	
Teeth	sinnán, suvan	dándi, sinnam	
Head	ras	sir, shirit, kamokhti	
Flesh	udwán	maas	
Pudendum muliebre	búdí	minchiá	búd.
Penis	lib	kidh	
Belly	batn	barri	bosah.
		Miscellaneous.	
A well	bir	ghibíni	
Egg	mejáhaled	wáni	
Ring	khátim	angústri	

English.	*Helebi.*	*Ghagar.*	*Náwer.*
God	Allah	Allah	Allah.
Ship	merkeb	kir	
Boat	merkeb	shatúr	
War	hebbáji	debbáji	
Christian	ghirni	balámu	
Door	báb	kápú	
Boy	lambún, sumgun	chabo	lowaiti.
Girl	lambúnih, sumgúnih	semah chabo *or* chai	bubúr.
Thief	gowáti	dúmáni, kálo	showústi.
Knife	tellúmeh	matwa, chúri	chíri.
Rope	hebl	dóri	
Book	kitáb	kitáb	kitáb.
City	gaonti	gao	dési.
Village	gaonti	gao	dési.
Bridge	juntara		
Paper	warkeh	warkeh	
Bread	shemún, meshmúl	márey	nán.
House	nizb	kír	
King	dazi, zilk	el reibo, el burro	
Love	hebb	hebb	
A year	sinneh		
A month	shahr	yuk sadésh	
Colour	....	....	
Poison	sun	zúngali	mubahah.
Luck, fortune	bakht	baji	sohri.
Devil	sheitan	iblis	harmir.
A Gentile (or one not a a gypsy)	hushno	chájú	keghaneh.
A lie	ezdarbish	zingalo	melúm, gowais.
Name	ism	rábon (your name)	minas.
A harlot	beskanan	gabu, besignan	gúd el harám
Zone of chastity	húg	dilk	fowi.

Adjectives.

Sick, tired	tábán	múrdal	
Bad	battal	bilbey	
Good	teyib	lásho	
Great	kebir	burra	burri.
Small	soghaiyer	thoranki	
Black	aswadish	káló	
White	abyed		
Cold	mebradish	memúdrih	
Hot	mahrarish	gurm	

Adverbs.

English.	*Helebi.*	*Ghagar.*	*Náwer.*
Much	ketir	bhút	
A little	meframrush	thoráki, thukránee	
Enough	keffi	bas, nunniya	
Here	henné	igde	
There	honak	anrileh	

Verbs.

To come	ig	ā, ootil	
Go	fil	ja	
To sleep	dumak	sobelar	sook.
To eat	eshna, sheml	khaba, jála	arhús.
To rob	gunwáni	chúrábi	lahis.
To drink	hunnib	mouwak	
To bring	guddi	laba	

THE GYPSIES OF SYRIA.

Although we are told by Leo Clavius that the Emperor Bajazet expelled all the gypsies from the Ottoman Empire, yet it is well known that numerous tribes of them are still scattered over the plains and mountains of Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, and Egypt. In Palestine and the southern parts of Syria, this singular people—*vagus et profugus in terrâ*—is known under the appellation of Náwer; but in Asia Minor and the northern parts of Syria, they style themselves Kurbát (كربات), Rúmeli (رومللي), or Jingánih (جنگانه): the two last terms appear to have relation with the Spanish Romani and Zincali, and the German Zigeuner.

The Náwer, Kurbáts, and Jingánih of Syria and Palestine preserve the well-known characteristics of their brethren in Europe. Nomade in their habits, neither shepherds nor tillers of the soil, they feed upon the credulity and superstition of mankind, like vultures on carrion. Bedouins of the intellectual world, they juggle the simpler sons and daughters of cities by pretended skill in the occult sciences, more especially in the art of chiromancy. Some of them are dancers and minstrels, while others vend charms, philters, poisons, and drugs of vaunted efficacy. Like their brethren in England, most of the male gypsies are profound adepts in horse-flesh, in donkey dealing,

and in snaring game; but, instead of mending tin pots and kettles, the only handicrafts I have seen them engaged in is the making and repairing of osier baskets, tents, and in spinning cotton and woollen yarn for their tents and wearing apparel.

Religion.—They have no places of religious worship, nor have they ever been observed to pray or engage in the performance of any religious rite; though, for convenience sake, some of their sheikhs or elders, like the Druses, Ansairis, and Ismailis, have been known occasionally to conform to the exterior observance of Mahomedan worship, and to circumcise their children. The aged chief of a gypsy tribe in the plains of Aleppo repeated to me in Arabic the Mahomedan confession of faith, though not without several mistakes, and the entire omission of the words محمد رسول الله (Mahomed is the Ambassador of God). He stated that he and his tribe acknowledged one supreme, everlasting, and all-powerful Being; and believed in an existence after death, in a state of reward or punishment, connected with metempsychosis.

He denied that his tribe, like the Ansairis, worshipped the stars, or that they adored the creative principle, like the Ismailis, under the external symbol of the *pudendum muliebre*—allegations which have frequently been made against the Kurbáts by the Mahomedans and Christian Syrians. He denied also that the Kurbáts, like the Jews and Ansairis, held in abhorrence the eel and the celebrated black fish of the Lake of Antioch, which, from not having scales, are forbidden to the former under the Mosaic law: "And whatsoever hath not fins and scales ye may not eat: it is unclean unto you" (Deut. xiv. 10). I am assured, however, that the Kurbáts, who, like the Pariahs of India, are the flayers of animals dying a natural death, devour the carcases of all sorts of animals except the hog.

Physical Appearance.—In their slender but well-knit figures, tawny complexion, rather prominent cheek-bones, straight black hair, and stature rather below the middle size, the Kurbáts, Jingánihs, and Náwers in no way differ from the gypsy of Europe. The facial angle assimilates more the Hindu type than that of the Tartar or Turcoman. The dark eye is not invariable. In the mountains of Antioch I met several blue and grey-eyed gypsies, and have observed a similar feature occasionally, in the Arabs of Petra and Palmyra, among the Syrians, and also among the Xebeques and Euruques of Asia Minor. The gypsy of Asia has also that peculiar and indescribable expression and appearance of eye which I have remarked strongly developed in the gypsy of Moorish Spain and Africa—a

feature which, like the brand in the forehead of the first murderer, stamps this marked race over the whole globe; and, when once observed, is never forgotten. The "evil eye" is not the least of the powers with which this people is superstitiously invested; and, if there be any truth in the overstrained doctrines of animal magnetism, one could not possibly frame to the imagination an eye so well calculated to produce an intense mesmeric effect.

Dress and Domestic Habits.—Half naked in the plains and mountains, they dress in towns and cities much like the ordinary classes of the inhabitants. A red tarboush, wrapped round with a red and blue striped handkerchief, a blue striped caftau, woollen or leather girdle, sandals, and the striped woolleu abbáyeh, constituted the costume of some of their sheikhs whom I saw at Antioch.

In winter they are usually to be found on the outskirts of some large town, living in what are called *beit shahr*, a sort of half hut, half tent, easily removed. In summer they go forth into the plains aud mountains, wherc they live in tents or in old ruins, but never very far distant from the hauuts of their prey—mankind. These migrations are regular, and not of any great extent. They never forsake the country altogether, unless driven by political persecution.

Sheikh Rassho, the head of the Aleppo gypsies, informed me that his tribe was divided into thirty *beits*, or houses, for which, and the tax upon which, he was responsible to the Turkish Government. The names of the *beits* are for the most part Mussulman, as will appear by Sheikh Rassho's list. The old man could only recollect twenty-eight names out of the thirty, which are as follow :—

Beits.

Syud.	Mustafa.	Rejib I.
Hassan.	Hájji Abdi.	Rejib II.
Khalíl.	Mahmúd.	Jumáo.
Ahmed I.	Ahmúd.	Hallo Kálá.
Darwesh.	Khalla.	Fahl.
Assad.	Mustef.	Hamdí.
Khalaf.	Hájji.	Bósh Guzzár.
Akku Ali.	Jumái.	Akki Khallo.
Hájji Ahmed.	Mustór.	Sheikh Rassho.
	Ahmed II.	

The old gypsy, in reply to my questions, told me that the Kurbáts, Náwers, Rúmelís, and Jingánihs, were all of the samc family, and had lived in Asia Minor and Syria since the creation;

though he had heard a tradition of their forefathers having come from Hind. The Dúmáns, he thought, were their cousins.

The females of the Kurbáts dress like other women of the lower orders of Syria; but delight more in ornaments of silver and brass, ear-rings, nose-rings, armlets, bracelets, and bangles. They tell fortunes, cut faggots, spin, and take care of the dogs, cats, poultry, and children. They cook exactly like the gypsy women of England. Their cauldron, suspended from crossed sticks over the embers of a large fire, I have often found to contain a capital mess of meat and vegetables.

If any credence may be given to the assertions of the Turks and Syrians, the Kurbát damsels are not so chaste as their sisters of Europe are reported to be, although they wear constantly until marriage a certain cloth, in token and in pledge of spotless virginity, which the husband alone, on this occasion, is permitted to take off.

Language.—I cannot find that the Kurbáts have any peculiar written characters or symbols for letters or words. Their shéïkhs assured me they had, and that there were two men in the tribes who could write them; but as they could not write themselves, and as they did not produce these men, or any specimens of their writing, as they often promised to do, I am hence led to infer, as well as from other inquiries, that the written characters or symbols of their language, or rather jargon, have either been lost or are only known to a very few, who superstitiously keep them secret.

In the bazars and markets of Syria the Kurbáts speak Arabic or Turkish, as the case may be; but at home, as I have had many opportunities of observing, they speak their own language. The following scanty list of Kurbát words I obtained, *viva voce*, from the Aleppo tribes, and checked them subsequently by reference to a tribe near Antioch.

I have not now the opportunity to enter into an etymological analysis of the words composing the list; but it will be perceived at a glance that many are evidently from Sanscrit roots, with which the Persian, Turkish, and Arabic have been, perhaps successively, intermingled. The numerals are partly of Hindu origin, partly Persian. Those between ten and twenty are expressed thus:—*Das ek, das di, das turrun*, &c., or ten one, ten two, ten three, &c., for eleven, twelve, thirteen, &c., as in Turkish; twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty are expressed in nearly pure Persian terms; but the number sixty is expressed, as is often done in India, by *turrun vist*, or three twenties; seventy, by *turrun vist das*, or three twenties and ten; eighty, by *chár vist*, or four twenties; and ninety, by *chár vist*

das. The number one hundred is the Persian *sad;* two hundred, *dí sad,* &c.; and the term for a thousand, beyond which the Kurbát arithmetic does not ascend, is the Persian *hazár,* used also in Hindustáni.

I have not with me Mr. Borrow's excellent work on the dialects of the gypsies of Spain and other parts of Europe, or, indeed any other work on this singular race, to consult; but, as far as my own recollection goes, I have little hesitation in saying that if any person will take the trouble of making the comparison, he will find many curious points of resemblance, with the aid of even the very imperfect and circumscribed list now sent, between all the different jargons spoken by these nomade races, and all pointing to India, through Persia, Turkey, and Tartary, as their origin. He will do well to observe that the more remote from the source, the more polluted and intermixed the original language will naturally become.

The Dúmán list of words I obtained also from one of the tribe, an itinerant minstrel, juggler, and fortune-teller from the Altún Kieupri (Golden Bridge), in the pashalik of Baghdad. While most of the words are identical with the Kurbát, it will be noted that in the Dúmán dialect, Turkish and Persian are more prevalent. The numerals are the same as those of the Kurbát, with the exception that the Dúmáns use the Persian *sih* for three, instead of *turrun,* and the Persian *deh* for ten, instead of *das.*

The genitive affix *ki,* in both dialects, as *man-ki, to-ki, hui-ki* (of me, of thee, of him; or, mine, thine, his), reminds one powerfully of the Hindustani mode of forming the same case.

List of Words—Kurbát and Dúmán.

(Spelling and pronunciation as adopted by Royal Asiatic Society.)

English.	*Kurbát.*	*Dúmán.*
	Kindred.	
Father	bábúr	bábúr.
Mother	aida	aida *and* ana.
Brother	bhairú	berávan.
Sister	bhanu	kochi.
	Natural Objects.	
Sun	gáham	gáham.
Moon	heiúf	heiúf.

English.	*Kurbát.*	*Dúmán.*
Star	astara	astara.
Air	vál *and* vái	kannad hává.
Heavens	khúai	ghennader.
The earth	bar, ard, *or* turra	bar.
Fire	ag	ár.
Water	páni	how.
Rain	bursenden	bárán.
Snow	khíf	súrg.
Cloud	barúdi	bullút.
Light	tshek	ar *and* aidinlik.
Sea	dúnguz	daíreh *and* dúnguz.
Mountain	thull	ghiella.
A spring	kháni	kháni.
Stone	vúth	káwer.
Salt	lón	khoi.
Milk	kír *and* lebben	shir.
Barley	jow	jow.
Wheat	gheysúf	ghiannam.
Iron	náhl	khallik.
Night	arát	show.
Day	bedis	ghiundez.
Onion	lussun, piyáz	piyáz.
Dhurra (Holcum sorghum)	ak	ar.
Rice	brinj	silki.
	Animals, &c.	
A hare	kunder	kunder.
Dog	súrunter	kúchek.
Cat	psík	kadizor.
Horse	ghora *or* aghora	asp.
Mare	míno	míno.
Ass	kharr	kharri.
Sheep	bakra	khaidú.
Cow	góru	kaikuz.
Bull	goruf *or* maia goru	meshjúk.
Fowl	jeysh-chumári	mirrishk.
Pig	dónguz	dónguz.
Camel	dubba, asht	ashtur.
Crow	kíl, hashzeik, *and* tánuk	sereh.
Snake	sánb, sámp	marr.
Fish	machchi	machchi.
	Parts of the Human Body.	
Finger	anglú, ángul	pechi.
Hand	kustúm, kustúr	dast.
Eye	akki *and* ánkhi	jow.

English.	*Kurbát.*	*Dúmán.*
Hair	vál *or* bál	khalluf.
Ear	kán *and* kannir	príúk.
Neck	gúrgúr	kántlagu.
Knee	lúlúk, chokyúm	koppaku.
Teeth	dándeir	ghiólu.
Head	sir, chir	murrás.
Flesh	márși	gósht.

Miscellaneous Nouns.

A well	astal, chál	chál.
An egg	ánó	heili.
A ring	angúshteri	dastúri.
God	kháwarje	Allah.
A ship	ghemmi, durongaye	ghemmi.
Boat	shátúr	shátúr.
War	laghísh, káwye	káwye.
A Christian	kuttúr	nosaru.
Door	kápi	kapi.
Boy	chágú	láwak.
Girl	lafti	kechikeh
Thief	kuft	khaiúk.
Tent	cháder	cháder.
Knife	chírí	khair.
Rope	kundóri	kundóri *and* sijúm.
Book	kitáb	kitáb, mushulleh.
City	viár	viár.
Village	deh, diyár	deh, diyár.
Bridge	kieupri	kieupri.
Castle	killa	kalla.
Paper	kághaz	kághaz.
Bread	manna	nán.
House	kuri *or* kiri	málá.
King	padshah	beghirtmish.
Love	mancamri *and* camri	camri.
Month	munh, mas	viha, mas.
Colour	táwúl	táwul.
Year	das di mas, varras *or* barras	deh di mas *or* dah di viha.

Personal and Possessive Pronouns.

I	man	man.
Thou	tó	to.
He	húi	húi
Mine	maki *or* man ki	ma ki *or* manki.
Thine	to ki *or* toi ki	to ki *or* toi ki.
His	hui ki	hui ki.

Cardinal Numbers.

English.	*Kurbát.*	*Dúmán.*
One	ek	The Dúmán is the same, except *sih* for "three," and *deh* for "ten."
Two	di	
Three	turrun	
Four	char *or* shtar	
Five	penj	
Six	shesh	
Seven	heft	
Eight	hesht	
Nine	na *or* nu	
Ten	das	
Eleven	das ek	
Twelve	,, di	
Thirteen	,, turrun	
Fourteen	,, char	
Fifteen	,, penj	
Sixteen	,, shesh	
Seventeen	,, heft	
Eighteen	,, hesht	
Nineteen	,, na	
Twenty	víst *or* bíst	
Twenty-one	víst ek	
Twenty-two, &c.	víst di, &c.	
Thirty	si	
Forty	chhil	
Fifty	penjeh	
Sixty	turrun víst	
Seventy	turrun víst das	
Eighty	chár víst	
Ninety	chár víst das	
One hundred	sad	
Two hundred	di sad	
A thousand	hazar	

Adjectives.

Sick	numshti	bímár, már.
Bad	kumnarrey	kióna.
Good	gahay	arunder.
Great	durónkay, burro	mázin.
Small	túróntay, thoranki	chúchúk.
Black	kálá, kálo	káni, shippia.
White	pannarey	suffeid.
Red	lorey, loley	kunnu.
Yellow	zard	zard, kulp.
Green	kark	sukkul.
Blue	níley	níla.
Cold	siá	súki.
Hot	tottey	khunney.

Adverbs.

English.	*Kurbát.*	*Dúmán.*
Much	bhúyih	phurga.
A little	thoráki	endika.
Enough	basey	nar.
Here	veshli, itan, idhur	búndeh.

Verbs.

To come	pá } imperative	pa.
To go	jó }	jo.
To eat	khám }	khám.
To drink	piún } imperative	piún.
To bring	nán }	winni.
To tell fortune	fál wunnakerim	

Since my visit to the banks of the Indus I am more than ever convinced that from the borders of this classic river originally migrated the hordes of gypsies that are scattered over Europe, Asia, and the northern confines of Africa. The dialects spoken by the numerous tribes which swarm upon the territories adjacent to the Indus, from the sea to the snowy mountains of Himalaya and Tartary, have with those spoken by the gypsies a certain family resemblance, which, like their physical features, cannot be mistaken. At present I find it impossible to place my hand on any particular tribe, and say, This is the parent stock of the gypsies; but as far as my researches have gone, I am rather inclined to think that this singular race derives its origin, not from one alone, but from several of the tribes that constitute the great family of mankind dwelling on or adjacent to the banks of the Indus.

The manners and habits of a singular wandering tribe called the Jats, and their physical appearance, reminded me strongly of the gypsies of Egypt and Syria; and I have requested Mr. Macleod, the collector of customs at Kurrachee, and Lieut. Burton, of the Bombay Army, to procure me short vocabularies of the language of this nomade race.[1]

The Jats wander all over the country, from the confines of Persia, Kurdistan, and Tartary, to the shores of the Indian Ocean. I saw a

[1] See Burton's "Sindh," page 246.

tribe of them living in rude moveable huts and tents, in a wood of babul trees near Goojah, between Kurrachee and the Indus. The Jats must not be confounded with the Játs, another tribe in Scinde.

In the vocabularies collected by Captains Eastwick, Leech, &c., of the dialects of the various tribes of the Indus and Affghanistan, will be found more or less resemblance to that of the Kurbáts—the gypsies of Syria. This resemblance is most striking in words supposed to be of Zend or Sanscrit origin. The numerals of the Kurbáts, and of almost all the tribes of the Indus, is derived from the Sanscrit or Zend and Persian. A few Persian, Turkish, and Arabic words are common to all. The following is a comparative list of the ordinary dialects of Scinde and Laghman, in Affghanistan, with that of the Syrian gypsies.

English.	*Gypsy of Syria.*	*Scinde.*	*Laghman (Afghanistan).*
Father	bábúr	bába	baba.
Brother	bhairú	bhira	
Sister	bhánú	bhen	
A boy	chogo	chhokar	
A star	astara	tara	
Air	vál *and* vái	wá *or* vá	
Fire	ag	bah *and* ag	
Water	páni	páni	
Rain	barsenden	varsát, barsát	
Salt	lón	lún *and* lón	lón.
Milk	khird *or* lebben	khir	
Barley	jow	jow	
Night	arát	rát	
A goat or sheep	bakra	bakkar	
A horse	ghora	ghora	ghora.
A serpent	sanb *or* sanp	sáp *or* sanp	
A fish	machchi	machchi	machh.
A finger	anglú *or* angúl	angúr	
An eye	akki *or* anki	akh	anch.
Hair	vál *or* bál	vár *or* vál	
Ear	kan *or* kannir	kan	kad.
Teeth	dandeir	dand	dan.
Flesh	márs *or* márși	mahs	
An egg	ano	ano	
Book	kitáb	kitab	
Paper	kághaz	kághadh	
Bread	manna	manni	
Mountain or hill	thall	thallo (a mound, Arabic *tel*)	
House	kuri	ghur	
King	pádshah	pádshah	

English.	*Gypsy of Syria.*	*Scinde.*	*Laghman (Afghanistan).*
A year	das di mas *or* verras	várah *or* bára-mah	
A month	mas *or* munh	mahno	
Great	dúronkay *or* barra	varro *or* waddo	
Small	túrontay *or* thóranki	thóro *or* nádho	
Black	kálá, káló	káró	
Yellow	zard	zarda	zard.
Red	lórey *or* loley	lál	
Warm	tottey	kóso *or* tatto	
Enough	basey *or* bas	ghano *or* bas	
Here	veshli, itan, ithur	ithé *or* iddé	
To eat	khám	khian	
To drink	piún	pian	
To bring	nán	anán	
I	man	mun *or* awan	
Thou	to	tun	
He	húi	hú	
Mine	ma-ki *or* man-ki	mun-jo *or* mun-khi	
Thine	to-ki	to-jo *or* to-khi	
His	húi-ki	hina-jo *or* hina-khi	

"A mother" is expressed in the dialect of the Syrian gypsies by the word *aida;* in the Laghman, *pashái;* in the Síah-pósh Kaffir dialects by *ai* or *hai,* which is also used by the Mahrattas.

The Sanskrit word *lón,* "salt," *ankh* or *achi,* "eye," *dánt,* "tooth," *kan,* "ear," *gai,* "cow," *ghora,* "horse," *jow,* "barley," are found with but little variation in the dialects of the Pashai, Laghman, Highlands of Deer, Tirhai, and Siah-pósh Kaffir tribes.

GYPSIES OF PERSIA.

Since last writing I have pursued my enquiries after the gypsies into Persia, and have found them on the great plain of Persepolis, in the blooming valley of Shiraz, in the Bakhtiyar mountains, on the scorched plains of the Dashtistan, and Chaldea. In northern Persia they may be traced to the Caspian, probably far beyond; and easterly, to the deserts of Kerman and Mekran. I have previously mentioned their existence in Scinde, Beloochistan, and Mooltan.

They affect but little the hard scanty fare and uninteresting life of the desert, preferring the vicinity of towns, villages, &c., the fixed abodes of their more industrious brethren, on whose credulity, as in other countries, they partly subsist. They wander about from town to town and from village to village, encamping almost always in their vicinity; perfectly distinct from the pastoral Iliats, Turkomans, Kurds, and other nomades, who are generally found at a distance from the abodes of settled man. Their winter quarters are usually low, warm plains, which they forsake in the summer for the cooler highlands and plateaus.

The ostensible trades of the gypsies of Persia are those of the blacksmith, tinker (Ahangar آهنگر), cattle doctor, winnowing-sieve makers (غربال بند Gherbál band), fortune teller (Fál gír فال گیر), tinners of brass and iron vessels (Safih gar سفیه گر), venders of charms and philtres, conjurers, dancers, mountebanks, carvers of wooden basins, &c. They sometimes practise the art of the gold and silver smith, and are known to be forgers of the current coin of Persia and Turkey. These are the Zergars (زرگر literally "workers in gold") of the tribe. Others sometimes make saddles, and are thence called Zíngar (زینگر); hence (and from Zinganeh, a Kurdish tribe, who are supposed to be of gypsy origin) the Italian, Spanish, and German words for gypsy, viz.—Zingari, Zincali, and Zigeuner.

The professors of these different arts generally wander about in separate bands or "taifehs," and are thought by some Persians to have a separate origin; but identity of feature, and the great similarity of their secret language or jargon, prove them to be of one stock. Two great divisions, however, may be acknowledged in Persia, which comprise all those just mentioned, viz.—

1. The Kaoli (or Ghurbati, identical with the Kurbáts of Syria).
2. The Gáobáz.

Regarding the derivation of these appellations, the Persians and gypsies themselves are at variance; but the most probable inference is that the word Kaoli is a corruption for Kábuli (کابلی), or "of Cabul," whence, Sir J. Malcolm states, Bahram Gour imported twelve thousand musicians and singers into Persia. The dancing girls of Persia go by the general name of Kaoli to this day.

The name Ghurbat, or Kurbát, is also doubtful; but is most commonly supposed to mean a stranger, a wanderer from his country, as

implied by the word Ghurbati (غربتي). The word Gáobáz is still obscure; its literal meaning in Persian (one taking pleasure in cattle) is obvious.

Independent of these Taifehs, are other troops of vagabonds of various tribes, who lead a thieving, gypsy sort of life about the country, under the names of Kaoli and Gáobáz, but who are not to be confounded with the true gypsy.

The true Kaoli and Gáobáz never, or very rarely, intermarry with the Persians, Arabs, or Turks, although outwardly professing Islam, like their brethren in Scinde, Egypt, Irak, and Syria. The Gáobáz, indeed, assert the honour of being Saiyads—a claim stoutly denied them by the Turks, Arabs, and Persians, who regard them as perfectly distinct in origin from themselves, and as outcasts; in short, they regard both Kaoli and Gáobáz much in the same light as the Hindus look upon the wretched Pariah.

The following are a few of their secret words—

	Persian Gypsy.
Father	Bá *or* Bábúr.
Mother	Dái *or* Adai.
Horse	Ghóra.
Egg	Anai *or* Tanai.
Water	Panow.
Ring	Angúshteri.
Night	Arát *and* Show.
Sheep	Bárá *and* Bakra.
Hair	Bál.
Barley	Jow.

These words are nearly identical with the Hindustani, and with the Syrian gypsy, equivalents.

[The following list of words used by the gypsies in Syria was made by Mr. W. Burckhardt Barker, at Aleppo, in September, 1847, and was presented to the Society upon the reading of the foregoing paper. It contains some additional words, and affords some corroborations which may be useful. Mr. Barker's orthography has been retained.—Ed.]

English.	*Gypsy.*	*English.*	*Gypsy.*
Water	panee.	Sea	dengis.
Bread	manna.	Sky	hooah.
Milk	keer.	Fire	ag.
Sun	gām.	Cold	su.
Moon	heiuo.	Hot	tuhtíe.
Man	manns.	My father	babum, ur.
Woman	giour.	My mother	dadum, ur.
Girl	lavtee.	My son	ckroum, ur.
Boy	kroo.	Daughter	labtee.
Horse	uguhra.	Salt	sona.
Good	găe haï.	Camel	deven.
Bad	kumnaray.	Sheep	backrah.
Go	gis.	Death	merish.
Come	pah.	Black	kalah.
This	niha.	Red	louro.
No	nenna.	Sword	turwaur.
Gipsey	doum.	Kill	maros.
Yes	ari.	Barley	djao.
I	ma.	Corn	gehsur.
You	tu.	Cold water	sceildi panee, tahti panee.
He	hoo.		
I eat bread	ma mana kami.	White	braurah.
Drink	nepium.	Straw	biss.
Head	ser.	Cow	goorur.
Eyes	akium.	Cotton	cupep.
Nose	nakoum.	Hunger	beālā.
Mouth	yavorum.	Blood	low.
Hand	habsome.	Melon	karbeza.
Foot	kutchoum.	I want	kaimeh.
One	yek	I wish to go	kaiueckdgaur.
Two	dedi.	Brother	bahr.
Three	serum.	Star	astara.
Four	shtar.	Earth	dool.
Five	peni.	A tree	loura.
Six	shesh.	Spouse	kure.
Seven	heft.	Wiud	vaï.
Eight	hesht.	Goat	bizin.
Nine	neh.	Cat	isuk.
Ten	de.	Day	seratah.
Rain	waursundaw.	Snake	sob.
Mud	chekul.	Fish	machau.
Stone	wat.	Bird	kirkee.

English.	*Gypsy.*
I came from Antioch	ma z'Antuki eiroom.
You came from Antioch	tu z'Antukî eiroor.
Prayer is better than sleep	namaz soeesh guehteri.

Art. XVII.—*Additional Notes upon the Zend Language.* *By* John Romer, Esq.

[*Read 16th June*, 1855.]

[I have lately had an opportunity of resuming the examination of the Zend question, and have put down the result to serve as a "Postscript" to my "Brief Notices,"[1] &c.—J. R., *May*, 1855.]

It is alleged that the invention of a language of so much character and grammatical peculiarity as the Zend is an impossibility, as may be proved by reference to the fictitious Formosan language, and that of the Ásmání Zabán of the Desátír. But the analogy does not hold. These pseudo tongues are the products of pure imagination; both unscrupulous inventions; the execution of the last, clumsy and open to instant detection. But the artificial construction of Zend out of Sanskrit materials (allowing for the deception of the act) proceeded on, and was effected in, a very different manner. A real language, with which the operators were well acquainted (see what Burnouf says of the mobed[2] Neriosingh), was to be taken in hand; the work was facilitated by using an alphabet—that of old Persian—corresponding, in its employment of distinct characters for the short vowels, with that of Sanskrit; the business was skilfully performed, and the knowledge of Sanskrit is so successfully applied, as to complete the fabrication of a language in which Sir William Jones, to his surprise, found six words of pure Sanskrit out of ten of the Zend text, with some of its inflexions formed by the rules of the "Vyákaran." Dr. Wilson observes that Zend shows an approach to Gujarátí idiom and Gujarátí corruption of Sanskrit, which awakened his suspicion. Nevertheless he thinks that none of the exiled and depressed Pársí priests in India could be supposed to have had the ability to invent that language, abounding as it does in analogies with other tongues, but overlooking the fact of Sanskrit being well known among them and used for translations (though the Sanskrit of these translations cannot be called classical) more than three hundred years ago.

[1] Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. v., p. 95, subsequently printed in a separate form.

[2] Burnouf is puzzled at finding a Pársí mobed called by the name of a Hindu divinity, and decides for its being Zend. He would have arrived at the right solution of his difficulty, had he known that the Pársís freely adopt Hindu proper names, mixing them incongruously with those of old Persian heroes and kings; *e. g.* Jamshedjí Manikjí, Rustamjí Ratanjí, &c.

This language with an approach to Gujarátí idiom and Gujarátí corruptions of Sanskrit, taking also Gujarátí words as Kennedy shows, is supposed to have existed from fabulous ages *elsewhere*, on what authority is not shown, and to have been brought to India by the exiled Pársís in the eighth or ninth century. But as the authenticity of these books of the Pársís, the sole depositories of the language called Zend, has never been proved, they cannot be received as evidence of the genuineness of that language; and hence, Sir William Jones, referring to the written specimens of it shown to him by the Pársí Bahman, formed his opinion that the Zend is a late invention of their priests, subsequent at least to the Musulman invasion; the work of exiles long separated from their native land, and the original seats of their overthrown religion.

Is there any record of a people who in any place and at any time spoke Zend? Is there any historical authority for the fact, or does it rest on conjecture only, that a people speaking the language of the Zendavesta were settled in India at some remote period between the time of the Buddhist reformation and the age of the Vedas, whence they emigrated to Persia, and thence re-emigrated to India? Leaving these questions to those who may be able to answer them, let us turn to the Pehleví in its connexion with the Zend. This language, found written interlinear with the Zend, Mulla Fíroz in his day, and now Professor Westergaard, allow to be artificial. It should, however, be observed, that the Pehleví and Zend alphabets differ chiefly in the first using no distinct characters to mark the short vowels. Of an edict said to have been issued by the last Sassanians to suppress Pehlevi as a language, we are unable to speak; but whatever of truth there may be in the story, it is evident that this supposed Pehleví was not the language to which Firdausi first gave that name, declaring it to be the language in which he had written the Sháh Námeh. Pársí and Pehleví (not the interlinear Pehleví of the Parsis) are, according to Firdausi, two names for one language; and his authority must supersede any modern attempt to establish a distinction between them. Spiegel, on the authority it is said of the Mínú Khird, puts Pázend[1] as a third name for the language of the Sháh Námeh. Quite inadmissible. Pázend is a commentary, as the name implies, *written below* the Zend text; and if we accept Firdausi's testimony, *Pársí* is not nearly but altogether identical with *Persian;* and so also, as has been shown, is his Pehleví. No definition contradicting Firdausi's,

[1] The word is modern; if not, let the use of it by Firdausi or his cotemporaries, or any old authority, be shown, or that it will be found in the Táríkh-i-Tabarí or its Persian version, made fifty years before the Sháh Námeh.

as to what was and is pure *Pehleví*, can be accepted, unless supported by evidence as certain and authoritative as his words in the Sháh Námeh. As to learned priests trying to make the writings of the Zendavesta intelligible under the Sassanians by *Pehleví*,[1] later by *Pársí*, later in India by *Sanskrit*, and again later by *Gujarátí* translations: the notion is only adverted to, to mark entire dissent from any distinction being drawn, if intended, between what is called the *Pehleví* of the Sassanians and the *Pársí* of Firdausi. No one would confound the *true Pehlevi* of the Sassanians, or the Pehleví of that version of the "Kalila wa Damna," translated into Arabic by Abdullah Bin Al Mukaffa, who died A.H. 137 (A.D. 755), and the Pehleví of the Sháh Námeh, with the artificial jargon of the same name in the books of the Pársís.[2]

In conclusion. — Referring to the authority of Burnouf, it is objected to the hypothesis of Zend being an artificial language constructed out of Sanskrit, that there are many forms in Zend where Zend is more primitive than Sanskrit, and these very forms here and there are found irregularities and archaisms in the Vedas. Accepting these as facts, it would then appear either that the Zend is an older language than Sanskrit, or that both proceeded from one common source. Sanskrit, a highly refined, rich, and powerful language, has been ancillary to a literature profound, extensive, and varied, dating further back than three thousand years. Zend, lying dead or dormant the while, has only reappeared in the books of the Pársís, where for literature we have writings of the very smallest worth, when not absolute nonsense. Therefore the admission of this relationship between the two languages would be proving too much; and hence we are at liberty to take the more probable side of the question, and not to be called upon to believe that the insufferable drivel of the *Vendidád* was written in the times of the *Rig-Veda*. The etymological feat of deriving *Bohini* from *Svasar*, the tremendous mistake and its life-destroying consequences of writing *Agneh* for *Agre*, and Spiegel's copious list of various readings, should warn us against too readily accepting as archaisms or primitive forms, readings which may be nothing better than the clerical errors of ignorant copyists.

[1] Zend could never be made intelligible by Pehleví, because not one dastúr or mobed of ten who read and understand the Zend, can make anything of Pehleví, from its wanting distinct letters to represent the short vowels.

[2] For specimens of this language, see Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iv., pp. 352, 355, 356, 358, 361, and 362.

ART. XVIII.—*Notes of a Correspondence with Sir John Bowring on Buddhist Literature in China. By* PROFESSOR WILSON, PRESIDENT. *With Notices of Chinese Buddhist Works translated from the Sanskrit. By* REV. E. EDKINS.

[*Read 17th March*, 1855.]

WHEN Sir John Bowring was on the eve of leaving this country for China, he expressed that willingness which might have been expected from his literary and liberal character, to promote any objects of inquiry which the Royal Asiatic Society might desire to have set on foot. There was no time for any communication with the Society, but I took advantage of the opportunity to suggest the desirableness of endeavouring to ascertain the existence of any of the books which were carried from India to China by Buddhist missionaries, in such numbers, during the first six or seven centuries of the Christian era, availing myself of the details furnished on this head by M. Julien, in his life of Hiouen Thsang. The suggestion has been most zealously acted upon by Sir John; and I have the pleasure to lay before the Society some of the results.

My letter and lists were, in the first instance, printed and circulated, as appears by the following communication :—

"ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

"The ollowiug communication having been addressed to the President of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, it has been deemed desirable by the Council to give it circulation, in order that those who are interested in the historical questions connected with this investigation may have an opportunity of furnishing the desired information. "W. H. MEDHURST, Secretary.

"Hongkong, 11th May, 1854.

"'To Dr. Bowring, &c., &c., &c. "'Oxford, 15th February, 1854.

"'My dear Sir,—I send you herewith a list of the Sanskrit works carried to China by Hwen Tsang in the middle of the seventh century, and in great part translated by him, or under his supervision, into Chinese. If any of them, especially the originals, should be still in existence, you would do good service to Sanskrit literature and to the

history of Buddhism by procuring copies. I have no doubt the East India Company would gladly defray any expense in procuring copies for their library.—Yours very truly, " H. H. WILSON.

" Hwen Tsang (Hiouen Thsang of Julien) spent seventeen years in India, studying Sanskrit and collecting manuscripts. In one place it is said he took with him to China 657 works; in another, that he translated 740 works, forming 1335 books. The books were first deposited in the monastery of Hong-fa-sse in the capital, and were afterwards transferred to that termed Ta-tseen-sse, newly erected by the emperor. Hwen Tsang devoted the rest of his life to translating, in which he was encouraged by the emperor, and, on his death in A.D. 650, by his successor. A number of learned men were employed under him as translators and copyists. By the latter a thousand copies were made of the Prajná Páramitá, of the Árya Bhagavatí, Vaishajya guru púrva pranidhána náma Mahávána Sútra, and of the Shat Mukhí Dháraní.

" The following are mentioned among the translations made by Hwen Tsang and his assistants :—

CHINESE NAME.	SANSKRIT NAME.
Pu-sa-tsang-king.	Bodhisatwa Pitaka Sútra.
Fo-le-king.	Buddha Bhúmi Sútra.
Lu-men-to-lo-ni.	Shat Mukhí Dháraní.
Hieu-yeng-ching-kiao-hin.	Saukhyá Shástra.
Ta-shing-o-pi-ta-mo-tsa-si-lu.	Mahávána Abhidharma Sangíti Shástra.
Yu-kia-sse-tí-lun.	Yogáchárya Bhúmi Shástra.

" The first five works in 58 books are described as :—1st, Memoirs of the Bodhisatwas; 2d, Provinces of Buddha; 3d, Invocations of the Six Gates; 4th, Light of Doctrines; 5th, Treatises on the Abhidharma of the Great Vehicle (Mahávána). To these translations prefaces were written by the emperor and the prince royal.

" Kin-kang-pan-jo-po-lo-mi-ta-king. The Prajná Páramitá was translated before, so that it was regarded as ancient, and it was the emperor's wish to have it re-translated. Hwen Tsang at first contented himself with revising it, but finally he completed a new translation. It was finished in A.D. 661, occupying 120 volumes.

" Other translations were the—

She-ta-shing-lung.	Mahávána Sampárigraha Shástra,
The same work, as explained by Shi-thsin or Vasu Bandhu, his commentary.	as explained by Wu-sing-pussa or Abhuna Bodhisatwa, that is to say, his commentary.

Yuen-khi-shing-tao-king.	No Sanskrit name.
Pe-fa-ming-men-lun.	Satadharma Prabhávatí Dwára Shástra.
Li-men-lun.	Nyáya Pravesa táraka (? tarka).
In-ming-lun.	Nyáya Dwára táraka.
In-ming-shu-kiai.	

" These three should be works on logic, the latter being a comment on the former.

Fa-chi-lun.	Abhidharma Jnána Prastara.
Ta-pi-po-shu-lun.	Mahávibhásha Shástra. Of this it is said there were 200 treatises, 100 of which were in China, and were there translated.

" Besides the books translated, it is said that Hwen Tsang took with him to China:—

Yu-kià-lun.	Yoga Shástra.
Shung-ching-li-lun.	Nyáya Anusára Shástra.
Hien-hiang.	?
To-ni-fa-lun.	Abhidharma Shástra.
In-ming-lun.	Shetuvidyá Shástra (Logic).
Shing-ming-lun.	Sabdavidyá Shástra (Grammar).
Chong-lun.	Prájnya Múla Shástra Tíka.
Pe-lun.	Satashástra.
Kwi-she.	Abhidharma Kosha (Lexicon).
Po-sha.	Abhidharma Vibhásha Shástra.
Lu-tso-o-pi-tan.	Shatpádábhidharma Shástra.
Pe-ye-kie-la-nan.	Vyákaranam (Grammar).

" Of the In-ming-lun, he took 36 copies; of the Shing-ming-lung, 13 copies; of the Sútras, 124 works; of the Treatises of the Mahâyána, 90 works.

" Of works of different philosophical schools, the following are specified:

Shang-so-pu.	Sarvásti Vádas,	15 works.
San-mi-le-pu	Sammitíyas,	15 „
Mi-sha-sse-pu.	Mahísásakas,	22 „
Kia-she-pi-ye-pu.	Kásyapíyas,	17 „
Fa-mi-pu.	Dharmaguptas,	42 „
Shwe-i-tsi-yu-pu.	Sarvásti Vádas,	67 „

" The question is, whether all or any of these works, whether in the original Sanskrit or the Chinese translations, are still procurable. The originals would be of very great interest to the Sanskrit scholar.

" Oxford, 15th February, 1854." " H. H. Wilson."

Shortly after the receipt of this communication, I received a short note from Sir John Bowring, forwarding to me the first-fruits of his inquiries, in a packet of Chinese Buddhist books, of which the following is a descriptive list. They are translations of an interesting character; but in their choice of a hero, Amitábha, are evidently not amongst the most ancient of the Buddhist authorities:—

"Description of some Chinese Buddhist Books.

"The packet of four volumes, in a blue cloth case, contains three Sútras. Their collective name is Tsing t'u san king, 'The Three Sútras of the Peaceful Land.' They belong to a particular school, bearing the name Tsing t'u, which has reference to the western heaven, or Sukhavatí, where Amita Buddha resides.

"The largest, 'Wu liang shen king,' in two volumes, is said in a note at the end to have been translated many times; and five versions are still extant. Those of the Han and Wu dynasties were too diffuse; and those of the later periods, T'ang and Sung, too literal. The best of the five was that of the early Wei dynasty, A.D. 220, and it has been followed in the reprint. The translator was K'ai, a priest of the Kong country, in ancient Tibet. The title should be, in Sanskrit, 'Amitábha Buddha Sútra.'

"The second of these books is called 'Kwan wu liang shen king,' 'Gazing on Amitábha Buddha Sútra.' It is translated by Kong long yasha, a foreigner from the west, who lived in China about A.D. 425. The name of the translator is said to mean 'time.'

"The third work, consisting of one thin volume, is the 'Amitábha Sútra,' 'A-mi-ta king.' It is translated by Kumárajíva. It is a very popular work, and is inserted in many commonly-read *recueils* of Buddhist doctrines and duties, as giving a short and authoritative compendium of the 'heaven' of that religion. After the names of the principal persons in the audience are detailed, Shákyamuni addresses Shariputra, and without any of the customary dialogue, proceeds to describe Amitábha, and the 'extremely happy world' in which he resides (Sukhavatí).

"The titles of the three works have each of them the words 'But (Foe)shwo,' 'spoken by Buddha,' at their commencement. Whatever difference may exist in the titles of the first and third, in the Sanskrit originals, it does not appear in these Chinese versions. (These works, and the one that follows, look very unlike the simple moral treatises compiled by Ánanda, and must be attributed to a later date.)

"Another of Kumárajíva's translations is the 'Miau fa lian hwa king,' or 'Fa-hwa king.' The copy sent consists of three volumes.

It is the Chinese version of the Sútra, translated recently by Burnouf from Nepaulese Sanskrit, 'The Lotus of the Good Law." The Chinese copy is frequently abridged, as the comparison with Burnouf shows. A note from the pen of M. Julien, in that work, contains what is known of the history of the translation of this Sútra in China.

"The other work, in three volumes, is a native Chinese Tantra, or T'san. It is called 'T'si pei t'san,' 'The Tantra of Mercy.' Liang Wu ti, emperor of Southern China, A.D. 502 to 550, compiled it on occasion of his empress's death. The preface contains the story of its composition, and states that its use as a prayer-book has ever since been very efficacious.

"The remaining work, in one volume, is called 'Shen men jih sung,' 'Daily Chanting-book for [the followers of] the Jaina school.' It appears to be in use among all Buddhists here, without distinction, as a book of daily prayers. It contains a morning and evening service; extracts from many Sútras; directions for the pronunciation of the characters used in transferring Sanskrit sounds; and is, generally, a *vade mecum* placed in the hands of all who enter on the monkish life.

(Signed) "JOSEPH EDKINS."

"Shanghai, 11th July, 1854."

The following note, dated the 13th July, announces the despatch of some more books, which have not yet arrived.[1] It is to be hoped that the interposition of our representative may be the means of rescuing the relics from the new danger which they incur from the intolerance of the Chinese professors of a distorted Christianity:—

"Shanghai, 13th July, 1854.

"My dear Dr. Wilson,—I again forward you a few Buddhist books, translated from the Sanskrit into Chinese. I am now getting catalogues from the Buddhist libraries, and from the cities where we may expect to find Buddhist compositions. I am the more anxious to collect what I can, as the Tae ping wang people destroy all libraries but their own books; and in the expedition which has lately returned from Nanking, my two commissioners (one of whom was my son, who is in the Bengal Civil Service, and knows something of Sanskrit) found the libraries everywhere destroyed by these rude impostors, whose own compositions are of the most vulgar character, showing that literary gifts are quite wanting among them. * * *

(Signed) "JOHN BOWRING."

[1] They have been received subsequently.—H. H. W.

My last communication is dated the 9th, and forwards a copy of a Chinese work, in ten volumes, procured, as Sir John Bowring states, through the kindness of Mr. Edkins, who is devoting himself especially to this particular part of the field of Chinese literature, and to whom we are indebted for the following particular account of the work in question. From his zeal and scholarship, and from the liberal encouragement of Sir John, we may look forward with confidence to the fullest illustration of the history of Indo-Chinese Buddhist literature, of which it is now capable.

" Off Foo-chow-foo, 9th August, 1854.

" My dear Dr. Wilson, H. M. S. Rattler.

* * * * *

" Mr. Edkins gives me the following account of the volumes now forwarded :—

" ' The Leng yan king (Sútra), of which a MS. copy, in ten volumes, with wooden covers, is now sent, is in some respects the most remarkable of the Buddhist Sútras translated into Chinese. Native Confucianist critics of the highest character speak of it as the best of the whole class. Bhu-fu-tsi, the well-known critic of the tenth century, thought it so good that much of its materials must have been added by his own countrymen. This high position held by the work under notice is owing to the philosophical character of its contents. It is also apparently wrought with the most finished style of composition that a translation admits of. Buddhist books, as a general rule, are in good Chinese idiom, and consequently are read very extensively by the literati. There are no greater favourites with them than this, and the Kin kiang king, the smaller Páramitá Sútra, of which a copy was formerly forwarded. Chinese readers, trained as they are by their peculiar education to an exquisite taste in style, are also fond of metaphysical speculation, as is shown by the popularity of works like these. In both of them are exhibited, in the most unflinching form, what Burnouf calls " the hardy negations " of the Indian philosophy, which turn into a blank the whole world of sensations.

" ' The Sanskrit copy of this work has perhaps been transmitted to England with others from Nepaul. To assist in interpreting it, the story and dialogue at the commencement are here sketched in a very abridged form :—

' Thus have I heard. On a time Buddha was at Sravasti. With him were assembled, in the hall of instruction, the Bhikshus, 1250 in number, all of them great arhans, without fault, &c. [Then

follow the names of disciples, and an allusion to the Bodhisatwas, numerous as the sands of the Ganges, who were gathered to listen to Shákyamuni.] Prasenajit, king of Kosala, was celebrating the death of his father on the anniversary day of the event, by inviting the Buddhist monks to a repast. Shákya himself was present. Others were invited to the residence of a rich inhabitant of the city. Buddha directed Manjusrí to lead the Bodhisatwas and Arhans to the places where food was provided for them. Only Ánanda was absent. He had gone to a distance, and had not with him the two companions that the rules of the order required (the superior, and the Ashali, director). On the highway, travelling alone, no offering of food was made to him. Then, taking his rice-vessel in his hand, he proceeded regularly from door to door along the city thoroughfares. His aim was to beg from those who had not already bestowed their charity. He did not ask if the food that was given were pleasant or not to the taste; nor did he distinguish between Kshatriyas and Chándálas. With undeviating good feeling, he chose not rich or poor, and thus exhibited a perfect and immeasurably meritorious disposition. Ánanda already knew that "the world's honoured one" had blamed his disciples Subhúti and Kásyapa, because they came short of the evenly balanced heart of the Arhans. The former had begged from the rich only, because they could afford to be charitable. The other had begged only from the poor, because they were more in want of the benefits that almsgiving would ensure them. Ánanda had received respectfully the teaching of Buddha, and sought to conform to it. Passing the city moat, he walked slowly through the outer gate; his demeanour was grave, and he was reflecting reverently on the rules of mortification required by the monastic life. At that time, as he begged from house to house, he passed the dwelling of Matenga, a wicked woman who worked a powerful charm, and thus drew him into her inner apartment. His vow of chastity was about to be broken, when Buddha became aware of the peril of his disciple. It was just when his audience of listeners were assembled; the king, chief nobles, and private persons had come for instruction. Then from the head of Tathágata was shed the lustre of a hundred gems,—a mild radiance, from whose midst sprang the thousand-leaved lotus. Upon it appeared Buddha in a newly-assumed form. Cross-legged he sat, and uttered a mighty charm. He then commanded Manjusrí to take this charm, and go to the rescue of Ánanda. With it he was to correct the evil charm, and bring Ánanda and Matenga into the presence of Buddha.

'Ánanda, when he saw the countenance of Buddha, wept as he

fell prostrate before him. He grieved that his work had yet to begin, and that all the instructions he had received had failed to perfect in him the power of virtue. He asked with earnestness to be taught afresh, that he might learn the method of Bodhinera shamatha damma jyána (intelligence, and quiet, serene, transparent reflection). Then, while countless Bodhisatwas, Arhans, and Pratyeka Buddhas from all regions, were listening with rapture, and silently waiting for the sacred utterance of their teacher, he addressed Ánanda :—"You and I, united by the ties of blood, have our dispositions conformed to what is naturally right. Formerly, when your heart led you to embrace my mode of life, what did you see to induce you to abandon the favours and pleasures of the world?" Ánanda replied: "I saw that the thirty-two beauties of the form of Tathágata excelled all beside, and that his body was as transparent as crystal. My constant thoughts told me that this beauty could not be produced by the passions; for the offspring of the passions is gross and impure, incapable of assuming forms of brightness and beauty. Therefore I thirsted to be a follower of Buddha, and undergo the tonsure." Then Buddha replied: "Well said, Ánanda; and you should know that all living things have, through an unbeginning past, been subject to the endless alternation of life and death, because they did not know of that fixed repose, and clear unbroken stillness which constitute the true nature and mind of man. It is because the thoughts are let loose, and riot in wrong courses, that men have to pass round the wheel of change. Would you attain to the state of Bodhi, the unsurpassed intelligence, and have your nature expand itself according to its original purity, rectify the purposes and feelings of your heart. Deliverance from the world of life and death consists in the rectification of the heart. When this is done, the good is reached; and none of the forms of crookedness will thereafter be exhibited, whatever your position may be. Ánanda, I ask you: When your heart was attracted towards the thirty-two beauties of Tathágata, how did you perceive them; and how was your love towards them called forth?" Ánanda replied to Buddha: "World-honoured sage! it was by the use of my eyes and my heart. When my eyes saw the surpassing beauty of Tathágata, my heart loved it, and therefore my desire was awakened to be freed from the revolutions of life and death." Buddha replied to Ánanda: "What you say being true, that your love comes from the eye and the heart, you must know where they are. Otherwise, the evils of the sensations cannot be conquered. Just as a king, in commissioning an army to chastise rebels, must know the place in which the rebels are; for in a moment your eye and mind (heart, the

same word in Chinese) may lead you wroug." Ánanda replied: "All men know that the mind resides in the body; and when I look on Buddha's eyes, blue as the lotus, I know that they are in his countenance." Buddha then said: "As you now sit in the teaching hall of Buddha, and look upon the grove of Guida (in whose garden the house was situated), I ask you where is this building?" The answer was: "This quiet and pleasant hall is in Guida's garden, and the grove is outside." Buddha said: "What do you now first see?" "I see first," was the reply, "Tathágata, and then the crowd of his disciples. Then, gazing outwards, the grove and the garden present themselves." "How is it," he was again interrogated, "that you can see the grove and garden?" "Because," was the reply, "there are doors and windows in the hall." Then the world's honoured one, in the midst of the listening crowd, extended his golden-coloured arm, and touched the head of Ánanda. "There is," he informed him, "a personage called the profoundly-intelligent (Buddha) unsurpassed, perfect, *Leng yan king*,[1] and by whose perfect teaching of the virtues, the Tathágatas have found the path to the sublimest heights of wisdom. Now listen attentively." Ánanda again made a prostratiou, and waited humbly for the merciful instruction. Buddha then said: "When you say you see the grove and garden without, and the assembly of listeners within the hall, it is that you do not see Tathágata, but yet see what is outside, is it not?" The disciple replied: "While Tathágata is present that I should not see him, and yet see trees and fountains without, is what cannot be." Buddha in answer said: "If your mind, which is already bright with intelligence, is really in your body, you would know clearly what is within you. Thus, theu, you first know what is within you, aud then look upon what is external. Although not able to view the heart, liver, and other internal organs, the exterior parts of the body are easily seen. Certainly then you do not know what is within; you only know what is without. Therefore, when you say the intelligent mind is within the body, you must be wrong." Ánanda bowed and replied: "On hearing these instructions, I perceive that my mind is truly not within my body. To use an illustration, a lamp must first shine in the room where it is placed, and afterwards seuds its light through apertures to the outside. Mankind, in not knowing what is within them, and seeing only what is without them, are like a lamp placed outside a house, whence it cannot illumine the interior."

"'This extract is sufficient to show that this Sútra iutroduces the

[1] "What is here called a king, is," says a commentator, "the heart." *Leng* implies certainty, and *yan*, firmness.

reader into the centre of Buddhist thought. What gives it peculiar interest is, that the object at setting out is to find a remedy for the dangers arising from the passions. An example of these dangers is given; and the attempt is made to cure by metaphysical refinements what, in other systems, is undertaken by religion and morality. It was thus that the Hindus preferred to deal with the great questions originated by the struggle between good and evil in the mind of man. There is no more important aspect of the Buddhist system than the prominence assigned by it to speculative opinions, usually contradicting common sense, as the proper means of regulating and renovating human characters. In the fourth chapter, an elaborate proof is given by Buddha, to the full satisfaction of his auditors, that the senses are all deceptive. Sights and sounds, hearing and seeing, with the objects and sensations belonging to the other organs of communication between mind and matter, are consecutively doomed to non-entity.

"'The book thus described was translated, in about the eighth century, into Chinese. Panchimiti, a native of India, was the translator. A priest of Udyana (Uchang or Udjang) explained it; and there have been several native editors and commentators. Its being translated so late, and its containing the names that occur in the more recent Buddhist mythology, show that it is not a primitive Sútra.

"'The other book in these blue-covered volumes is the Peacock Sútra. No translator's name is given. The spelling of names agrees with that of Hwen Tsang, to whom, therefore, it should probably be ascribed. He introduced so many new orthographies for the foreign persons and places famous in the literature of his sect, that it is not difficult to detect him. At any rate, it is not earlier than his era. Whoever was the translator, it does him no credit; its whole object being to extol [the virtues of] certain charms (dhárani), especially one of a royal personage, called the Peacock King, who resided south of the Himalayas, and gave his name to the book. In the novel formed on the adventures of Hwen Tsang, the Peacock Sútra is mentioned as one that he translated. I cannot find any mention of this book elsewhere. The title of the Leng yan king is "Ta Fu ling ju tai mi yin sieu cheng lia i chu Pu sa wan king shu leng yan king," "The certain and firm Classic [Sútra] of the Great, Intelligent, Unrivalled Tathágata, containing the Secret Efficacy, and complete and demonstrated Sense of the Virtues of all the Bodhisatwas.'"

Buddhist Works translated from Sanskrit.

I. Ta po je po lo mi to king (Mahâprajná páramitá Sútra).—120 volumes in twelve covers and 600 chapters, translated by Hwen Tsang. As the first work in the Chinese Tripitaka, it contains at the beginning two imperial prefaces to the whole collection. The present copy of this Sútra is from a recent edition of select Buddhist works. In the five-fold subdivision of the Mahâyána Sútras, the Prajná Sútras occur first.

II. Fang kwang po jo po lo mi king (The light-emitting Prajná páramitá Sútra).—Six volumes, containing thirty chapters, translated in the third century of the Christian era by Mo-la-cha and Chu-so-lau. It stands second in the catalogue of the whole collection. Printed A.D. 1840, from the blocks cut A.D. 1610, preserved at Kiahing.

III. Mo o po jo po lo mi king (Mahâprajná páramitá Sútra).—Six volumes, containing thirty chapters. The abridged translation by Kumárajíva and a coadjutor, of the work afterwards rendered in full by Hwen Tsang. It is third in order in the catalogue of the whole collection. The translations are distinguished by the word Mahá being transferred in the one and translated in the other. It is printed from the Kiahing blocks.

IV. Ta fang kwang fu hwa yan king.—Thirty-two volumes, containing eighty chapters, translated about the seventh century, by Shih-cha-nan-da, a priest of Kho-tan (Udin). A Chinese editor in his preface says, the Buddhist at Twa Lung-shu (Naga Kroshuna) found it in the "Dragon Palace," containing forty-eight sections (pin). The Chinese translation has but thirty-nine sections. With the preceding works I., II., III., it belongs to the Mahâyána, or Great Development Sútras. Its date then may be taken on Chinese authority, as the second century B.C., when Lung-shu lived, which is probably at least two centuries too old. Lung-shu himself may also be regarded as the author. We may conjecture that the other Mahâyána Sútras are of no earlier origin. In a note at the end by a Chinese, Chu-hung, it is said that the first translation was made in the third century A.D. by Buddha Baddala. The present copy is one of a recent edition published at Hangcheu. The third subdivision of the Mahâyána Sútras is called Hwa yan pu, from this work.

V. Ta po ni pwan king (by Dharmalatsin Mahápata Nirvána Sútra, a Brahman of Central India).—Eight volumes in forty chapters,

translated about the fourth century A.D. Appended are two additional chapters, translated a century or two afterwards by Jana Baddala. This work gives its name to the fifth subdivision of Mahâyâna Sûtras.

VI. Kin kang san mei king (The Diamond Sûtra of ecstatic meditation).—This copy has a copious introduction and commentary by Tsih chen, a priest of T'ian tai, the translator's name unknown, three volumes and twelve chapters. It belongs, with VII., to the miscellaneous Sûtras.

VII. Fu shwo ü lan pun king.—This is contained in the larger compilation U-lan-hwei-tswan, containing a commentary on it, and a manual of prayers for the autumn festival of the "hungry ghosts." This Sûtra was translated in the third century A.D. by Chu-fa-hu.

VIII. Fu shwo chang shen.—A Sûtra translated by Buddhapâli, a priest of Cophene.

IX. Fu shwo ta mo li chu pu sa king.—Sûtra of the Bodhisatwa Malichi, translated about the thirteenth century A.D. by T'ian si tsai, a priest from the west.

X. Wu liang i king.—Sûtra of limitless meaning, translated late in the fourth century by the Hindu Dharmagadayasha.

XI. King tsang yo shwo.—A selection of Sûtras, consisting of fifty separate works in five volumes.

Among these will be noticed: Fu shwo tang lai pian king (the Sûtra of coming changes). Translated by Chu-fa-hu, in the third century. Others by the same; four in all.

Pu sa seng ti king (Sûtra of the living abode of the Bodhisatwas).—Translated by Chi kian, an Upâsaka from the Getæ country; second century. Another by the same.

Shan hing fa sung king.—Translated in the second century by An-shi-kan, of the An-si country. Another by the same.

Wen chu si li wen pa ti king (the Sûtra of Manjusrí's inquiries on knowledge). — Translated by Kumárajíva. It has also been translated three times subsequently.

Chĕng tsan ta chĕng kung te king (the Sûtra in praise of the merits of the Mahâyâna).—Translated by Hwen Tsang.

Almost the whole of these fifty works were translated previously to the ninth century.

XII. Fu ting tsun sheng to lo ni chen king.—Sútra of Buddha's most honoured and super-eminent Dháraní (charms). Translated about the eighth century, by Buddhapáli of Cophéne.

XIII. Fu pun hing tsi king.—Sútra of the collected acts of Buddha. Translated at the close of the sixth century by Chanakitta, a Hindu, in twelve volumes and sixty chapters. This work belongs to the smaller development Sútras; as such, the interlocutors do not embrace the more recent mythological Bodhisatwas and Buddhas of the Maháyána.

XIV. Yuan kio sien to lo lian i king.—Sútra of the meaning of the Sútra of complete perception. Translated by Buddhatala of Cophéne.

XV. Fan wang ho chu.—Collected comments on the Fan wang Sútra. The Fan wang king belongs to the Maháyána Vinaya pitaka, second division of the general Buddhist collection, treating of discipline according to the great development system. The part explained and included in the present work is the section on the heart of the Bodhisatwa,—Pu sa sin ti hin. The translator was Kumarajíva. The commentator and editor were Chi hien and Tan fang, Chinese Buddhists of two or three centuries ago. In three volumes and five chapters. The word "king," properly answering to Sútra, is also used for most of the works in the Kivaya division.

XVI. Tsai kia lin yan kwang tsi.—Collection of important works on discipline for the Buddhist laity, edited by Chi hien. It contains fifteen works in three volumes. The following will be noticed:

An Extract from Si fun lin tsang.—Collection of the description of four divisions. It contains a short and interesting account of the first Upásakas and Upásikás, or persons submitting to Buddhist rules, but remaining in their houses. Translated about A.D. 500 by Buddhayagama, assisted by Chu fa nian.

Kiai siau tsai king.—Sútra for avoiding suffering by submitting to the Buddhist rules.

Fu shwo chai king.—Sútra of fasting. Both these were translated by Chi kian, an Upásaka from the Getæ country, about A.D. 200.

Extracts from Fan wang king, with commentary.

Extract from Upása kiai king.—Sútra of the rules of the Upásakas. Translated by Dharmalatsus.

Works translated from Sanskrit by Hwen Tsang and others.

A. Ch'ing wei shih len sui su, in ten volumes. This is an edition of a Shástra, with a commentary translated by Hwen Tsang. The author was Dharmapara Bodhisattwa (hu fa p'u sa), a native of Southern India. But before his time Vasubandhu Bodhisattwa (t'ian ts'in p'u sa), a native of Northern India, had, within 900 years after Buddha's entrance into the Nirvána, written a Shástra in thirty-three divisions, in verse, named, Wei sheh sau shï len, being an abridgment of the fifth section of the Yü k'ia sï ti len, and this formed the basis of the present Shástra, entitled Ch'ing wei shih len. The latter is a commentary on the former, but being partly based on the Pe fa len, (Hundred laws Shástra), and also embracing discussions on other subjects, it received not the name of a commentary, but of a Shástra. It is also called Tsing wei sheh len (Shástra of pure reflection and knowledge). The commentary (sui su) is by a native of Si chwen province.

B. Ch'ing wei shih len wen shih ping ki.—The same Shástra, with a commentary by Wu-shu-hü, in five volumes.

C. Yin ming ju ching li len lieu ki.—This is a Shástra translated by Hwen Tsang. The preface says, "The yin ming Shástra is one section of the Wu (five) ming Shástra of India. Of this larger work there are two editions, the Wai (outer) wu ming Shástra, and the Nui (inner) wu ming Shástra. The former is a common book of study among the people. Its first section is on sound (Shing ming), explaining old words, and old meanings of words, as is done in our dictionaries, the Kï Ya, Tsï-hwei, etc. The second (Ki'au ming) is on the arts and cunning inventions, with astrology and mathematics, such as books on similar subjects in our own country. The third (i fang ming), is on the physician's art, containing charms for curing the sick without medicine, and an account of the modes of treatment by puncturing and cupping, with mineral and vegetable remedies. In our own literature we have similar productions.

The fourth section (Yin ming), discusses the true and the false in doctrine, illustrating the one, and condemning the other.

The fifth section (Fu yin ming), is on writing, drawing, seals, and engraving, resembling our books on various kinds of writing. In India

(Si yu) boys read this work after they are seven years old. Before that time they are taught the "Twelve Chapters."

The Nui wu ming len is a work of Buddha himself. Pitying those who only knew what was coutained in the Wai wu ming len, or what belongs to common life, he undertook to remould it. He placed the first and fifth sections together, and introduced as the fifth, a new one called nui ming len. In this he explained the five developmeuts (Mahâyâna) aud the doctriue of retribution. Bodhisattwas and those who study the Mahâyâua can understand it, but others not.

Yin is explained as cause, or the ground of a doctrine, ming is clear, or, to make clear. Together they signify "explanatiou of fundamental knowledge" (logic).

The author was Shang-k'ih-la Bodhisattwa.

The Chinese commentator and writer of the preface from which the above extract is made, was Wu-shu-hü, who resided at Hangcheu, iu the middle of the eighteenth century.

D. Pei hwa king, Sútra of the Lotus of mercy. In three volumes. Translated by Damots'in, a Hindu, in the time of the Northern Liang dynasty, in the fourth century of our era. At the commencement, Shákyamuni describes to his disciples a world in the south-east, called the Lotus (hwa) world, governed by the Lotus Buddha. When he has finished, a Bodhisattwa, one of his auditors, contrasting the splendour and happiness of that world, with the misery and vice of the present one, asks Buddha why he prefers to reside in the latter? He replies, From compassion for its suffering inhabitants, and desire to save them.

E. Kin kang pe je po lo mi (in old Chinese, pat nia pa la mit) king. An edition in large characters of the Diamond Prajná páramitá Sútra, translated by Kumárajíva.

After the preface there is a list of the commentators on this Sútra, in all seventeen, exclusive of Yang-wen-lung, the commentator in the present edition. Among them are Chï-che, the founder of the T'ian-t'ai school. Hwai-neng, the fifth successor of Bodhidharma, as patriarch, and Wang-ji-hieu, the writer of the Ts'ing tu wen. It is in two volumes. Hwen Tsang's translation of the Heart Sútra (Mahâprajná páramitá (heart) Sútra) is placed at the end. It is said in the Wen hian t'ung k'an that the kin kang Sútra is the 577th chapter of the Mahâprajná Sútra. The latter was delivered by Buddha in sixteen assemblies. The kin kang Sútra belongs to the ninth.

F. Wei mo kie so shwo king. A Sútra spoken by Wei mo kie (in old Chinese Vi-ma-kit). In the Wen hian t'ung kan, it is said that Vimakita means "pure." The person so named was a believer in Buddha, without becoming a monk. Buddha sent Manjusrí to visit him when sick. The conversation that took place is given in this Sútra. It bears the name of Kumárajíva, who was the translator of forty separate works. The scene is laid in the city Vaïs'ali (Pi-she-li, old Chinese, Be-sha-li). The work consists of one volume in three chapters. In the first chapter the pure kingdom of Buddha is described, then the character of Vimakita. The third and fourth sections of the same chapter give the excuses of ten disciples and four Bodhisattwas to Shákyamuni, for non-compliance when asked by him to visit Vimakita. He had opposed them in argument with such consummate ability, that they did not dare undertake to visit him. In the second chapter, Vimakita appears as teacher, and Manjusrí and Shâriputra are the principal interlocutors. In the third they come together to the garden where Buddha is discoursing, and a conversation with him then takes place, demonstrating Vimakita's progress, while still a layman, in knowledge of the law. The text throughout appears to be, the pure kingdom of Buddha, and the object is to shew, that without quitting the world, a deep acquaintance with the Buddhist doctrine may be obtained.

G. Fu ting tsun shing to lo ni king.—The exceedingly honourable and unrivalled Dháraní Sútra of Shákyamuni. This is a discourse between Buddha and Shakra on a certain charm. The preface details the particulars of ten translations of this paltry production, chiefly in the T'ang dynasty. The translator of this edition is Buddapala, a native of Kifin (Cophéne). It is included in the Imperial collection of Buddhist books.

H. Shan men ko sung tsih yan.—This is a collection in two volumes of several of the smaller Buddhist Sútras, with two other small works.

It is prefaced by an account of the introduction of Buddhist literature into China. The first of the Sútras is (1). Fu shwo sï shï urh chang king. The Sútra of forty-two sections. It was translated by Kásyapamadanga and Tsu-fa-lan, the first Hindu translators who visited China. Its date is therefore the first century of our era. The brevity of the work, and the absence of the mythological Bodhisattwas seem to indicate that it is a genuine production of primitive Buddhism. Shákyamuni describes in forty-two paragraphs the four-

fold division of his disciples as Arhans, etc.; the duties of those who assume the monastic vows, the ten vices, the danger and folly of vice, etc. From Burnouf's examination of the Nepaul manuscripts, it appears, that the small works (which he considered to be the oldest) of that collection, were similar in structure and materials to this and the two following Sútras.

(2.) Fu i kian king.—The last words of Buddha. This Sútra was translated by Kumárajíva. The arguments for the genuineness of this are the same as for the one preceding and following; but neither of them begins with the usual formula of Ánanda: "Thus have I heard."

(3.) Pa ta jin kio king.—The Sútra of the eight perceptions of the great man. This is translated by the Shramana (Sha-men) An shï kan of the Han dynasty (say, the second century). In a very small space it contains an epitome of the moral principles of Buddhism, its view of human life, and the way to escape from it.

(4.) Yo sï liu li kwang ju lai pen yuen kung teh king.—This work is translated by Hwen Tsang from the Árya Bhagavatí Vaishajya guru púrva pranidhána náma Mahávána Sútra.

(5.) Fu shwo A-mi-ta king.—The Amitábha Sútra, spoken by Buddha. The translator is Kumárajíva.

(6.) Pa shï pa Fu ts'an hwei king.—The Sútra of repentance of the eighty-eight Buddhas. No author's or translator's name is given. The eighty-eight Buddhas are invoked in succession by name.

(7.) Tsing tu wen.—Discourse on the pure land. A Chinese production, the author of which is not known. It contains invocations and prayers to Amitábha Buddha, and references to the Bodhisattwas worshipped by the Tsing tu school, viz., Kwan shï yin and Ta shï chï.

(8.) Niau Fu yuan k'i.—Introduction to the invocation of Buddha. It consists of a few prayers to the same personages as in (7.)

Works by Native Chinese Buddhists.

(1.) Yün t'si fu hwei.—"Collection of matters pertaining to the Yünt'si system," by the Shaman Chu-hung of the Yünt'si monastery in Hangchow. This work consists of thirteen volumes, the last containing a portrait with biography and memorials of the author. He lived at the close of the sixteenth century, when the Roman Catholic missionaries began to propagate their religion in China. The work contains some strictures on the doctrine they taught, and replies to

some of their objections against Buddhism. The author belonged to the Tsing-tu school, which in the form he gave it, took the name of Yün t'si. The first six volumes contain his works published by himself; the next four consist of his letters, posthumous papers, and scattered essays; the remainder give an account of the monastery and order that he founded, still existing at Hangchow, with the tablets, monastic regulations, and biographical details.

(2.) Lung shu tsing tu wen.—This treatise has been translated by Schott in his work on the Buddhism of China and High Asia. The author was Wang jih hien, also called, Lung shu, a Chinese Tsin si, or Doctor of Literature. It is edited by Chu-hung, the author mentioned above. The object of the work is to recommend the doctrines of the Tsing-tu sect. The eleventh and twelfth chapters are taken from the works of other Buddhist writers, and consist of extracts laudatory of this sect. Schott has shewn how the doctrine here inculcated of a sensuous paradise, where Amitábha Buddha grants immortality to all who become his worshippers, contradicts the tenet of annihilation or absorption in the Nirvána, as maintained by other Buddhist sects. The work consists of two volumes.

(3.) Yün t'si tsing tu hwei ü in two volumes. This work contains parts of the productions of Chu hung, or as he is usually called Hian ch'i ta sï, "the great teacher of the Lotus lake."

(4.) Tsing nih jen hiang tsih.—This is a collection of biographical notices of Chinese Buddhists. The writer belongs to the Tsing-tu school.

(5.) Sï tsi ta sï yih kan.—A collection of tracts in prose and verse, recommending the Buddhist doctrine and mode of life. The author is a Chinese Buddhist who resided at Hangchow at the close of the seventeenth century. He advocated the Tsing-tu doctrine. He is called "the even minded teacher," (Sï tsi ta sï).

(6.) Lian tung tsih yan.—A collection of passages from various works of the Tsing-tu school, here called the school of the "Lotus" (lian). The Amita Buddha Sútra is placed first.

(7.) Twan tsi sin yan.—Compendium of the heart doctrine which frees from all bonds. This is a catechism of the Shau men doctrine, advocating attention to the heart as much superior to the study of the

sacred books. Its author was a pupil of Hi yün, a teacher of the esoteric school, in the fourth generation from the sixth patriarch. The modern editor gives an account of Hi yün in an appendix. The author dates his preface in the year A.D. 857.

(8.) Kwei yuan king.—The mirror (in which are displayed examples) of return to the original (state of rest and purity made known in the Buddhist system). This is a Buddhist play of the Tsing-tu school, by Chi Tu, a Hangchow priest, written not earlier than the seventeenth century. Such plays are acted not in Buddhist but in Tauist temples. They are like other plays, arranged for chanting and reciting in alternate passages. To the parts to be sung the names of the airs are prefixed. The parts recited are in the Northern or Mandarin dialect, having a greater or less admixture of the book style, according to the taste of the author. The first scenes are taken from the Amitábha Sútra, the text book of the Tsing-tu sect. In the remaining parts, three of the chief promoters of that school in China are introduced. They are Hwai yuen (called from the place of his residence Lu San), of the Tsin dynasty A.D. 400, Yung ming and Yün t'si (chu hung). Yung ming originally belonged to the Sha men (esoteric sect), but left it for the Tsing tu men.

(9.) Tan king.—A work in one volume, by the disciples of the sixth patriarch, or fifth successor of Ta-mo (Bodhidharma), containing his teaching. With several of the following works it belongs to the Shan or esoteric school. It appears to be the only book by a Chinese Buddhist dignified with the name of King (Sútra).

(10.) Ling tsin i pin shan sï ü lu.—A work in one volume, containing the instructions (ü lu) delivered orally by Ipin, a teacher of the esoteric school (Shan sï), who lived at the close of the last century. It was compiled by his pupils. Ling tsin is the name of a temple he frequented.

(11.) Ta pei p'u kio shan sï shu kiuan.—A work of the year 1580, in one manuscript volume. It is of the class called ü lu, containing oral instructions by teachers of the esoteric school.

(12.) Yung ming sin fu chu.—A work in two volumes, by Yung ming, an esoteric teacher of the Sung dynasty (vide supra). This is an abridgment by the author, of a larger work called Tsung king pe kiuan. "The mirror of the esoteric doctrine in one hundred chapters."

It was ordered to be reprinted by the Manchu emperor, Yung ching. This edition is dated 1838. Yung ching's preface is prefixed.

(13.) Min yin chï pin shan sī lu.—A work in one volume, containing the oral instructions of the esoteric teacher Chi pin, compiled by one of his pupils. He lived at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

(14.) Ju shï tan p'ing sin len.—This is an apology for Buddhism, by a native writer. He compares the three religions : Ju, that of the literati ; Shi, the religion of Sákya ; Tau, that of reason ; and defends his own from the attacks that have been made upon it. It contains numerous allusions to the history of this, and the other two religions, in China.

15. Hwa yan yuan jin lun ho kiai.—One volume. A discussion on the principles of Buddhism, respecting the origin and destiny of human nature. With it are compared in a learned manner the tenets of Confucianism and Tauism on the same subject. The author was Tsung mi, a priest of the Tang dynasty ; the commentator, Yuan kio, of the Yuan dynasty.

16. Kin kang pe je po lo mi king po kung lun.—A treatise, by Chi hien, a priest of the Ming dynasty, expounding the Diamond Sútra (translated by Kumárajíva), and showing the emptiness of all visible things.

17. Pe chang tsung lin tsing kwei cheng i ki.—Six volumes. A modern edition of the work called Tsĭng kwei (the regulations of the Buddhist priesthood). Pe chang, a monk of the Tang dynasty, was the author ; but various changes have been made in it, as the lapse of time required. It contains forms of worship for the birthdays of Buddhas and Bodhisatwas, and other special occasions, as for rain, snow, and against locusts ; also for the anniversaries of the deaths of celebrated Chinese Buddhists. The fourth and fifth volumes contain the regulations to be observed by the officers of the monastery, at the admission of neophytes, &c.

18. Shu ho tian t'ai san shing shi tsiuan tsi (the collected poetry of three priests of Tian tai). The emperor Yung ching, A.D. 1733, wrote a preface to this work. The three priests were Fung kan, Han shan, and Shih te, and they lived in the seventh century, at Tian tai near Ning po. In two volumes.

19. Tung tsung shï tsi i wen. (Description of doubtful points in the succession of the Tsau tung school).—The volume contains many notices, biographical, literary, and historical, of the esoteric schools and their authorship.

20. Jih ko pian mung. (Daily lessons for the use of the neophytes).—This volume contains invocations, prayers, magical formulæ, etc., and was composed A.D. 1730, by a priest at Peking.

21. Ta fang kwang fu hwa yan king yan kiai. Explanation of the Hwa yan Sútra.—By Kiai huan. In two volumes.

22. Ta ching chi kwan shi yan.—Explanation of the principles of the Chi pwan or Tiăn tai school. By Chu hien. Four chapters in two volumes.

23. Ki tsiang pan tsàn. A mi ta fu pan tsàn. Ta pei sin tsan. Three of the liturgical works called "Tsan," in one volume. They are addressed respectively to Manjusrí, Amitábha Buddha and Kwan yin (Avalokiteswara). Works of this class probably correspond to the Nepaulese Sútras which Burnouf describes.

24. Kei ta tsăng sü.—Prefatory note to the reprint of the great Buddhist collection; other details are given having reference to the successive editions of the three Pitaka in China.

25. Chu king jih sung.—Daily readings from the Sútras. The first volume contains the Diamond Sútra, that of Yo sï, the eastern Buddha, a section of the Fa hwa king, the Sútra of the feasts of hungry ghosts, the smaller Nirvána Sútra, magical formulas, Sútra of the bloody basin, etc. The second gives the forms for morning and evening service.

26. Chu pan king tsăn chï yin.—The correct sounds of characters used in the Sútras and Liturgical works. This list gives the sound and meaning of all foreign and uncommon words in twenty-two of the commonest works. They are arranged in the order of their occurrence. The sounds are expressed by means of symphonetic characters.

27. Hai nan Jih cho ho pian.—Notices of Pü to or Hai nan. Part I. contains ten chapters in four volumes. Part II. thirty-two chapters

in six volumes. The whole refers to Pü to, the Buddhist Island, and its tutelary goddess, Kwan yin. It is a collection of legends, historical documents, extracts from Sútras, and various other details.

28. Shi u ho shang ü lu. — Discourses of the monk Shi u, A.D. 1333.

29. U kia yan ken shï shï yan tsi.—Book of prayers and directions for the festival of the hungry ghosts. At the beginning is a page of Sanskrit words with the pronunciation.

30. Fa yuan chu lin.—A Buddhist Encyclopædia in the order of subjects. One hundred chapters in forty-eight volumes, by Tan shi, a monk of the T'ang dynasty; about A.D. 700. A recent reprint.

A Further Collection of Chinese Buddhist Works from Sir John Bowring.

Subsequently to the receipt of the works described in the preceding lists, a further collection has arrived, of which the following, as described in a communication with which we have been favoured by M. Julien, are of more than ordinary interest.

1. I-tsi-king-in-i.—Twenty-six books in five fasciculi. The title signifies "Words and Meanings of all the Sacred Books;" but it is not so much a dictionary of Buddhist terms, as a collection of notes upon the most important of the Buddhist expressions in their writings. It is the compilation of Hwen-ing, one of the fellow-labourers of Hwen Tsang, who is noticed in M. Julien's life of the latter. The Emperor Kia-khing, who reigned from 1796 to 1820, had it included in the great dictionary in sixty volumes, compiled and published by his orders.

2. Khai-yuen-chi-kiao-lu.—Twenty books with supplement, in eight thick volumes. A general catalogue of all the Buddhist works translated from Sanskrit, or written in Chinese, under the reigns of the Thang dynasty, between the years A.D. 713—741. The work

contains a list of all the books translated from Sanskrit by Hwen Tsang.

3. Fa-hoa-whai-i.—Eighteen books in eight volumes. Collection of the meanings of the words of the sacred book, the Lotus of the excellent law. The text is translated by Kiu-mo-lo-shi (S. Kumárajíva), who flourished between A.D. 397—417. The preface states that the compilation of the Notæ variorum was made by a certain Ngin-i, but does not specify his date. The translation by Kumárajíva has been received before at Paris, but not the commentary. It is of great perspicuity, but there are abbreviated passages, and some omissions which are noticed by Hwen Thsang. It will enable, however, M. Julien to correct a number of errors which have escaped Burnouf in his translation of the "Lotus de la Bonne Loi." In one place, the author speaks of the difficulty of meeting with a genuine Buddha, or one enlightened by the acquirement of Bodhi; and he uses this illustration:—"It is as if a blind tortoise were desirous of finding a hole in a piece of timber afloat on the ocean." This passage is thus rendered by M. Burnouf:—"It is like a tortoise whose neck has been fixed in a yoke afloat on the ocean." M. Julien purposes to examine carefully without entering upon any criticism, the principal differences which exist between the translation of M. Burnouf and that of Kumárajíva. It cannot but be regarded as a very curious incident in literary history, that a translation from Sanskrit made in China in the fourth century into Chinese, should be collated with a similar translation into French, made fifteen hundred years afterwards, and without any communication between the two works.

4. Ta-pan-ni-pan-king, or in S. Mahá-parinirvána Sútra.—Text of the schools of South or Southern India. Thirty-six books in seven volumes. This translation was executed between A.D. 420—436, under the Li-ang dynasty, by Tan-wan-tsan, or S. Dharmadrisa, an Indian monk versed in the three great Buddhist series of works, and thence entitled Tripitaka Áchárya. The translation was retouched under the Song dynasty, who reigned from A.D. 420 to 477, by three Indian professors of Buddhism, named by the Chinese Whai-yen, Whai-kuwan, and Sie-ling-yun.

5. Ling-kia-o-po-to-lo-pao-king.—Four books in one volume. S. Lankávatarana Maháyána Sútra. Translation by Kiu-na-po-to-lo (S. Guna bhadra), Indian Buddhist monk, also entitled Tripitaka Áchárya, who lived under the Song dynasty A.D. 420—477.

6. Chong-lun.—Six books in one volume. "Treatise of the Middle Doctrine" Madhyamika, founded by Nâgârjuna. The catalogue of Sanskrit Buddhist books from which M. Julien has extracted 900 titles, calls this work Prajná múla Sástra Tíká, which indicates a commentary that is wanting in the present volume. The translation is by Kumárajíva, the translator of the Sad-dharma Pundarika, the Lotus of the Good Law, the same who is mentioned in Article 3.

Of these six books, four are dated from the end of the fourth to the middle of the fifth century; the other two are of the eighth century, and are said to be worked off from the very same blocks that were cut for Hwen Thsang, and have been preserved in a Buddhist monastery for a thousand years,—a circumstance that encourages the hope that a search after the Indian originals may not prove utterly in vain.

Art. XIX.—*Extrait du Livre IV. des Mémoires de Hiouen-thsang.* Translated by M. Julien.

[*Read* 21*st April*, 1855.]

ROYAUME DE TSE-KIA.[1]

(Notice traduit du Sanscrit par Hiouen-thsang.)

Le royaume de *Tse-kia* (Tchêka) a environ dix mille lis de tour. A l'est, il s'appuie sur la rivière *Pi-po-che* (Vipâçâ) ; à l'ouest, il est voisin du fleuve *Sin-tou* (Sindh-Indus). La circonférence de la capitale est d'environ vingt lis. Le sol convient au riz, et produit beaucoup de bled tardif. On en tire de l'or, de l'argent, du *Teou-chi* (cuivre jaune),[2] du cuivre (rouge), et du fer. Le climat est très-chaud, et l'air est souvent troublé par des tourbillons de vent. Les habitants sont d'un caractère violent et emporté, et leur langage est bas et grossier. Ils s'habillent avec des étoffes d'une blancheur éclatante qu'on appelle *Kiao-che-ye* (Kâuçêya-soie), et portent des vêtements rouges comme le soleil levant, &c. Peu d'entre eux croient à la loi du *Bouddha ;* la multitude adore les esprits du ciel. Il y a dix *kia-lan* (Sañghârâmas), et plusieurs centaines de temples des dieux (Dêvâlayas).

Il y avait jadis, dans ce royaume, un grand nombre de maisons de bonheur (*Pounyaçâlâs*), où l'on secourait les pauvres et les personnes dans le besoin. Tantôt, on y distribuait des médicaments, tantôt de la nourriture. Grâce à cette ressource, les voyageurs n'avaient pas à souffrir des atteintes de la faim.

A quatorze ou quinze lis au sud-ouest de la capitale, on arrive à l'antique ville de *Che-kie-lo* (*Cákala*). Quoique ses murs soient détruits, les fondements sont encore solides. Cette ville avait environ vingt lis de circonférence. Au centre, on a construit, en outre, une petite ville qui a six à sept lis de tour, et dont les habitants sont riches et aisés. C'était l'antique capitale de ce royaume.

Plusieurs siècles auparavant, il y eut un roi nommé *Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo* (Mahirakoula) qui établit sa résidence dans cette ville. Il devint le souverain des cinq Indes. Il était doué de talent et de sagacité, et avait un naturel bouillant, et un courage intrépide. Parmi les rois voisins, il n'y en avait aucun qu'il n'eut soumis à sa puissance. Dans les moments de loisir que lui laissaient les affaires publiques, il voulut étudier la loi du *Bouddha*. Il ordonna qu'on choisît, parmi les reli-

[1] Inde du Nord.

[2] Suivant un auteur qui cite le dictionnaire de *Khang-hi*, on obtient le *Teou-chi* en fondant, par parties égales, du cuivre (rouge) et de la calamine.

gieux, un homme d'une vertu éminente et qu'on le lui présentât. En ce moment, aucun des religieux n'osa répondre à l'appel du roi. Ils avaient, en général, peu de désirs, n'avaient nul goût pour la vie active, et ne se souciaient point d'acquérir de la renommée. D'un autre côté, ceux qui possédaient un profond savoir, et étaient doués de hautes lumières, craignaient l'autorité imposante du souverain. A cette époque, il y avait dans la maison du roi, un ancien serviteur qui depuis longtemps, avait adopté les vêtements de couleur (l'habit de religieux). Il savait discuter d'une manière claire et élégante, et se distinguait par la richesse et la fécondité de son éloeution. L'assemblée l'ayant présenté d'une voix unanime pour qu'il répondît à l'appel du roi, "Je crois à la loi du *Bouddha*, s'écria le Prince, et après que j'eus cherché au loin un religieux renommé, l'assemblée des couvents m'a présenté ce serviteur pour discuter avec moi. J'avais toujours cru que, parmi les religieux, il y avait une foule d'hommes sages et éclairés. Par ce qui arrive aujourd'hui, je sais à quoi m'en tenir. Comment pourrais-je désormais leur montrer du respect?"

Là-dessus, il publia un décret qui ordonnait d'abolir, dès ce moment, la loi du *Bouddha* dans tous les royaumes des cinq Indes; d'expulser les religieux, et de ne pas en laisser un seul.

Pó-lo-ó-tie'-to (Bâlâditya), roi de *Mo-kie-to'* (Magadha) avait un profond respect pour la loi du *Bouddha*, et chérissait tendrement le peuple. Comme le roi *Ta-tso-wang*, (Mahirakoula) infligeait injustement des supplices, et exerçait une cruelle tyrannie, il gardait lui-même ces frontières, et refusait de lui payer le tribut.

Dans ce moment, le roi *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula) leva une armée pour aller le châtier. Le roi *Yeou-ji* (Bâlâditya), connaissant sa réputation, parla ainsi à ses ministres: "Je viens d'apprendre que les ennemis arrivent. Je ne puis me décider à lutter contre leurs troupes. J'ose espérer que tous les magistrats me le pardonneront, et n'incul peront point ma conduite, et qu'ils permettront à ma chétive personne d'aller chercher secrètement un refuge au milieu des plaines couvertes d'herbes."

Après avoir ainsi parlé, il sortit de son palais, tantôt gravissant les montagnes, et tantôt s'arrêtant dans les champs déserts. Tous les hommes de son royaume, ayant été comblés de ses bienfaits, il y en eut plusieurs *wan* (*wan* veut dire dix mille) qui, par affection, voulurent suivre ses pas, et fuyant avec lui, allèrent s'établir sur des îles.

Pendant ce temps-là, le roi *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula) confia le commandement de ses troupes à son frère cadet, et s'embarqua pour aller attaquer le roi *Yeou-ji* (Bâlâditya). Celui-ci (sortant de sa retraite) alla garder les défilés de son royaume, et envoya la cavalerie légère

provoquer l'ennemi. Dès que le tambour eut donné le signal du combat, des soldats intrépides surgirent de tous côtés, prirent vivant *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula), et, le ramenant avec eux, vinrent le présenter au roi. Le roi *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula), honteux de sa défaite, se couvrit le visage avec le pan de son vêtement. Le roi *Yeou-ji* (Bâlâditya) était assis sur un trône, supporté par des lions (*Siñhâsanam*), et il était entouré de ses nombreux officiers. Il ordonna alors à un des ministres qui étaient assis à ses côtés, de parler ainsi à *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula) : "Découvrez votre visage, je veux vous parler."

Ta-tso (Mahirakoula) répondit : "Le sujet et le maître ont réciproquement changé de rôle, et des ennemis irrités ont les yeux sur moi. Comme il n'existe plus entre nous de relations d'amitié, à quoi bon me parler en face ?"

Le même ordre lui ayant été répété trois fois, il y résista jusqu'à la fin. Alors le roi ordonna qu'on lui reprochât ses crimes dans les termes suivants :—" Les trois *Précieux* et le champ du Bonheur servent d'appui à tout le peuple. Tu t'es abandonné à la cruauté, comme une bête féroce, et tu as détruit les effets de tes vertus passées. C'est pourquoi le bonheur a cessé de te protéger, et aujourd'hui tu es devenu mon prisonnier. Tes crimes ne méritent aucun pardon, et la justice veut que tu sois puni de mort."

Dans ce même moment, la mère du roi *Yeou-ji* (Bâlâditya) qui était douée d'un vaste savoir, et qui excellait dans l'art de la physionomie, apprit qu'on allait ôter la vie à *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula). Elle accourut vers le roi *Yeou-ji* (Bâlâditya), et lui parla en ces termes : "J'ai ppris que *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula) est d'une beauté remarquable, et qu'il est rempli de prudence ; je désire le voir un instant."

Le Roi *Yeou-ji* (Bâlâditya) ayant fait conduire *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula) dans le palais de sa mère, cette princesse s'écria : "Hélas ! *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula), gardez-vous de rougir de honte ! Rien n'est stable au monde, et l'on voit la gloire et l'ignominie se succéder tour à tour. Je me regarde comme votre mère, et vous comme mon fils. Il faut que vous découvriez votre visage pour me répondre quelques mots."

"Auparavant," dit *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula), "j'étais le prince d'un royaume ennemi, aujourd'hui je suis un prisonnier de guerre ; j'ai laissé tomber ma royauté, et j'ai vu abolir les sacrifices de mes ancêtres. Je rougis à la fois devant mes aïeux et devant mon peuple. En vérité, je suis couvert de confusion. Vainement j'élève mes yeux au ciel, et je les abaisse vers la terre ; je regrette qu'ils ne puissent me délivrer de la vie. Voilà pourquoi je me couvre de mon tement."

La mère du roi lui répartit: "La splendeur ou la décadence de l'homme sont subordonnés aux temps ; sa vie et sa mort dépeudeut de la destinée. Si l'on emploie toute son âme à secourir les créatures, on oublie à la fois la victoire et la défaite ; mais si l'on se sert des créatures pour satisfaire son ambition, bientôt l'amertume du blâme vient remplacer les louanges. Soyez bien convaincu que la rétribution des actions humaines suit le cours des temps (et arrive à son heure.) Otez votre voile, et parlez-moi en face ; peut-être pourrai-je vous conserver la vie."

Ta-tso (Mahirakoula) lui témoigna sa reconnaissance en ces termes : "L'homme inepte que vous voyez devant vous, après avoir hérité du trône a fait abus des supplices et du pouvoir suprême, et il a perdu son royaume. Mais, quoique chargé de chaînes, il désire encore quelques jours de vie. Il ose accepter le salut que vous lui promettez, et vous remercie d'avance de cet immense bienfait."

En achevant ces mots, il ôta son voile, et laissa voir son visage. La reine-mère lui dit : "Ayez soin de votre personne ; il faut que vous finissiez les années que le ciel vous a comptées." Elle alla ensuite trouver le roi *Yeou-ji* (Bâlâditya), et lui dit : "Maintenaut, quoique *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula) ait, pendant longtemps, accumulé des crimes, le bonheur qui lui était promis n'est pas encore épuisé. Si vous faites mourir cet homme, pendant plus de dix ans, vous le verrez devant vous, avec son visage pâle et décharné. Cependant, j'ai lu dans ses traits qu'il est destiné à reguer encore, mais sans pouvoir jamais devenir le maître d'un grand royaume. Il doit posséder un petit territoire qui est situé dans le nord."

Docile aux ordres de sa mère chérie, le roi *Yeou-ji* (Bâlâditya) eut pitié de ce prince dépouillé de son royaume, lui donna en mariage une jeune fille, et le traita avec la plus grande distinction. Il rassembla tout ce qui restait de ses troupes, augmenta encore son escorte, et sortit lui-même des îles.

Le frère cadet de *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula) revint dans son royaume, et se mit lui-même sur le trône.

Ta-tso (Mahirakoula) ayant perdu sa couronne, s'enfuit et alla se cacher sur les montagnes et dans les déserts. Puis, se dirigeant vers le nord, il chercha un asyle dans le royaume de *Kia-chi-mi-lo* (Cachemire). Le Roi de Cachemire le reçut avec les plus grands honneurs. Emu de pitié en voyant qu'il avait perdu son royaume, il lui donna des terres et une ville.

Au bout d'un certain nombre d'années, *Ta-tso* se mit à la tête des habitants de la ville qu'il gouvernait, tua, par la ruse, le Roi de Cache-

mire, et se mit lui-même sur son trône. Profitant de sa victoire, et de la terreur qu'il inspirait, il alla, dans l'ouest, pour châtier le Roi de *Kien-to'-lo* (Gândhâra), et le tua dans une embuscade. Alors, il extermina tous les grands du royaume, détruisit les *Stoûpas*, et abolit tous les *Kia-lan* (Sañghârâmas), au nombre de 1,600. En dehors du nombre des hommes qui avaient péri sous le fer de ses soldats, il restait encore 900,000 habitants qu'il voulut exterminer jusqu'au dernier.

Dans ce moment, tous les ministres lui adressèrent des représentations, et lui dirent : " Grand roi ! vos puissants ennemis tremblent devant vous, et les soldats ont cessé de croiser la lance. Maintenant que vous avez exterminé les principaux coupables, quel crime pouvez-vous reprocher à la multitude du peuple ? Nous désirons tous sacrifier notre humble corps pour sauver ceux qui sont voués à la mort."

Le roi leur dit : " Vous croyez à la loi du *Bouddha* ; vous avez une haute estime pour le bonheur de l'autre monde ; vous vous imaginez que vous obtiendrez le fruit (de *Bôdhi*), et vous répandez au loin l'explication du *Pen-sing* (du *Djâtakasêna*).[1] Voulez-vous, par hazard, transmettre le souvenir de mes crimes aux générations futures ? Retournez à votre place, et ne me parlez plus de rien."

Là-dessus le roi emmena 300,000 hommes des premières familles, et les fit massacrer sur le rivage du fleuve *Sin-tou* (Sindh-Indus) ; 300,000 hommes des familles de la seconde classe, et les fit noyer dans les flôts du *Sindh ;* et enfin, 300,000 hommes des dernières familles et les distribua à ses soldats. Cela fait, il emporta les richesses du royaume qu'il avait perdu, rassembla ses troupes et partit ; mais il mourut avant de recommencer une nouvelle année. Au moment de sa mort, le ciel se couvrit de sombres nuages ; la terre trembla jusque dans ses fondements, et des vents violents ébranlèrent les airs. Dans le même temps, les hommes qui avaient obtenu le fruit (de *Bôdhi*) furent saisi d'un sentiment de pitié, et dirent, en soupirant : " Il a immolé, au mépris de la justice, une foule d'innocents ; il a détruit la loi du *Bouddha* ; il est tombé dans l'enfer éternel (*Wou-kien-yo*—en Sanscrit, *Avîtchi*) ; il n'a pas encore parcouru le cercle des transmigrations.

Dans l'ancienne ville de *Che-kie-lo* (*Câkala*) il y a un *Kia-lan* (Sañghârâma) où demeurent une centaine de religieux qui étudient tous la loi du petit Véhicule (Hînayâna). Jadis *Chi-thsin* (*Vasoubandhou*) composa dans ce couvent son traité intitulé *Ching-i-ti-lun* (Paramârthasatya çâstra).

A côté, s'élève un *Stoûpa*, haut de 200 pieds ; c'est là que les

[1] Le livre où sont racontées les naissances du *Bouddha*.

quatre *Bouddhas* passés ont expliqué la loi. On y voit aussi un endroit où ces quatre *Bouddhas* ont laissé la trace de leurs pas.

A cinq ou six lis au nord du *Kia-lan* il y a un *Stoûpa*, haut de 200 pieds, qui fut bâti par le Roi *Wou-yeou* (Açôka). C'est un lieu où les quatre *Bouddhas* passés ont expliqué la loi.

A environ dix lis du nord-est de la nouvelle capitale, on arrive à un *Stoûpa*, haut de 200 pieds, qui fut bâti par le roi *Wou-yeou* (Açoka). Ce fut là que *Joulaï*, (le Tathâgatha) s'arrêta au milieu de sa route, lorsqu'il allait convertir l'Inde du Nord.

On lit dans *l'In-tou-ki* (Mémoires historiques sur l'Inde) : "Dans ce *Stoûpa*, il y a beaucoup de *Che-li* (Çarîras, Reliques) qui, dans les jours de fête,[1] répandent quelquefois une lumière éclatante.

En partant de cet endroit, il fit 500 lis, et arriva au royaume de *Tchi-na-po-ti* (Tchînapati).[2]

[1] Littéralement : Jour de jeûne.
[2] Inde du Nord.

ART. XX.—*On the Authorities for the History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain. By* WILLIAM WRIGHT, ESQ., *Professor of Arabic in the University of Dublin.*

[*Read 7th July*, 1855.]

NONE of the Spanish historians who lived before the present century possessed even the slightest knowledge of the Arabic language, and even they stumbled at every step when they had to treat of the Muhammadan dynasties, and their hostile or friendly relations with the Christians. Casiri alone, in his catalogue of the MSS. in the library of the Escurial, edited and translated some extracts from Arab authors; and this was all that had been done down to 1820, when the first volume of Conde's History appeared, and the world imagined that the light of this newly-risen sun was at length, in a great measure, to dissipate the darkness that had for ages enveloped the doings of the Arab and the Berber on the soil of Spain.

Previous to Conde, however, a Jesuit, by name Masdeu, had published a so-called critical history in twenty volumes, the principal aim of which was to prove that a great many of the documents, in the authenticity of which his predecessors had placed implicit confidence, were either spurious, or had been tampered with, and must be rejected by the sound critic.

These two men are the guides that have been followed by all the subsequent historians of this interesting period of Spanish history—such as Aschbach, Romey, Rosseeuw Saint Hilaire, Schaefer, and Viardot—who have compared the statements of Conde, purporting to be drawn from Muhammadan sources, with the results attained by other Spanish writers from the study of Christian chronicles and state-papers; and have thence constructed, with a due regard to the criticisms of Masdeu, what they consider to be a tolerably accurate sketch of the history of the Peninsula during the middle ages. All of them, of course, vie with one another in lauding their two principal authorities. Aschbach pronounces the work of Masdeu to be the best on Spanish history; Romey styles Conde a master of his subject, in which judgment a recent translator of Conde's history for Mr. Bohn's Standard Library concurs. It is necessary, however, for translators to qualify themselves properly for the task they undertake; and to translate a work is not now-a-days exactly synonymous with giving a

bald version of the original. If Conde's book was to be rendered into our language at all, it should have been by a competent Arabic scholar who was at the same time well acquainted with what has of late years been written in connection with the subject. A knowledge of Arabic, however, was scarcely to be expected from a lady translator, by whom Mr. Bohn's publication has been executed,[1] and I am not, therefore, surprised to see that the names of persons and places have retained their Spanish garb, and that not the slightest attempt has been made to correct the innumerable blunders which Conde perpetrates; whence we find *Hixem* instead of Hishém or Hishám, *Juzef Ben Taxfin* instead of Yúsuf ibn Táshfín, or more correctly Táshifín, *Mugueiz El Rumi* for Mughíth al-Rúmí or ar-Rúmí, *Abdelxiams* for Abd al-Shams or Ash-Shams, *El Adaghel* for al-Dákhil or ad-Dákhil, *Mugehid Edim* for Mujéhid (Mujáhid) al-dín or ad-dín. It might have been expected, however, that the translator would have acquired some knowledge of the historical researches of the last twenty years, in particular of Dozy's *Recherches*, of which the first volume (all hitherto published) appeared so long ago as 1849, and which at once antiquated the labours of all previous historians of the Muslim rule in Spain. This able work, which ought long ago to have been translated into our language, seems not to have attracted that notice in this country to which it is entitled, and I may therefore be excused for laying some account of it, even at this late period, before the Royal Asiatic Society.

In a letter to the well-known French orientalists, Reinaud and Defrémery, which serves as a preface, Dozy shows that everything that had been written, down to 1849, upon the history of the Spanish Arabs, ought to be regarded "comme non avenu," or at least submitted to the revision of the keenest and most searching criticism.

[1] Hence also it is not surprising that the annotations which profess to explain native terms should be frequently erroneous. Thus in vol. I., p. 15, the name *Beni-Alaftas* is rendered "sons of Alafta." The Beni-Alaftas (or rather Banú 'l-Aftas), however, are "the sons of al-Aftas," بنو الأفطس. Another note (vol. I., p. 63) runs as follows: "As the Arabs were in the frequent habit of adding the word Medena (read *Madínah*), "City," to the name of each town, so did they prefix the word Guard, "River," to that of each river. Thence we have Guard-alete, Guard-iana, Guard el Quiber, &c., of which the moderns make Guadal-quiver, Guadiana, &c." Not a word of this is correct. The Arabic word for "river" is *wádí*, vulgarly pronounced *wád*, which the Spaniards write *guad*. Hence *wádí Lekeh*, Guadalete; *wádí Anah*, Guadiana; *al-wádí 'l-kabír* or *wád al-kabír*, Guadalquivír (not Guadalquíver); *wádí Aruh*, Guadiaro; *wádí Shúsh*, Guadajoz; &c.

Of what avail are the objections of Masden and other historians, when the authenticity of the document which they call in question, is directly or indirectly proved by the evidence of trustworthy Arab authors? "As for Conde," says Dozy, "he worked upon Arabic documents without knowing much more of that language than the characters with which it is written; but making up by an extremely fertile imagination for the want of the most elementary knowledge, he has, with unparalleled impudence, forged dates by the hundred, and invented facts by the thousand, pretending all the while to translate literally from Arabic texts."[1] Evidence in support of these assertions Dozy has brought forward in abundance, and I shall here produce two or three examples of the extraordinary blunders that he has brought to light.

In treating of the reign of Al-Murtadhá (not Almortadi), Engl. tr., II., p. 97, Conde and those who have copied him have a great deal to say of one *Gilfeya* (Engl. tr., II., pp. 96-7-8), who plays an important part along with Záwí ibn Zairí al-Mançúr al-Çinhégí الصِنْهَاجِي (El Sanhagi, Engl. tr. II., p. 102), the governor of Granada. This personage Conde found in the History of Roderick of Toledo, in different editions of which the name is variously written *Silfeia* or *Silfeya*, *Gilfeya*, and *Gidfeia* or *Gidfeya*; and not having the wit to perceive that *Silfeia* or *Silfeja* was merely a corruption of *Sinfeja* or *Sinheja*, i.e. al-Çinhéjí,[2] he split one man into two, and assigned a career in history to a person who never existed at all! In fact Dozy shows us that nearly all that Conde tells us of this period does not admit of being reconciled with the statements of Arab authors, such as Ibn

[1] "If faut avouer," adds Dozy (Pref. p. viii), "que Conde avait pris ses mesures pour que l'on ne découvrit pas facilement ses impostures. Il les a caché sous un caquetage de faux bonhomme. Il s'est borné à mentionner les manuscrits dont il s'est servi dans sa préface; encore faut-il avouer que ce qu'il y dit n'est pas exact; il prétend par exemple que, pour l'histoire des petites dynasties du onzième siècle, il s'est servi surtout d'Ibn-Baschkowál (Eng. tr., vol. I., p. 24). Nous connaissons ce livre, vous et moi, car il est dans la bibliothèque de la Société Asiatique, et nous savons que ce Dictionnaire biographique, écrit dans le style d'un régistre de paroisse, contient des renseignements utiles pour l'histoire littéraire, mais que, pour l'histoire politique, il n'est presque d'aucune utilité. Il fallait donc posséder tous les ouvrages manuscrits dont Conde a pu se servir; heureusement j'ai eu tous ceux qui se rapportent aux époques dont je me suis occupé."

[2] Compare *Alfayate* = الخَيَّاط, *Alforja* = الخُرْج, *Alfoz* = الحَوْز, Portug. *refem* = رُهْن, &c.

Hazm, and is little else than an inaccurate and garbled translation of Roderick of Toledo, chap. 42. See the *Recherches*, p. 32, seqq.

But even when Conde really had an Arab author before him, he fared no better. At p. 53, Dozy has printed ten lines from Ibn al-Abbár's *al-Hullatu 'l-siyará*, in his amplified version of which (Engl. tr. II., p. 149) Conde has committed no less than ten serious blunders, not to mention minor faults.

Again in the chap. entitled "Un relieur maladroit et les Historiens de l'Espagne," the Leyden Professor has pointed out a whole host of errors that owe their origin simply to the fact that some leaves in a MS. used by Casiri and Conde had been misplaced in binding. From not noticing this, Conde has been led into the statement that a certain lawyer, by name Ayyúb ibn Amr (not Amer), concluded a treaty of peace with King Beremund II. (Engl. tr. II., p. 29), whereas, for what we can tell, he perhaps never meddled with diplomacy in all his life; and that this same lawyer fell fighting against the Christians in the neighbourhood of Lerida, A.H. 393, (Engl. tr. II., p. 47,) whereas the man died in his bed five years afterwards at Cordova!

In the same chapter we have a fine specimen of Conde's method of translating from the Arabic. Ibn al-Abbár, in speaking of Abd-alláh ibn Abd-al-azíz, surnamed from his stinginess *Al-hajar* or *Piedra seca*, "the dry stone," states that:

كان على مقدّمة المنصور محمد بن ابي عامر في غزاته الي
جلّيقية بعد منصرفه من مقتل غالب بالثغر في اول المحرم سنة
٣٧١ ومعه خيل طليطلة وطبقات الاجناد وجميع الرَجّل وفيها
حصر سمورة واشتنعت (وامتنعت Dozy corrects) عليه فصبّها وعمّ
بالتدمير كثيرا من نواحيها ومنها جهة دمّر فيها نحو الف قرية
معروفة الاسماء كثيرة البِيَع والديارات

that is to say, that Piedra seca commanded the vanguard of the army of Al-Mançúr ibn Abí Ámir in an expedition into Galicia in the year 371, and laid siege to Zamora, but being unable to take the town, contented himself with ravaging the surrounding country, and laid waste in one direction about a thousand villages. Conde, who in his haste saw nothing but the words بالتدّمير *bi't-tadmír* and نحو الف قرية

confounded the former, which means "devastating, ravaging," with تدمير *Tudmír*, the Arabic name for Murcia, and hence we read (Engl. tr., vol. I., p. 503) that Piedra seca was a cavalier of great wealth, who possessed upwards of a thousand farms in the province of Murcia!

Such are a few specimens of the blunders that disfigure every page of Conde's History; to use the emphatic words of Dozy, it is little else than "un tissu de malentendus et de mensonges." No amount of labour can clean out this Augæan stable; the book should be burnt in all its editions and translations.

But granted that the labours of Conde are worthless, does not de Gayangos' *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* efficiently supply their place? The answer must be in the negative. Dozy has produced abundant evidence, both in his *Recherches* and in his *Scriptorum Arabum Loci de Abbadidis*, that the work of de Gayangos contains numerous errors, many of them of a very grave cast. True it is that we also find there much interesting and valuable matter; but still there are entire periods regarding which we obtain from it but vague and scanty information, and those historians of Spain who, unhappily for themselves, are ignorant of Arabic, have found that it only furnishes them with the means of here and there correcting Conde.

Fortunately a better day has begun to dawn; the publication of the first volume of Dozy's *Recherches* marks the commencement of a new epoch. Profoundly versed in Arabic, and thoroughly acquainted with the language and literature of Southern and Western Europe, no one is better qualified for the task that he has undertaken, and to which he has devoted all his energies from the time of his first appearance before the literary world. To him we owe, amongst other things, the publication of the Arab historians *Abd al-Wáhid* and *Ibn Adhárí*;[1] whilst in his *Scriptt. Arabb. Loci de Abbadidis*, he has collected, translated, and annotated, I believe, every passage in the extant literature of the Arabs that bears upon the royal line of the Banú Abbád of Seville. These works, however, are addressed solely to the Orientalist, and it was not till 1849 that he made some of the results which he had attained accessible to a larger circle of readers by the publication of the first volume of his *Recherches*.

To give a minute analysis of this work would be by no means a

[1] To his edition of this latter author Dozy has prefixed a valuable Introduction, treating of the Arab historians of Spain.

brief or easy task, since it consists of no less than nine papers, besides the introductory letter; and these have no connecting link, save that they nearly all treat of the history of various portions of the Peninsula at different periods of the eleventh century. I must, therefore, content myself with giving a mere outline of its contents.

The first chapter (pp. 1–139) is occupied with the history of several of the smaller Arab dynasties; the Tujíbiyyún التجيبيّون of Aragon, the Banú Háshim of Zaragoza, and the Banú Çumádih صمادح of Almeria. One must not suppose this article to be a dry list of names and chronicle of rebellions and battles. On the contrary, we find in several passages amusing and instructive details regarding the manners, customs, and pursuits of the Spanish Arabs. In particular, the sketch of the state of literature and the arts in the principality of Almeria is drawn with a masterly hand, and brings vividly before us the broad contrast in character between the Murcians of the present day and those of seven or eight centuries ago. "Au lieu de ces Murciens d'aujourd'hui, qui se couchent tôt et se lèvent tard, qui font par jour cinq repas très-exactement et qui emploient une grande partie de la journée à fumer le *cigarro*, les habitants Arabes de cette cité étaient, au rapport d'as-Schakandí, des hommes très-courageux et qui bravaient bien souvent leurs souverains. A présent Murcie reçoit du dehors presque tous les fruits qu'on y consomme, et même le blé dans les années de sécheresse; sous les Arabes, aucun pays ne pouvait rivaliser avec Murcie pour la quantité et la variété des fruits, et on n'avait pas besoin d'emprunter quoi que ce fût aux autres villes. Encore aujourd'hui on fabrique à Murcie quelques soieries légères, mais d'une qualité inférieure; sous les Arabes, cette ville renfermait quantité de fabriques, et on y travaillait entre autres la précieuse étoffe connue sous le nom de *waschj*." (وشي).

The second chapter (pp. 140–44) briefly handles some other points in the history of Murcia.

The third, entitled *Varia* (pp. 145–50), is chiefly taken up with showing that the colour worn as mourning by the house of Umayyah أميّة in Spain, was *white*.

The next chapter (pp. 151–237) is the first part of a very minute critical examination of Hoogvliet's work, entitled *Diversorum Scriptorum Loci de Regia Aphtasidarum familia et de Ibn-Abduno poeta.*

Various errors and misstatements of that Orientalist are corrected; many important extracts from Arab authors, published and translated for the first time; and several points of history and geography discussed and elucidated. See, in particular, pp. 182–93, 195 note 1, 203 seqq.

Chapter V. (pp. 238–68) is numismatical, and principally occupied with certain coins which Dozy assigns to Muhammad al-Mahdi al-Idrísí, King of Malaga, A.H. 438–44, in opposition to Adler, Tychsen and Marsden, who have ascribed them to his namesake, Muhammad al-Mahdí of Cordova, A.H. 399–400, of whose brief reign and bloody end the history is here given. At p. 263 another mistake of Marsden's is corrected, and the Arab historians are shown by the evidence of a coin to be correct in asserting that Sír سير ibn-Alí ibn-Yúsuf ibn-Táshifín, bore previously to his death the title of *Waliyyu 'l-ahd*, or heir-apparent.[1] In a note on p. 245, Dozy demolishes the city of *Citawa*, which has figured in the history of Spain since the days of Conde (Engl. tr., Vol. II., p. 71), and substitutes in its place the well-known town of Xativa شاطبة or San Felipe.

Of chapter VI., "Un relieur maladroit et les Historiens de l'Espagne" (pp. 269–81), I have already spoken above.

The next chapter (pp. 282–307) is a very interesting notice of the family of the Bakriyyún البكريون lords of Huelva, and in particular of the celebrated geographer Abú Ubaid al-Bakrí, the author of the المسالك والممالك and the معجم ما استعجم.

Chapter VIII. (pp. 308–19) contains a brief sketch of the history of Valencia from A.C. 1061 to 1084, designed as introductory to the following chapter, the longest, and probably to the generality of readers the most interesting, in the volume: "Le Cid—textes et résultats nouveaux."

Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar, the Cid Campeador, the brave warrior, the sainted Christian, the favorite hero of the most chivalrous nation in Europe—who was he? and what did he do to merit his great reputation? Is the Cid of the ballads, the romances, and the dramas, the Cid of history? or is he only a magnificent creation of the poetic

[1] P. 264, note 1, I read وتبنّته "adopted him as her son," for the corrupt وتبنه of the MS.

mind? Such are the questions that have occupied the historians of Europe from the very infancy of historical criticism; and whilst all have concurred in declaring certain incidents in his history to be unworthy of belief, that destructive iconoclast, Masdeu, has gone so far as to assert that we know nothing for certain about the Cid, not even the bare fact of his existence!

Before attempting a reply to these interrogatories, Dozy shortly reviews (p. 321 seqq.) the sources of information accessible up to the time when he was writing; a review which leads to the farther questions: Is there any truth in that part of the *Cronica General* which treats of the Cid? In the chronicle that bears his name, (*Cronica del Cid?*) In the *Gesta de Roderici Campidocti*, first published by Risco in 1792? In the *Cronica rimada?* the *Poema del Cid* (or, as Dozy calls it, the *Chanson du Cid*)? and the long list of romances of which he is the hero?

To pave the way for the discussion of these topics, Dozy first presents to his readers the new document of which he was the fortunate discoverer. Whilst residing at Gotha, in 1844, he took the opportunity of examining the Arabic MS. No. 266, described in Möller's Catalogue as a fragment of the history of Spain by al-Makkarí. This description he at once saw to be erroneous, and soon perceived that the said MS. was the first part of the third volume of the *Dhakhírah* of Ibn-Bassám, a work composed at Seville A.H. 503 (A.C. 1109), only ten years after the death of the Cid, and that it actually contained a long and important passage regarding that personage. This Dozy gives in text and translation (p. 330–62). The whole narrative is extremely curious, and rests in part on the testimony of one who had himself seen the Cid at Valencia. From it it appears that Rodrigo was at one time in the service of the Banú Húd هود, kings of Zaragoza, and that Ahmad ibn-Yúsuf ibn-Húd al-Musta'ín employed him in his struggle with Yúsuf ibn-Táshifín. On this occasion the Cid laid siege to Valencia, which capitulated after a protracted and desperate resistance; but the ruthless Campeador violated the conditions of surrender, and wound up a long list of atrocities by burning alive the kádhí Abú Ahmad ibn Jahháf, and several other influential citizens.[1] "La victoire," adds Ibn Bassám, "la victoire suivait

[1] See the Engl. tr. of Conde, vol. II., p. 317 seqq. Mrs. Foster is pleased to add, in a note, that "there is much reason for hoping that the frightful action here attributed to the Cid Campeador has but little foundation in truth." It is, however, about as well established as any fact in the history of those times.

toujours la bannière de Rodrigue (que Dieu le maudisse !) ; il triompha des princes des Barbares ; à différentes reprises il combattit leurs chefs, tels que Garcia surnommé par dérision, la bouche tortue, le comte de Barcelone, et le fils de Ramire ; alors il mit en fuite leurs armées et tua avec son petit nombre de guerriers, leurs nombreux soldats."

Dozy next translates several shorter passages from other authors, in which the Cid is spoken of, and corrects many grave errors committed by Conde and de Gayangos, after which he proceeds to examine the Latin and Spanish works that bear upon the subject.

The earliest of these is the *Cronica General* of Alfonso X, surnamed el Sabio, compiled during the latter half of the thirteenth century, from works of older date, Christian and Muhammadan, grave histories, poems, and historical romances. The history of the Cid fills more than the half of the fourth and last part of this chronicle, and some critics have imagined it to be the production of a different pen, but Dozy shews that there can be no doubt that the whole is by one and the same hand, with the exception of the history of Valencia, which is a translation from an Arab author (as Dozy supposes, Abú Ja'far al-Battí, the same who perished in the flames along with the kádhí Ibn-Jahháf.) For the evidence—ingenious and decisive—I must refer my readers to the *Recherches*, p. 394 seqq.[1] The probable reasons that induced Alfouso to insert this narrative in his chronicle are given at p. 412.

In the Cronica del Cid, Dozy sees nothing but "la partie correspondante de la *Cronica General*, retouchée et refondue arbitrairement par quelque ignorant du XVe, ou tout au plus de la fin du XIVe siècle, probablement par un moine de Saint-Pierre de Cardègne. puis retouchée et refondue aussi arbitrairement, au commencement du XVIe, par l'éditeur Juan de Velorado."

We next come (p. 413) to the *Gesta de Roderici Compidocti*, the authenticity of which has been fiercely assailed by Masdeu, who, however, is in his turn roughly handled by the Leyden Professor. Dozy's opinion of the degree of confidence to be placed in it may be best given in his own words. "Je ne considère donc pas comme exacts tous les détails qui se trouvent dans les *Gesta ;* je crois que ce livre ne mérite pas la confiance illimitée que lui a accordée la droite,

[1] I may be permitted to remark that the word أخفي (p. 394, l. 24) is an error, perhaps of the press, for أطفي.

représentée par Risco et M. Huber. Mais je me range moins encore à l'opinion de la gauche, celle de Masdeu et de ses disciples, qui rejettent ce livre comme apocryphe. Selon moi, la vérité se trouve entre ces deux extrêmes; dans le cas présent, il ne faut être ni de la droite ni de la gauche, mais du centre, ou plutôt du centre droit." At p. 415 there is an interesting disquisition on the origin of the title el Campeador, in Arabic الكنبيطور, which Dozy derives from the old German *champh*, "duellum, pugna," (whence the modern German *Kampf*, a battle,) and shows to be equivalent in meaning to the Arabic *barraz* براز or *mubáriz* مبارز, that is to say, "a knight who issued forth from the ranks when drawn up in battle-array, and challenged one of the enemy to single combat in the space between the two armies."

Having thus considered the various sources whence the biography of the Cid is to be compiled, Dozy proceeds in the seventh section of this chapter (pp. 445–604) to give a minute account of the life of that warrior, interspersed with disquisitions upon sundry doubtful points of history, his principal object being, however, to clear up all that is obscure in the narrative of the *Cronica General* and the *Gesta*. Here we find established, for the first time, the identity of Alvar Fañez, who appears in the romances as the constant companion of the Cid, with the البرهانس *Albar-hanis* of the Arab historians.

The next section is occupied with the investigation of the date of the *Cronica rinada*, and the *Poema del Cid*. Of the former of these works the author says: "Selon moi, il a été composé, vers la fin du XIIe ou au commencement du XIIIe siècle, d'après les traditions et les chansons populaires. Je crois que l'auteur a conservé quelques-unes de ces dernières sans y apporter aucun changement, et dans le fragment qui nous reste, j'ai cru reconnaître un chant guerrier et deux romances." Of the latter but one manuscript is known to exist, written in 1207, and Dozy believes that the work itself is not of much older date. I should mention that in a note to p. 645, there is a curious discussion on the derivation of the words غنباز, *gambax*, *gambais*, *wambuis*.

In conclusion, Dozy points out the probable causes that raised the Cid above all his brethren in arms in the estimation of after generations, and made him the favorite hero of the Castillan poets. "Etre exilé, combattre son roi, le tromper! Mais il fallait précisement cela

pour devenir le héros de la poésie Castillane. Outre le cycle Carlovingien et celui des Infants de Lara, la poésie Castillane en avait trois autres : de Bernard del Carpio, de Fernand Gonzalez et du Cid. Ces trois derniers portent tous le même caractère, le héros qu'ils peignent brave son roi, il est rebelle."

Such is a brief outline of the first volume of the *Recherches*, the most important work on the Arab period of Spanish history that has yet been given to the world. The second volume is, I am happy to say, in the course of preparation, and will probably appear at the same time with the author's history of Spain, under the domination of the Arabs, of which a considerable portion is, I believe, now ready in MS.

ART. XXI. — *Buddhist Inscription of King Priyadarsí— Translation and Observations by* PROFESSOR WILSON, *President.*

WHEN laying before the Society the results of my examination of the Girnár, Dhauli and Kapur di giri inscriptions of Raja Priyadarsí I expressed an opinion, that, although the tenor of the inscriptions was not incompatible with a leaning to the religion of Buddha, yet the total absence of any positive indication of the usual epithets of Buddha, or any reference to the peculiarities of the Buddhist system, left some uncertainty with regard to the actual creed of the Raja, and his intimate connection with the followers of Buddha.

I was not unaware that at that time a monument existed, which, if it was worthy of credit, was calculated to remove all doubt on the subject, and that the name of Priyadarsí was to be found in connection with that of Buddha in an ancient inscription, the text of which, as well as a translation, had been published in the ninth volume of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; but I found such reason to question the accuracy of the translation, and so much difficulty in suggesting anything more satisfactory, that I hesitated to admit the fidelity of the transcript, and waited till further investigation should justify or correct the reading of the original. This has now been done, and although the text is not without its difficulties, yet there is enough sufficiently indisputable to establish the fact that Priyadarsí, whoever he may have been, was a follower of Buddha.

The inscription I refer to was found by Major Burt, upon a block of granite, about two feet in length and breadth, lying adjacent to a place named Bairath, six kos east of Bhabra, three marches north-east of Jaypur. A copy from a fac-simile was sent by him in August, 1840, to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, where, with the assistance of the Pundit Kamala Kanta, the text was printed with a translation by the late Major Kittoe, by whose talents, activity, and zeal the antiquities of India have been on many occasions successfully illustrated. In the present instance, although some of the leading topics of the inscription admitted of little doubt, yet many of the terms were so unfamiliar, and the identifications of the Pundit so very unsatisfactory, that no reliance could be placed upon the translation, and it was obviously necessary to await some further verification of the oriingal,

especially as the stone itself had been sent to Calcutta, and deposited with the Society.

In the meantime, however, the return of Major Burt to this country has furnished us with the means of verifying the reading of the original inscription, by the communication of the fac-simile taken by him; of his own corrected transcript; and its Nágarí representative. The fac-simile is here lithographed, the Nágarí reading is subjoined: unfortunately, the fac-simile is somewhat the worse for wear, and besides the imperfections of the stone itself, there are some deficiencies, which, however, may be filled up from the transcript made by Major Burt before the document was damaged: the passages from the original transcript are given in double outline in the lithograph. The stone itself is in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Major Burt's Nágarí rendering is as follows:

1. पियदसि लाा (जा) मागधें संघं अभिवादे (वा) नं आहा अपाबाधतं च फिसु विहालतं चा

2. विदितेवे भंते आवतकेहा मा बुधसि धंमसि संघसीतिं गालवे चां पसादे च एकेचि भंते

3. भगवता बुधेन भासिते सवेसे सुभासिते वा एचु खा भंते पामियाये दिसेया हेवं सधंमे

4. चिले (वा) ती के हामतीति अलहामि हकां तंवातवे इमानि भंते धंमपलियायानि विनयसमुकसे

5. अलियवसाणि अनागतभयानि मुनिगाथा मोनेयसुते उपतिसपसिने एचा लाघुलो

6. वादे मुसावा (?) अधिगिच्च भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भंते धंम पलियायानि इच्छामि

7. कितिबहुके भिखपाये चा भिखांनिये चा अभिखिनं सुनयुचा उपधालेयेयु चा

8. हेवं मेवा उपासका चा उपासोका चा एतेनि भंते इमं लिखाधेयामि अभिहेतिमेजा उतंति

[illegible]

R.E. Bowler lith.

1. Piyadasi lá (já) Mágadhen sangham abhiváde (vá) nam áhá apábádhatam cha phisu vihálatam chá

2. Viditeve bhante ávatakehá má budhasi dhammasi sanghasítin gálave chám pasáde cha ekechi bhante

3. Bhagavatá Budhena bhásite savese subhásite vá echu khá bhante pámiyáye diseyá hevam sadhamme

4. Chile (vá) tí ke hásatíti alahámi hakám tamvátave imáni bhante dhamma paliyáyáni vinayasamukase

5. Aliyavasáñi anágatabhayáni munigáthá moneyasute upatisapasine echá lághulo

6. Váde musává (?) adhigichya bhagavatá budhena bhásite etáni bhante dhamma paliyáyáni ichchámi

7. Kitibahuke bhikhapá ye chá bhikhánni ye chá abhikhinam sunayu chá upadhálayeyu chá

8. Hevam mevá upásaká chá upásoká chá eteni bhante imam likhádhaiyáni abhihetimejá utautí.

My own transcript from the fac-simile differs in some respects from the preceding: the differences are not in general very material, and may in part arise from the difficulty of discriminating between dots and vowel marks and flaws or imperfectious in the stone, and in part from corrections obviously required—thus, *chá*, with the long final vowel, is either a dialectical peculiarity or an inaccuracy for *cha* with a short final, as it sometimes appears in the original.

1. Piyadasi lá (já) mágadhe sangham abhiváde (má) nam áha apabádhatam cha pisu vihálatam cha

2. viditeva bhante ávatake ha má budhasi dhammasi sanghasíti golave cham (?) pasáde cha ekechi bhante

3. Bhagavatá Budhena bhásite save se subhásite vá echu kho bhante pámiyáye diseyá hevam sadhamme

4. Chila (va) tí ke hosatíti alahámi há (ki) tavátáve imáni bhante (dham) ma paliyáyáni vinayasa makase

5. aliyavasáni anágatabhayáni muni gáthá mauneya súte (u) patása pasine echá lághulo

6. váda musává(cha)m adhigachya bhagavatá budhena bhásite etáni bhante dhamma paliyáyáni ichchámi

7. kiti bahuke bhikhapá ye cha bhikhani ye cha abhikhinam sunayu cha upadháleyeyu cha

8. Hevam meva upásaká cha upásiká cha etáni bhante ima(m) likhá (pa) yámi abhi heti maja (nan)titi.

The importance of this inscription has, as might have been

anticipated, engaged the attention of Professor Lassen (Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. ii., p. 221), and of the late M. Burnouf. The observations of the latter exhibit that careful and cautious spirit, as well as profound knowledge, and patient ingenuity, which characterized that lamented scholar's researches. They are published in the appendix to his translation of the Lotus de la bonne loi, with other valuable dissertations, which have appeared as a posthumous publication. I propose to compare his renderings with those which I would suggest; and, in differing occasionally from his version, I avail myself of his own candid and just remark, that as no one can flatter himself that he can at once arrive at a definitive comprehension of these difficult monuments, so there is no one that may not hope to contribute to their interpretation.

The inscription opens with the name of the prince Priyadarsí, omitting the title, beloved of the gods, which occurs in his other inscriptions; it is followed by the syllable lá, no doubt the first of lájá for rájá, the second syllable being indistinct; the next words are Mágadhe sangham, which M. Burnouf would correct to Mágadham, but the syllable is clearly dhe, and the supposed dot or anuswára may be merely a defect in the stone—the nasal after sangha is indistinct, but it is apparently there; the sense will not be affected—the assembly of or in Magadha. The next term is partially defective, but it should no doubt be abhivádemánam, for abhivádyamánam, salutable respectfully, venerable, an epithet of the sangha or assembly, to whom the raja, áha, speaks.

The words that follow are of less obvious construction and import; they appear to be apabádhatam cha pisu vihálatam cha. The Calcutta reading is apabhadatam cha phásu vihala tam cha. Major Burt reads "phisu" for the first member of the last phrase. The vowel is clearly "i," but the consonant is questionable. Kamala Kanta renders these words, with the preceding, "The raja speaks—that the sacrifice of animals is forbidden is well known to you—spare them;" a translation decidedly wrong. M. Burnonf shows that apabádha occurs in Mágadhi texts for alpabádha, little pain, and that phisu has the sense of happiness, ease, and infers that the raja wishes the assembly, peu de peines, et une existence agréable. It is difficult to suggest anything more probable; but the explanation does not carry conviction with it: if we could read pasu for pisu, we might perhaps be allowed to render it more consonantly to Buddhist ideas, and translate the passage, the raja recommends to the assembly the infliction of little pain, and indulgence to animals, pasuviháratám.

The second line begins viditeva, verily it is known, in which all

agree; but this is followed by a word that frequently occurs in this inscription, of which the use is not familiar—Bhante or Bhamte. Kamala Kanta identifies it with the Sanskrit bhante, but in what sense is not very obvious; thus, viditam eva bhánte, he translates, is well known unto you; ichchuka bhánteh, those who act thus; etáni bhante, hearing these things—manifest inconsistencies and bluuders. M. Burnouf renders it throughout by Seigneurs, Sirs, considering it the Prákrit form of the Sanskrit Bhavantah, the plural of the honorific pronoun Bhaván, your honour, your reverencc, in which I was at first disposed to concur, but have since had reason to doubt its accuracy. If any authority, which he probably had, is given by M. Burnouf, it has escaped my notice; but in turning over the leaves of a Jaina work (the Parikramana vidhi), which, according to Dr. Stevenson, means the Rules of Confession to a Guru, I found the word Bhante in the section of the Bárah vrata (or Twelve obligations) repeated fourteen times, and in every iustance with the pronoun aham —aham bhante—preceding apparently some promise or admission: I declare, I promise, or acknowledge. The book is written in the Mágadhi of the Jainas, mixed with provincial Hindi, and is full of technicalities, which it would require a learned Yati to expound. The purport of each declaration, therefore, I cannot pretend to explain; but there can be little doubt that aham bhante means I say or declare—no doubt from the Sanskrit root *bhan*, to say or speak.[1]

M. Burnouf is also most probably correct in his proposed rendering of yávatake, for ávatake, citing many examples of such

[1] The following is one of the fourteen declarations in the Jain work referred to, and will convey a notion of the language employed:—"Aham bhante apachchhimá maranantiyá sankhaná dhúsaná tasa vayassa ime pancha aïyára payálá tam jahá ihaloga sahassa paüge jíviyá sahassa paüge maraná sahassa paüge káma bhogasahassa paüge mábhanum mujh maranantiya e chyár nánasavisaye dansanasavisaye pancha-anuvayamsavisaye tinnayunavayamsavisaye chattarasishávayamsavisaye bárah vratám mánhi gyán ke bich man kari vachan kari káya kari jo köí dúshan lagá höí Bítrágjí tumari sákhi gurudebji tumari sákhi kari dúshan lágá höi tassam ichhámi dukkadam." The last words are good Hindi, and may be rendered, "if there should occur any fault of mind, speech, or body in respect of knowledge with regard to the twelve obligations, should such fault occur in your conviction, passionless sage, or in your conviction, spiritual teacher, then I wish or consent (to perform) its difficult (expiation)." In what precedes we have a series of technical terms for which an interpreter is needed. For the only published work of the Jainas, the Kalpa Sutra, we are indebted to the Rev. Dr. Stevenson. According to him, Parikammane, or Parikramana, is going to confess to a Guru; vaya is used for vrata, and aïyára for áchára. Sanskrit equivalents for several of the terms may be readily suggested, but the sense of the special denominations is peculiar to the Jainas.

elision. The following letter is indistinct, and may be hi, instead of ha; má, may be intended for me, or mama, my: the three next terms, which are very important, as involving the recognition of the whole Buddhist system, are undoubtedly buddhasi dhammasi sanghasi; the locative case of the páli noun, in Buddha—in dharma, or the law—and in the Sangha, or congregation. Kamala Kánta M. Burnouf agree in considering the next word gálave, or possibly golave, for the vowel marks are questionable, as representing gaurava, respect. The following character, cham, is doubtful; but pasáde, for prasáda, favour, is clear enough, and is followed by the conjunction cha, so that the first chá may be nothing more; in this way a probable meaning may be given to the sentence: "It is well known to what extent both my respect and favour (are placed in) Buddha, the law, and the assembly." The Calcutta rendering, "For those of the Buddhist faith such offering is not meet; the offering of upasad is best of all," is simply nonsense.

Much more cannot be said in favour of what follows: "Some there are who kill: that which the supreme Buddha spake at the conclusion of his commandments was well spoken." M. Burnouf has more correctly, "All, Sirs, that was spoken by the divine Buddha was well spoken." There is a flaw in the stone after Bhaga, which may be unexceptionably filled up by va, making, with the following syllable tá, Bhagavatá, a usual epithet of Buddha. E kechi, at the end of line 2, may very probably be read as M. Burnouf proposes, ye kechit, whatsoever things or words, referring to bhásite, but the following, bhante, will mean, I affirm.

Echu kho, M. Burnouf reads, ye cha khalu, what verily; but it were perhaps preferable to read the first, eshu, in those things or words; and for the following pámiyáye diseyá, we may read prameyo drisyate, "capability of proof is to be seen—so the pure law Saddharma will continue for a long time." The commencement of the fourth line is much defaced; but chila, for chira, long, is clear enough; hosatíti is for bhavishyati, will be.

Alahámi hakám is the reading of Major Burt's copy, but the first syllable of the second term appears to be há long, and the vowel of the second is indistinct in the original. M. Burnouf proposes to render the words by arhámi aham, I think it right; hákam being met with in other inscriptions for ahikam. I consider this, however, as far from satisfactory, although I cannot offer anything more so. Tava táve may very probably be for távat távat, so much, to such an extent; perhaps rendering alahámi by arhámi, it might be interpreted, "I am worthy of, or fit for; I expect this to such and such extent;"

but the passage is doubtful. The Calcutta rendering is altogether absurd, and founded on an erroneous reading of the text.

The next words are apparently imáni bhante, but then succeeds a flaw. M. Burnouf would supply it by dha, as in Major Burt's Nágarí transcript; and this is probably correct, especially in connection with the following paliyáyáni, instead of the payayáni of the Calcutta transcript, and which M. Burnouf considers to be paryayáni, expositions, or injunctions, or precepts of the law, which is not unlikely, the law being that of the chief discipline, vinayasya mukhyasa, for vinayasa makasa. Major Burt's transcript reads mukase. M. Burnouf would read the two words vinaya símokase, limites de la discipline; but, although there is some indistinctness in the original, the preferable reading seems to be that which is here suggested.

With regard to the ensuing terms aliyavasáni and anágatabhayáni, which are sufficiently distinct, M. Burnouf declares that he entertains no doubt, and translates them, "Les facultés surnaturelles des Aryas, et les terreurs de l'avenir." I cannot share his confidence; the second phrase, unarrived, or future dangers, is unquestionable; but the reading and purport of the first are by no means obvious. Aliyavasáni might represent ari-avasáni, end or destruction of, or by enemies; or if the first word be árya, it may be used as signifying the Brahmans: vasa may mean subjection to, that is, the opposition or persecution of the Brahmans. That the term implies something evil is probable from its connection with anágata bhayáni, future dangers.

For muni gáthá we may accept the songs or verses of the sage; les stances du solitaire; meaning, according to M. Burnouf, Sákya himself, which is rather doubtful. The first syllable of the next term is rather indistinct, but the word may be mauneya sute; the sútras of the munis. Now if these are to be connected with the notion of future dangers they must relate to the texts antagonistic to the Buddhists, and may indicate the verses of the Vedas, and the aphorisms of the philosophers, Kapila and the rest.

M. Burnouf reads, with the Nágarí version, the next words, upatisa pasine e cha lághulováde, which he renders, "la spéculation d' Upatissa et l'instruction de Ráhula," conceiving the text to contain the names of Upatissa, one of Sákya's principal disciples, and of Ráhula, his son. The reading of the first is doubtful, the initial may be an "u," but it is indistinct, and the third syllable is more like tá than tí. Pasine, M. Burnouf would connect with pasya, behold, as if alluding to the views or doctrines of Upatissa; but, in that case, we should have Upatisasa, not Upatisa, and if we could suppose the insertion of an "s" after tá to be a blunder, it would give us upatápasine for upatapaswinah,

inferior or pretended ascetics. For e chá lághulovade, M. Burnouf refers, ováde to avaváda, instruction, but it would rather imply reproof; but, as M. Burnouf indicates, there is a sútra of the Mahá-wanso headed Ráhulováda, or, as translated by Turnour, admonitory discourse addressed by Buddha to Ráhula, which is no doubt in favour of M. Burnouf's rendering. At the same time it may be allowable to give it a different construction and signification, and to render it, laghu loka váda, the light or censorious language of the world; a sense which would agree with what follows, if we explain musavácham as M. Burnouf proposes, doctrines fausses. The next word adhigichya may be an error for adhigachya, the Prákrit form of adhigatya, having gone over, or having overcome, or refuted, rejeté.

The following passage is intelligible enough, and may be connected with the preceding: Bhagavatá Budhena bhásite etáni bhante dhamma paliyayáni ichhámi, I affirm these things, said by the divine Buddha, and desire (them to be considered) as the precepts of the law.

Kiti bahuke may be the reading of the following words, but the sense is not very distinct. M. Burnouf renders them, "c'est la gloire à laquelle je tiens la plus," understanding by kiti, kírtti, fame; but this seems doubtful. The Calcutta version "you all," appears to come nearer to the sense, which is, perhaps, as many as there may be; that is, mendicants, male and female—although the designations are unusual Bhikhapá ye cha Bhikhanni ye cha instead of Bhikhu and Bhikhuni; abhikhanam is the Sanskrit abhikshanam, always, perpetually.

The fac-simile here presents a flaw, preceded by suna, and followed by two indistinct letters, and then the legible words dhálayeyu cha; the transcript of Major Burt reads the passage as if it had been perfect when the fac-simile was taken, sunayu cha upadhálayeyu cha, which may be rendered without any violence, may they the mendicants hear and observe.

The beginning of the last line is somewhat indistinct; but it is probably as in the transcript, hevam eva, verily; so also, upásaká cha upásiká cha, both the male and female secular followers (are to hear and observe) those things; upasoka, for the second of these, is apparently an error: etáni, (for which), I declare, I have caused this to be written—imam li — after which, in the present state of the fac-simile there is a blank followed by several letters, some only of which are legible. Major Burt's transcript reads, likhádhaiyámi, probably for likhápayámi: then follow abhihetimejá untati, words very unintelligible. They are corrected in the Calcutta version to abhimate

me cha untati, which are explained, this is my desire and will. M. Burnouf conceives untati may be an error for ukti, declaration. Professor Lassen suggests, with more plausibility, that the sentence should be abhimati me hotite; it is rather, perhaps, abhimati me hosatíti—this will be my pleasure.

Although therefore unable to offer an entirely satisfactory version of this inscription, and while hesitating to admit it as evidence, as M. Burnouf is disposed to regard it, of the existence at the time of the principal Buddhist authorities, the Vinaya, Sútras, Gáthás, and the writings of Upatissa and Ráhula, we cannot refuse to accept it as decisive of the encouragement of Buddhism by Priyadarsi; the indications of which are sufficiently positive, setting aside the apocryphal allusions to Upatissa and Ráhula. We have Buddha designated by name, and with the title by which he is most frequeutly styled, Bhagavat—divine or lord. We have the Buddhist triad distinctly specified—the law, dharma—the assembly, sangha—and Buddha; and the inscription is addressed to the second, or the body of the church, in Magadha, the country iu which the religion first took root and long predominated; and we have the two classes of Buddha's followers specified, the clerical, or male and female mendicants—Bhikshus and Bhikshunis—and the lay or the male and female worshippers, or Upásakas and Upásikás. The document is therefore unquestionably Buddhist. It is somewhat defective in being without any date. Major Kittoe thinks it refers to the convocation said to have been held at Páṭaliputra, in the 17th year of Dharmásoka's reign, or A.D. 309; but this is merely conjecture.

I subjoin the three translations of this short inscription, for the convenience of comparison, and for the purpose of illustrating the difficulty of interpreting such documents, and the little dependence to be placed upon the versions of the Pundits, without very careful supervision.

Calcutta Translation.	*M. Burnouf.*	*Propoed Translations.*
Piadasi (the beloved) Raja, unto the multitude assembled in Mágadha, saluting them, speaks thus :	The king Piyadasi to the assembly of Mágadha, which he has saluted, wishes few troubles, and an agreeable existence.	Piyadasi, the king, to the venerable assembly of Mágadha, commands the infliction of little pain, and indulgence to animals.
That the sacrifice of animals is forbidden is well known unto you : spare them ! for those who are of the Buddhist faith such sacrifice is not meet: the offering of Upasad is best of all.	It is well known, Sirs, to what extent proceed my respect and faith for Buddha, for the law, and for the assembly.	It is verily known, I proclaim, to what extent my respect and favour (are placed) in Buddha, in the law, and in the assembly.
Some there are who kill : that which the supreme Buddha spake at the conclusion (of his commandments) was well spoken.	All that has been said, Sirs, by the blessed Budda, all that only has been well spoken : it must be shewn therefore, Sirs, what are the authorities (for what he said), in this manner the good law will be of long duration : that is what I myself think necessary.	Whatsoever (words) have been spoken by the divine Buddha, they have all been well said, and in them, verily I declare that capability of proof is to be discerned : so that the pure law (which they teach) will be of long duration, as far as I am worthy (of being obeyed)
Those who act thus follow in the right path : they will remain healthy in their faith for a long time to come.		
There are some who make blood-offerings ; but of these there are few ; this is right and proper (the Buddhist creed) : these of the faith I protect ; likewise those who keep company with the righteous and uncovetous.	In the meanwhile, Sirs, the subjects which the law embraces, the limits designated by the Vinaya, the supernatural faculties of the Aryas, the dangers of the future—	For these, I declare, are the precepts of the law of the principal discipline (Vinaya), having overcome the oppressions of the Aryas, and future perils—

Calcutta Translation.	*M. Burnouf.*	*Proposed Translation.*
The scriptures of the Munis (the Vedas) are observed by their disciples; their future state is to be dreaded: the texts of the Vedas, in which the sacrifice (of animals) is enjoined are mean and false: obey them not.	The stanzas of the Solitary (Buddha), the sutras of the Solitary, the speculations of Upatissa, solely the instruction of Ráhula, rejecting the false doctrines.	(and refuted), the songs of the Munis, the sútras of the Munis, (the practices) of inferior ascetics, the censure of a light world, and (all) false doctrines.
Follow that which the lord Buddha hath commanded: do so for the glorification of the faith.	This is what has been said by the blessed Buddha: these topics which the law embraces, I desire, Sirs, and it is the glory to which I am most attached.	These things as declared by the divine Buddha, I proclaim and I desire them to be regarded as the precepts of the law.
This I desire that all of ye priests and priestesses, religious men and religious women; yea, every one of you hearing this, bear it in your hearts.	That the male and female ascetics may hear and meditate upon them constantly; as well as the faithful of both sexes.	And that as many as there may be, male and female mendicants, may hear and observe them, constantly as well also as male and female followers (of the laity).
This my pleasure I have caused to be written: yea, I have devised it.	It is for that purpose that I have caused this to be written—such is my pleasure and my declaration.	These things I affirm, and have caused this to be written (to make known to you) that such will be my intention.

ART. XXII.—*The Chinese on the Plain of Shinar, or a connection established between the Chinese and all other Nations through their Theology. By the* REV. T. M'CLATCHIE, M.A., *Missionary to the Chinese from the Church Missionary Society.*

[*Read February* 16, 1856.]

PREFATORY REMARKS.

No one who takes the trouble to investigate the various Mythological systems of the Heathen world, can fail to be struck with the very remarkable similarity which exists between them. To account for this similarity is an interesting, and, at first sight, a difficult undertaking.

The Pagan world may be regarded in two points of view, viz.: either *before* their dispersion at Babel, when the several nations were in embryo and the human race formed one community on the plain of Shinar; or, *after* the dispersion, when this community, broken up into various tribes, scattered over the face of the earth, and colonized the various regions of the world.

With regard then to the striking similarity which exists between the different systems of Pagan Idolatry, the first question for consideration is this—Is the similarity mentioned of such a nature as to be easily and naturally accounted for on the supposition that *after* the dispersion, and subsequent to their settlement, each nation (including the Chinese) *independently* of all the rest, adopted a system of theology which nevertheless coincided in many particulars with all the others?

There is no doubt that this theory will, to a certain extent, account for the resemblance alluded to. For instance, no one who contemplates the sun, the dispenser of light and heat, who nourishes the earth with his genial warmth; the moon "walking in brightness;" and the stars, which with subdued light, wander through infinite ethereal space, can fail to be struck with, and to admire the beauty of these orbs, and the silent majesty with which they glide along their allotted paths: and it would not be very surprising, therefore, if each Pagan nation, being removed from the light of revelation, should have adopted *independently* of all the rest, the same worship of the heavenly host.

Nor can we regard it as at all impossible that idolatrous nations should also agree with each other, without any previous concert or communication, in worshipping such of their deceased ancestors as had, during their lifetime, secured the respect and admiration of their contemporaries, either by their warlike achievements, or by their

benevolent actions. We may especially grant the probability of this when we consider that religious worship may be, as regards the unenlightened Heathen, a natural consequence of the reverence, blended with affection, with which the memory of such public benefactors as those alluded to, is cherished. "If such persons," argue the Chinese, as they think, conclusively, "be worthy of respect and veneration while living, why should we not continue to exhibit respect and veneration towards them when they are dead? Would you trample upon, or show disrespect to, the remains of your deceased parent? Why then should not *we* continue to venerate, after death, those who, when alive, commanded by their good deeds the respect and admiration of all mankind?"

In the general worship, therefore, of the heavenly host, and of deceased ancestors, we have an agreement between the various systems of the Pagan world in what may be considered "obvious and natural;" and there is nothing very remarkable, so far, in the similarity which exists between all the systems of the Heathen.

These various systems, however, do not merely agree in what is "obvious and natural;" but they also agree, in a most singular manner, in what is "arbitrary, and circumstantial, and artificial:" and *this* agreement cannot be accounted for on the hypothesis mentioned.

Not to dwell unnecessarily upon this point, it will be sufficient merely to mention two of the many striking agreements alluded to; *e. g.* 1. The chief God of every Pagan system, without exception, is designated "*Mind*" (Νους or Mens.) 2. This chief God, whose body is the universe, *triplicates* and also divides into *eight* portions in each system. Now, it is quite impossible to believe that each Pagan nation, independently of all the rest, not only chose the same designation for their chief God, but also chose the numbers three and eight, without any previous concert or communication whatever. With regard to the Triad and Ogdoad, the case is even stronger than with regard to the remarkable designation "Mind." For, it will be found on investigation, that the universe does not naturally fall into these divisions of three and eight, inasmuch as the *details* of these numbers vary considerably in each system; so that we are driven to the conclusion that the numbers three and eight were *first* chosen, and then the stubborn universe was made, however reluctantly, to bend to them.

Hence, as the various theological systems of the Pagan world (including the Chinese) all agree in so remarkable a manner, not merely in what is "obvious and natural," but also in "*arbitrary* circumstantials," which could not have been the case if each nation

had framed its own system independently of all the rest, and after its final settlement, the inevitable conclusion must be as follows :—

"The common arbitrary opinions and observances, which alike prevail in every part of the globe, must have had *a common origin*, and each national system, however some minor differences might distinguish it from all other national systems, must have been equally a shoot from *a primeval system* so vigorous as to extend its ramifications to all countries of the habitable world."—Faber's Origin of Pag. Idol., vol. i., p. 60.

The fact of the common origin of all the Pagan systems being thus established, the next difficulty is to discover this source of idolatry. Can we suppose that subsequent to the dispersion, and their several settlements, all the other nations adopted the system framed by one?

Here we are met by two difficulties; first, those who adopt this theory differ considerably as to what nation formed the model for imitation to the rest. Some say Egypt, some Phenicia, some India, and some Hindostan. All is uncertainty. And even if this point were set at rest, then comes the difficult task of accounting "for the extraordinary circumstance, that all nations upon the face of the earth, whether seated in Europe or Asia, or in Africa, or in America, should have been content to borrow with rare unanimity, the religious system of one single people."—Ibid. p. 62.

Nor can we adopt the hypothesis, based upon the supposition that the children of Cush and a few followers, were alone concerned in the apostasy of Babel, that all nations, after their settlement, were conquered by this roving tribe, and were compelled to adopt its idolatrous system. It is not easy to admit that "a single tribe, and that too broken into small fragments by an eminent display of divine vengeance, could manage to subdue and convert all the rest of mankind, who had previously retired in a prosperous and orderly manner to their appointed settlements."—Ibid. p. 63.

We are therefore obliged to adopt the third and only remaining hypothesis, viz.: that "all nations while yet in embryo, and during these ages of the infancy of society which immediately followed the deluge were assembled together in one community, previous to their separation and dispersion over the face of the earth, and in that state of primitive union agreed in the adoption of a system, which when afterwards broken into tribes the germs of future nations they equally carried with them into whatever region they might at any subsequent time be induced to colonize."—Ibid. p. 61.

This last proposition Mr. Faber, in his learned and interesting

work, shows to be in accordance with the scriptural history of Nimrod and the tower of Babel, and also with profane history. Alluding to the founding of the universal empire under Nimrod, that learned author observes:—

"In the short account which Moses gives of this early transaction, no direct mention is made of any attempt to introduce a new system of religion; though something of the kind seems to be hinted at in the assertion that nothing could restrain the roving imagination of this rebellious community; but the Jews have ever supposed that idolatry commenced at Babel; whence they have a story that Abraham was cast into a furnace by Nimrod for refusing to worship the sacred fire which was the symbol of the solar deity. We have, however, far better authority than Jewish tradition, though I see no reason why we should slight it as altogether nugatory, for asserting that the first systematic apostasy from pure religion was consummated at Babel, and that from that centre it spread itself over the whole world. The prophet of the Apocalypse styles Babylon or Babel *the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth*; by which it need scarcely be observed is meant, in the figurative language of scripture, that all the abominations of apostate idolatry originated from that city as from a common parent," &c.

"Thus so far as I can judge, it indisputably appears that the idolatry by which all the nations of the earth were infatuated, was a system originally invented at Babel under the auspices of Nimrod and his Cuthites, and afterwards in progress of replenishing the world with inhabitants by the various scattered members of his broken empire, carried off alike to the nearest, and to the most remote countries of the globe." &c.—Ibid. pp. 77–8.

Having thus briefly stated Mr. Faber's argument, I now proceed to the inquiry which forms the subject of the following pages. The question I propose is this—Were the ancestors of the Chinese to be found amongst the ancient community who engaged in building the tower of Babel on the plain of Shinar, or not? In order to establish an affirmative answer to this inquiry, it will be necessary to investigate Chinese theology, and there to search for any traces which may exist of the one general primeval system of idolatry established previous to the building of Babel. If we find that the Chinese have also traces of this one system, and that they agree with all other nations not only in the adoption of what is "obvious and natural," but also in "arbitrary circumstantials," while they differ from them as to *detail*, then the conclusion is inevitable that this nation also has derived its theology from the one source common to all, and was therefore represented in

the single community which existed subsequent to the deluge, and the members of which agreed to adopt that one system which was afterwards carried by them, when broken into tribes, into the several nations which they founded. Thus we shall be able to establish a remarkable connection between the Chinese and all other heathen nations through their theology and to show that they do not in reality occupy so isolated a position among the nations of the earth as has been hitherto so generally assigned them.

The principal points which I shall endeavour to establish are— 1. That as all other Pagan nations, however they may worship multitudes of divinities, yet hold the existence of one God, κατ' εξοχην, the First Cause of all things, so also do the Chinese recognise this First Cause, and assign to him precisely the same titles and attributes as those given to him by the rest of the Pagan world; 2. That those portions of the animated world, &c., which all other nations have designated "God," the Chinese also so designate; and 3. That the chief object of idolatrous worship in China, viz. *Shang-te*, is a deified man, and is the same Being designated by Mr. Faber the "Great Father" of the Pagan world, who is Adam or Noah, and is designated by the several nations who worship him Baal, Jupiter, Osiris, Brahm, &c., or Νους, Mens, Menu, Man, &c. The Triad and Ogdoad, two of those "arbitrary circumstantials" which, together with variety of detail, prove that the several heathen nations have derived their theology, not from any single nation, but from one source common to all, are also to be found in the Chinese system.

It may be necessary to observe here, that the two polytheistic systems found in all Pagan nations, viz. that which admits of visible representations of the Gods, and that which is designated the material system (and which are *in reality* but one and the same system) are both found in China. The Confucianists, like all other materialists, reject the absurdities of the grosser polytheistic sects, and make their deities *souls* or portions of the animated material world, which is regarded by this sect as the greatest Numen, and as a divine animal endowed with life. It is this latter system, being that inculcated in the Chinese Classics, which the following pages are intended to elucidate.

I. God, κατ' εξοχην.

1. The charge brought by the Apostle against the heathen world is, that they "worshipped and served the *creature*, more than the *Creator*." This was a consequence of their mode of reasoning; for, instead of arguing from creation to the existence of a God of all

power and might, they subjected the Creator himself to those laws by which his creation is governed. This constituted their fundamental error, from which all their misconceptions sprang. As they saw that the mechanic, for instance, could not produce any work of art, without some material to work upon, they rashly concluded that God was such an one as themselves in this respect, and that therefore He could not make the world without some previously existing material out of which to form it, and hence all the Pagan philosophers without exception held that God made the world out of pre-existing, eternal matter.

"All philosophers," says Gassendi, "agree in the pre-existence of the matter of which the universe is composed, because nothing can be produced from nothing; whereas, however, scripture truth declares that the universe was created out of nothing and from no material."—Cudworth's Intellec. Syst. vol. iii., p. 144.

These philosophers, however, may be divided into two classes. In the *first* class may be ranked those who, like Plato and others, while they associated God and eternal matter, and supposed a certain connection between those two, yet did not make the former wholly dependent upon the latter; and in the *second* class may be included those who, like the Stoics, inseparably united the two, and held that the one could not exist separate from the other.

2. The Chinese philosophers, like Anaximenes and others, conside the material origin of all things to be K'e or Air, which is the primary matter from which all things are formed.—(See Morrison's Dictionary, part ii., vol. i., No. 5311.)

This K'e, or Matter, is considered by them to be eternal, and it is associated with an eternal, ungenerated, and therefore self-existent First Cause, which the Confucianists generally style Le or Fate (see Ibid. No. 6942). And as the other Pagans have designated this Eternal Fate "God," and declared him to be "Incomprehensible," so also the Chinese philosophers designate him "God," and predicate of him the same attribute of incomprehensibility; *e. g.*:—

"Le is God (Shin) and is *Incomprehensible*."—Sing-le-ta-tseuen, ch. ii., p. 36.

"Being asked whether the God (Shin) spoken of is the Maker and Transformer of heaven and earth, he (Choo-tsze) replied God (Shin) is just that Le," &c.—Ibid. p. 35.

"They (the Chinese) often say Le is God (Shin)."—Morrison's Memoirs of Dr. Milne, p. 161.

As the Pagans considered all things to depend upon their God, κατ' ἐξοχήν, for existence, so do the Chinese philosophers; *e. g.*:—

"If this Le had no existenee, then, *there would be no heaven, nor earth, nor men, nor things;* all would be without a connecting bond." —Choo-tsze's Complete Works, eh. xlix., p. 3.

This God and eternal matter, the Confucianists, like the Stoics, consider to be inseparably united together, so that the one cannot exist without the other; *e. g.*:—

"Le being eternal, K'e is eternally united with it."—Ibid. eh. xlix. 10.

"Le is not a separate thing, he rests in the midst of the K'e; if there were no K'e, then Le *would not have anything to rest upon.*"—Ibid. eh. xlix., 1.

"Separated from K'e, there is no God (Shin); separated from God (Shin), there is no K'e," &e.—The two Chings, &e., vol. i., p. 52.

"All (material) things have visible traces, but God (Shin) who is in their midst (inherent in all things) is invisible. God (Shin) is never separate from matter. Henee God (Shin) is the Ineomprehensible One who is in the midst of (*i. e.* inherent in) all things, and renders them mysterious," &e.—Yih-king, vol. xii., 17, 13 Com. (Imp. edit.)

The same law, also, whieh led the rest of the Pagan world to assoeiate eternal matter with God, is also recognised by the Confucianists; *e. g.*:—

". . . . As in the world men and things, grass and trees, birds and beasts are all generated from seed, and *there is nothing which is without a seed*, if unsown soil produees a single thing, this is the K'e," &c.—Choo-tsze's Le and K'e, sentence 10.

"*Ex nihilo nihil fit*," and henee when anything appears to spring up spontaneously, the K'e or primary matter is considered to be the seed whenee it is produeed.

3. Matter, although eonsidered eternal, was yet held by many to have been *generated by the Deity.* It is stated, for instance, in the Timæus, eh. ix., that the universe was generated by its "Creator and Father;" and Plato is supposed to have followed Hermes and the Egyptians in thus holding that "the matter emanated from the Deity or divine nature itself."—(Cudworth, vol. i., p. 570, note.) Sueh is also the Confucian doetrine; *e. g.*:—

"Le existing, K'e is afterwards *generated.*"—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix. p. 1.

"Le *generated* the K'e."—Sing-le-ta-tseuen, eh xxx., p. 10.

Thus while the Confucianists associate eternal matter with God, they yet consider that the former was generated by the latter, or in other words, that matter is inferior to God, not *in time*, but *by nature*,

and this was the doctrine held by Probus, Simplicius, and all the later Platonists.—(See Cudworth, vol. i., p. 302, note.)

This Le inherent in K'e, or God and Matter, form the one compound source of all things.

"With regard to the *one origin* of all things, their Le is the same, but their K'e is diverse."—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix., 7.

And this Le or God is like the Stoical Θεος κατ' εξοχην, the *only* Incorporeal thing in the universe; for,

"Le is Incorporeal, K'e is Corporeal."—Ibid. p. 1.

4. Various names and titles were given to the Θεὸς κατ' ἐξοχὴν by the Pagan philosophers; *e. g.*, Fate, Reason, Incorporeal Reason, Providence, Nature, Heaven, &c. He was considered to be a perfect indivisible unity; the Immoveable Author of all motion; Incomprehensible and Hidden; and was said to pervade all things, &c. His proper names were Jupiter, Baal, Mithras, Hammon, &c., according as he was designated by the various Pagan nations.—See Cudworth, vol. i., 196, note; 423–4; vol. ii., 9, 14, note; 108–9, 148. Also Enfield's Hist. of Philos. vol. i., p. 334, &c.

Precisely the same designations, &c., are given by the Chinese Confucianists to their Shin κατ' εξοχην; *e. g.*:—

a. "*Heaven*," "*Providence*," &c.

"Being asked the difference between (the titles) 'Heaven' and 'Providence,' 'Nature' and 'Le,' and whether 'Heaven' refers to his self-existence, 'Providence' to his flowing forth, and being conferred upon all things; 'Nature,' to the substance (*i. e.* God and matter together), which the myriad of things obtain in order to exist; and 'Le,' to each matter and thing having its own law; yet spoken of unitedly, then 'Heaven,' 'Le,' 'Providence,' and 'Nature,' all designate the same being; is this correct? He (Choo-tsze) replied: Just so; some persons, however, now assert that 'Heaven' does not refer to the azure sky; yet, in my opinion, the azure sky *must not be omitted*."—Choo-tsze's Work's, ch. xlii. p. 1.

Thus the Confucianist Shin, κατ' εξοχην, is indifferently styled "Fate (Le)," "Nature," "Heaven," or "Providence." In the title "Heaven," however, is included the *material* Heaven (or K'e), in which this Supreme God is inherent when the world is arranged by him from chaos. These different titles of this Supreme Shin, Choo-tsze also states in the above passage, refer to his various powers; so also the Θεὸς κατ' ἐξοχὴν.

"You may mention nature, fate, fortune; names of this kind are all *names of God variously employing his power*."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 249, note.

b. "*Reason*," or "*Incorporeal Reason*."

"Le is Incorporeal Reason, the *Origin* of life; K'e is the corporeal vessel, the *Receptacle* of life."—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix. 5.

"That which is Incorporeal is Reason, that which is corporeal is the Receptacle. 'Incorporeal' refers to Le; 'corporeal,' to matter and things."—Sing-le-ta-tsenen, ch. xxxiv. p. 22.

"That which is Incorporeal is Reason, that which is corporeal is the Receptacle." *Com.* "Reason is Incorporeal, the God (Shin) who renders all things mysterious," &c.—Yih-king, vol. ii., 14, 33.

c. "*Nature*."

"Nature is the entire Heavenly Le; when we speak of Nature, we include the K'e."—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix. 11.

". . . . Yet if we *always* consider the K'e to be Nature, and Nature to be the K'e, we do not clearly understand the subject."—Ibid. ch. xliii., 10.

Thus under this one title "Nature," two things totally different are included by the Confucianists; viz., Fate or God, the Maker of the universe, and the Matter from which he forms it; yet, these two although inseparably united, must not be confounded, for this title is only given to the K'e or primary matter, in consequence of the *melior natura* inherent in it. Thus, also,—

"The Stoics divide *nature* into *two parts;* one, that which works; the other, that which offers itself to be wrought upon. In the former is the power of acting, in the latter is simple matter, nor is one able to do anything without the other." Thus under one term of nature, they comprehend two things very diverse, *God* and *the world*, the artificer and the work, and they say that one cannot do without the other, as if nature were *God mixed up with the world.* For sometimes they so confound things, that God becomes the very *soul of the world*, and the world the *body* of God."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 196, note.

"What is nature, says Seneca, but *the Divine Reason inherent in the whole universe and in all its parts?* Or, you may call him if you please, the author of all things."—Enfield's Hist. Philos. vol. i., p. 334.

d. "*The Great Extreme*."

"The Great Extreme is Incorporeal Reason," &c.—Sing-le-ta-tsouen, ch. i., p. 12.

"Reason is the Great Extreme of the Yih-king (Classic)."—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix., 16.

"The Great Extreme is Le."—Ibid. p. 8.

This title of the Shin, κατ' ἐξοχήν, is derived, we are told by Choo-tsze, from "a pivot," or from "the centre beam of a house,'

and it corresponds to the title "Tigillum," given to the Supreme Ζευς or Θεος κατ' εξοχην. Hence he is the great source whence all things emanate; *e. g.*:—

"The Original Extreme obtains this designation from the idea of a pivot. The sages meant by the Great Extreme *the Root ofH eaven, Earth, and all things;* hence Choo-tsze designated him 'The Infinite,' (ἄπειρον, see Cudworth, vol. ii., p. 47), and thus placed his *immateriality* beyond a doubt."—Choo-tsze's T'ae-keih, sentence 13.

e. He is *an indivisible Unity or Monad.*

"Heaven divides and becomes Earth, Earth divides and becomes the myriad of things, but Reason *cannot be divided,*" &c.—Sing-le-ta-tseuen, ch. ii., p. 22.

"Body is divisible, but God (Shin) *cannot be divided.*"—Ibid. p. 34.

"The Great Extreme is Unity and without compare."—Choo-tsze's Works, T'ae-keih, sentence 27.

Hence he pervades all things without division of his substance; *e. g.*:—

"Being asked, with regard to Le being Unity, and when distributed amongst the myriad of things to pervade them, then the myriad of things have each a Great Extreme within it; according to this can the Great Extreme be divided into portions? He (Choo-tsze) replied: in reality, there is but *one* Great Extreme, and each of the myriad of things have received it, and each has within it a complete Great Extreme; for instance, the moon in heaven is but one, and when it is scattered amongst the rivers, then it is seen in each, yet *we cannot say that the moon is divided.*"—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix. p. 10.

"God (Shin) is Unity; he rides upon the K'e, and changes and transforms it," &c.—Sing-le-la-tseuen, ch. xi., p. 33.

So also Parmenides and Xenophanes "affirmed that the *one* or *unity* was the first principle of all; matter itself, as well as other things being *derived from it;* they meaning by this one, *that highest or Supreme God who is over all.*"—Cudworth, vol. ii., p. 38.

f. He is the *Immoveable Author of all motion.*

"Le has (the power of producing) motion and rest, and therefore the K'e moves and rests. If Le had not this (power of producing) motion and rest, then how could the K'e of itself move or rest!"—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix. 8.

"We *cannot predicate* motion or rest of Le; but that which moved and generated the Light, rested and generated the Darkness,

is Le inherent in the K'e, and which therefore cannot but move and rest. He rests upon the pivot as in a chariot, and thus *is not affected by* the motion or rest."—Ibid. p. 32.

Hence in the language of the philosophers this Supreme God "moves, yet moves not; rests, yet rests not; *i. e.*, he confers these powers upon the primary matter in which he is inherent, while he himself is not affected by either the motion or the rest, occupying as he does "the pivot," or centre of motion.

"That which when at rest cannot move, and when in motion cannot rest, is Matter; that which moves, yet moves not, rests, yet rest not, is GOD (SHIN)."—Ibid.

The Θεος κατ' εξοχην is designated by Aristotle "το πρῶτον κινοῦν ἀκίνητον, the first immoveable mover."—Cudworth, vol. ii., p. 84.

g. He is *Omnipresent*, and *the Author of all change and transformation.*

"Confucius said, He who comprehends the doctrine of change and transformation, understands what GOD (SHIN) accomplishes."—Com. "The acts of GOD (SHIN) are incomprehensible; we must look at change and transformation in order to understand them. GOD (SHIN) is omnipresent[1] in the midst of all these changes and transformations."—Yih-king, ch. xiv., 16.

Having, however, exhausted all their powers of imagination in devising names and titles by which to designate their Supreme God, the philosophers acknowledge how far he is above all these, and hence they designate him "Woo ming," or "the nameless One."

GOD (SHIN) is not confined to place and is omnipresent; he unites himself to *the mind* of man, which thus has its origin in Unity. Reason and Unity are but *forced* names of GOD (SHIN): if we consider GOD (SHIN) to be GOD (SHIN), this is the best appellation."—Sing-le-ta-tseuen, ch. xii., 2.

"According to the old Egyptian theology . . . . God is said to have both *no* name and *every* name."—Cudworth, vol. ii., p. 259.

h. He is *Empty Space* or *Incorporeal Vacuum.*

"Le is a bare empty, wide world, without corporeal vestiges," &c. —Choo-tszc's Works, Le and K'e, sentence 10.

"Reason is the Great Vacuum, and is Incorporeal."—Sing-le-ta-tseuen, vol. xii., 1.

[1] We have here an instance of the very different meaning attached to the *same* word by the Heathen and by Christians. By the Omnipresence of God, the former mean that he is present *in* all things, whereas *we* mean by that term that all things *are present to* God.

By this "Great Vacuum," is meant the infinite Empty Space in which the universe revolves, and in which the latter is contained or comprehended.

"This Principle (Le) is so great, that it *comprehends* heaven and earth, and is the support of generation and transformation; so minute, that it *enters into every fibre and particle;* there is no distance which it cannot traverse, and there is nothing so mean that it does not reach it; yet we must discern what it is which thus pervades (all things)." —Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xli., 15; xlvi., 12.

So also Philo held that "God is that space which *surrounds and encompasses the whole nature of things.*"—Cudworth, vol. iii., p. 242, note.

Onatus the Pythagorean says, "It seemeth to me that there is not only one God, but that there is one *the greatest and highest* God that governeth the whole world, &c. That is that God who *contains and comprehends the whole world,*" *&c.*—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 374.

i. He is *Hidden.*

"I have already said that the Great Extreme is (like one who) *hides his head,*" &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, T'ae-keih, sentence 19.

"Ammon, in his books, calleth God *most hidden,* and Hermes plainly declareth that it is hard to conceive God, but impossible to express him."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 564.

k. He *animates* the K'e or Matter in which he is inherent, and is thus the Supreme Soul of the animated universe.

"K e accumulated forms Body; Le unites with it, and *then* it has the power of *intellect and perception;* just as when oil is poured upon fire, then there is much flame," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, Le and K'e, sentence 22.

Hence the world (or *arranged* K'e) is an animal endowed with life and reason, and is *the body* of God who pervades all its parts. Plotinus thus states the opinion of the ancient philosophers on this point:

"It is *absurd to affirm* that Heaven (or the World) is inanimate, or devoid of life and soul, when we ourselves, who have but a part of the mundane body in us, are endued with soul. For how could a part have life and soul in it, the whole being dead and inanimate?" This one soul of the world and whole mundane animal was by the Stoics and others considered to be "the πρωτος Θεος, the *first* and *highest* God of all."—Cudworth, vol. ii., p. 176.

5. The title Le is chiefly given to the SHIN, κατ' εξοχην, *in chaos, e. g.*:—

"It is Le which prevents the twofold matter and the five elements

from losing their distinctness, although blended together (in chaos)," &c. —Choo-tsze's Works, Le and K'e, sentence 9.

Hence the following distinction has been made in the application of the titles Le (Fate) and T'ae-keih (The Great Extreme).

Leibnitz is of opinion that the Le of the Chinese is the *chaotic soul of the world*, and their T'ae-keih the soul of the *formed* universe; in fine, *the Deity of the Stoics.*—Enfield's Hist. of Philos. vol. ii., p. 577.

6. From the above statements we perceive that the Chinese, *in common with all other Pagan nations*, hold:—1. That there is one Eternal, Ungenerated First Cause of all things. 2. That this First Cause is "Fate," "Providence," "Nature," "The Infinite," "Heaven," "Reason," "Incorporeal Reason;" an indivisible Unity, an Immoveable Mover, Hidden, Incomprehensible, Omnipresent, the Root and Author of all things, &c. 3. That he is the Supreme Soul of the whole universe, which is by his presence constituted a living animal, endowed with intellect and the power of motion. And 4. That matter is eternally associated with him. This First Cause, the other Pagans respectively designate Θεος, Deus, &c. &c., and the Chinese designate him SHIN.

II. One of the most important doctrines of the Heathen world, and one which is to be found in all Pagan systems, is that of the endless succession of similar worlds. It is only by the light of this doctrine that we can get any very clear insight into the theology of Pagan nations, and its importance in this respect is thus stated by Mr. Faber:—

"The doctrine of a succession of similar worlds, more or less systematically and explicitly maintained, may almost be considered as *the key* to ancient mythology. As such therefore it merits a particular examination. With it the theory of the metempsychosis is immediately connected, forming indeed a constituent part of it," &c.—Orig. of Pag. Idol. vol. i., p. 3.

1. This doctrine is inculcated in the Yih-king in the Pŏ diagram, which is stated to represent "falling down," or "the soft (*i. e.* gross matter) overcoming the Hard;" *i. e.* the inherent soul of the world (see III. 2), and thus all things return to primeval chaos. (See Yih-king, vol. ii., ch. 1, p. 60.) In the Fŭh diagram, however, "the Hard" regains the ascendancy and "returns." This MIND or soul of the world then proceeds to form a new universe or body for himself, and hence this diagram is said to "*manifest* the MIND of Heaven and Earth," or the world. (See Ibid. vol. vii., 9, 38).

To transcribe the statements of this doctrine by the various Chinese philosophers would occupy too much space. I must therefore refer the reader to the Sing-le-ta-tseuen for further information on the subject, and shall merely quote here the opinion of Choo-foo-tsze, which is as follows:—

"Being asked, 'From the opening and spreading out (of the world from chaos) to the present time, is not 10,000 years; how was it *before* that time?' He (Choo-tsye) replied, before that there was another (world) similar to the present one. Being asked whether Heaven and Earth are capable of being annihilated; he replied, no; but it is my opinion that *when men completely depart from correct principles*, then the whole will become chaos, and men and things will cease to exist, and then there will be *a new commencement*."—Choo-tsze's Works, T'heen and Te, sentence 5.

These are called the "Great Revolutions" of the world, and are compared to a year; *e. g.*:—

"A day has a day's revolution, a month has a month's revolution, a year has a year's revolution; Heaven and Earth's commencements and terminations are *the great Revolutions*," &c.

Shaou Pih-wăn says, "Each complete Great Revolution resembles *a year*."—Sing-le-ta-tseuen, ch. viii., p. 13.

Each destruction of the world and return to chaos, is accomplished by a general deluge, *e. g.*: —

"What Woo Fung says about a great termination (of all things) in a general convulsion (of nature), the sea removing out of its place, the hills sinking down, and the rivers overflowing; men and things utterly destroyed, and the ancient traces all effaced refers to the destruction of the world by Deluge. The shells of the sea snail and pearl oyster have been seen on high hills and on stones; these stones formed (portions of) the soil of the former world," &c.—Choo-tsze's T'heen and Te, sentence 6.

It is when all things have been thus destroyed and when the time arrives for the formation of a new world that the inherent "MIND" or soul "of Heaven and Earth" comes forth, as stated in the Yih-king to accomplish the task; *e. g.*:—

"When the myriad of things have been generated and are flourishing, Heaven and Earth do not exert their MIND; but, when all things have decayed, and *require to be again generated*, then Heaven and Earth exert their MIND.'—Ibid. sentence 23.

Thus when one Body or World is destroyed by a Deluge, MIND arouses from a state of inactivity and comes forth to generate a new one for himself.

Although the Chinese philosophers differ as to *the age* of the present world, yet they all agree as to the fact of *a succession of* worlds, as an examination of the Chinese work above mentioned will abundantly show. The Deluge, being such a signal display of divine vengeance, it is not to be wondered at that it should have made a deep and lasting impression upon the minds of succeeding generations; nor can we feel much surprise that the Pagan world should thus multiply this one fearful judgment into an endless repetition of the same phenomenon. The order of things, according to this doctrine, is as follows: the world is first formed from Chaos, and the First Man is born from this *ovum mundi*. This and some few succeeding generations form the golden age of the world when universal righteousness and happiness prevail. After this, however, the human race becomes degenerate, and wickedness prevails; and when this state of things reaches its climax, then the whole world is destroyed by a Deluge, and returns to chaos. It is *form* alone, however, which is thus destroyed, the matter (K'e) of which the universe and its several parts are formed being eternal (I. 2). Hence, after a certain period has elapsed, the world again springs forth from chaos, the first man reappears, and a new world similar to the former one, and peopled by the same inhabitants, is called into being. The minute similarity of these worlds may be gathered from the following incident. Conversing one day with an intelligent Confucianist on this subject, he remarked, "We are now seated at this table, conversing about this passage (in the classics); and, after this world has returned to Chaos, when the corresponding period to the present, shall arrive in the succeeding world, you and I shall again be seated at this table, conversing about this same passage."

It is evident that these endless appearances of the First Man constitute him an *eternal* Being; thus adorning a mere mortal with one of the principal attributes of Deity. In fact, this Man, as we shall see presently, is the MIND mentioned in the Yih-king, who is deified and regarded as the Creator and Governor of the universe.

2. The eternal K'e which, by constantly revolving, ultimately arranges itself, from its chaotic state into the formed universe, is, as we have seen, constituted a rational Being or animal by the inherent Divine "Reason" or supreme soul of the universe. (See i. 4, k.)

The Chinese philosophers represent this animated universe by a Globe, or Circle, or Egg, thus ,and it is supposed to be infinite in extent, and eternal in duration, the *form* only being subject to change. This circle of the universe is designated by various names

and titles, most of which are derived from the inherent "Reason," *e. g.*:—

a. The K'e is the "*Great Extreme.*"

"The Great Extreme is one K'e, which divided," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, T'ae-keih, sentence 3.

This title (like most others) is given to this animated K'e, in consequence of the *melior natura* inherent in it; *e. g.*:—

"God (Shin) is Unity, he rides upon the K'e," &c.—Sing-le, &c., ch. xi. 33.

"Because of its (*i. e.* the K'e's) *one* God (Shin) it is designated *the Great Extreme,*" &c.—Yih-king, vol. ii., 14, 25, Com.

Hence, to avoid confusion, the Chinese philosophers generally confine the title "Great Extreme," when treating of Cosmogony, to the K'e, and designate the inherent Reason or God "The Infinite," expressing the inseparability of the two by the conjunction "and," thus, "Infinite *and* Great Extreme."—Compare Choo-tsye's Works, T'ae-keih, sentence 30, with Sing le, &c., vol. i., 12.

b. The K'e is "*Heaven*" or "*Shang-te.*"

The inherent Divine Reason takes no part in the generation of the world, further than endowing the K'e or Great Extreme with the necessary powers to generate it from his own substance. It is this animated K'e therefore, which, depending upon the inherent Le, generates all things; *e. g.*:—

"Le existing then K'e exists, flows forth and pervades, *generates* and *nourishes,*" &c.—Choo-tsye's Works, Le and K'e, sentence 12.

"The Great Extreme is one K'e, which, by degrees, divided and became two K'es . . . . . it also divided and became five K'es (*i. e.* five elements); it scattered and became *all things.*"—Ibid. T'ae-keih, sentence 3.

Hence, this Great Extreme is designated "Heaven" and "Shang-te."

"Heaven is *the accumulated K'e.*"—Ibid. T'heen and Te, sentence 39.

"When *Heaven* produces and completes the myriad of things, and rules and governs them, the title given to that Being is Te," *i. e.* Shang-te.—Legge's "Notions of the Chinese," &c. p. 12.

"On Choo He's principles T'ae-keih (The Great Extreme) and Shang-te *are the same.*"—Ibid. p. 63, note.

c. The K'e is the "*Supreme One.*"

The Yih-king contains the Chinese Cosmogony in numbers, and when the K'e or Shang-te is in his Chaotic or undivided state, the rudiments of all things being blended into *one undivided mass,* he is designated "One" (not *person* but *unit*); and, as all the other

numbers, or portions of the universe are generated from his substance, he is designated the "Supreme Unit," or "One;" *e. g.*:—

"The Supreme One is the original K'e of Chaos, before the separation of Heaven and Earth. *Before dividing*, he is designated *One*."—Le-ke, vol. xviii.; Le Yun, iv., p. 8.

"The Great Extreme is the one Chaotic K'e, *before Heaven and Earth divided*. This is the 'Great Commencement' and the 'Supreme One.'"—Chow Yih Lew, vol. iv., 7, 39.

The manner in which the K'e or Supreme Unit, or Shang-te, generates all things from his own substance, is thus described in the classics:—

"Thus it is that ceremonies date their origin from the Supreme One; he *dividing*, constituted Heaven and Earth; *revolving*, he produced Light and Darkness; *changing*, he brought about the four seasons; and *arranging*, he appointed the Kwei-shins," *i. e.* Gods and Demons.—Medhurst's "Theology of the Chinese," p. 82.

Thus we have in this origin of all things or animated monad, the same distinction as that made by Pythagoras between *Unity* and *One*. The former is the God κατ' εξοχην, and is *indivisible* (i. 4, e.); the latter is the material *divisible* Demiurge (or K'e) who generates all things from himself by his constant gyrations, and who is the Father of Gods, Demons, and Men (III. 6).

d. The K'e is MIND (SIN).

"If there were no K'e, then Le would not have anything to rest upon."—Choo-tsze's Works, Le and K'e, sentence 5.

"If there were no MIND, then Le would not have anything to rest upon."—Ibid. ch. xliv. 2.

Here the "K'e" of the first sentence is designated MIND in the second. Again,

"MIND is the Great Extreme."—Ibid. T'ae-keih, sentence 27.

e. The K'e is represented *by an Egg*; *e. g.*—

"The Great Extreme—the K'e—embracing three is one. The San-Woo-leih-ke says that previous to (the separation of) Heaven and Earth, Chaos was like *an egg*, turbid and watery, and about to burst."—Wan-haou-tseuen-shoo, p. 1.

And as the K'e, or *ovum mundi*, is a rational animal, it bears the same relation to the fully formed world which the Fœtus does to the full-grown being:—

"Before the K'e divided, his form was *a fœtus*, like an egg," &c.—Imperial Thesaurus.

This "Heaven," or "Shang-te," when he is completed and becomes the formed world, is still represented by a Circle or Egg; *e. g.*:—

"Heaven's (*i. e.* the World or Shangte's) form is like a bird's egg; Earth rests in his midst, and Heaven upholds her outside, as the shell does the yolk, the whole being round like a bullet; and hence the phrase 'Circumference of Heaven' means that his form is *a complete circle*. Both portions are Heaven (*viz.*) the concave half above the Earth, and the half below the Earth," *i. e.* Tartarus.—Sing-le, &c., vol. xii. 22.

Thus the Sacred Mundane Circle is used to represent both the *Chaotic* and the *arranged* world. The former is the lesser circle, and the latter is the greater.

3. The K'e or Universe is both Infinite and Eternal; *e. g.*:—

"The Great Extreme is a great thing; the four quarters, Zenith and Nadir, are called Yu. (Duration) from ancient to modern times is called Tsow. Nothing is so great as Yu; so great is it that the four quarters *go into infinity*. Nothing is so great as Tsow; from the most ancient times to the present, *the coming and going of ages is unceasing* (*i. e.* the World is Infinite and Eternal). Every one should be acquainted with this. Being asked who asserts this, he (Choo-tsze) replied, *the ancients* assert it," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, T'ae-keih, sentence 25.

This animated World or Shang-te is the greatest *Numen* worshipped in China.

"The Great Extreme is the most extreme point, beyond which we cannot go; Most High, most Mysterious, most Pure, most Divine, surpassing everything," &c.—Ibid. sentence 30.

4. The eternal K'e or Shang-te is twofold, and like man, consists of subtle and gross K'e, the former the Soul, and the latter the Body.

"At the commencement of Heaven and Earth, before Chaos was divided, I consider that there were only two things, *Water* and *Fire*. The sediment of the Water formed the Earth."—Ibid. T'heen and Te, sentence 4.

This ethereal Fire is the Active Principle or Soul of the K'e, and it is designated Yang, Light; the Water, which is not the element, but a turbid, muddy mass, from which the Earth is eventually formed, is the Passive Principle, and is designated Yin, Darkness. It is on the former or Active Principle that the inherent Divine Reason confers intellect and the power of motion; the latter merely forms the ethereal Body or Vehicle of the Intellectual Fire.

"Intellect, perception, and motion, belong to the *Light*, bodily substance to the *Darkness*."—Ibid. ch. li., 19.

Hence it is from this Intellectual Fire that the whole K'e or Universe is styled MIND or Shang-te; for,

"MIND is the *brilliant portion* of the K'e."—Ibid. ch. xliv., 2.

Thus the Origin of all things, or animated Chaos, consists of three hypostases; viz.: 1. The Eternal, Ungenerated "Nature" or GOD (I..iv. c.). 2. MIND or the Soul of the World—the subtle K'e; and 3. The grosser K'e, his ethereal Body: and the relation between these three is stated as follows:—

"MIND compared with Nature is *more material;* compared with the K'e (*i. e.* the grosser K'e or Body) he is certainly *more spiritual.*" Ibid. p. 4.

Hence Chaos consists of *a rational Soul,* or Intellectual MIND *inherent in Matter.*

a. It is the *material* Principle, or turbid muddy mass, which the Chinese philosophers chiefly mean by the term "Chaos," *e. g.*:—

"That which forms the Chaos of Heaven and Earth is *the Water.*" Sing-le, &c. xxvi., p. 19.

5 Shang-te or MIND—the Light—is the firstborn from Chaos.

"Before Chaos was divided, the twofold K'e was confused and dark until it divided, and then the centre formed a wide and *most brilliant* opening, and the '*Two E*' (Light and Darkness) were established."—Choo tsze's Works, T'heen and Te, sentence 6.

Thus MIND, or Shang-te, in separating himself from Chaos or Matter, generates Yin and Yang, or Darkness and Light, like the Chaldean Bel, *by cutting himself in two;* hence he is addressed thus,

"O Te (Shang-te) when *thou* hadst separated the *Yin* and *Yang,*" &c.—Legge's "Notions," &c. p. 28.

Thus, also, although Shang-te is the *Son* of the Earth, or Matter, being the first generated God, yet as he emerges from Chaos by his own power, and then forms matter into the Earth, he is also said to *generate* the Earth, and he is therefore her *Father.* Earth afterwards becomes his *Wife.* In all this we have *the foundation* on which the poets built the various amours of Jupiter. The Rainbow is said by the Chinese to be the offspring of an adulterous connection between Heaven or Shang te and Earth.

6. Shang-te, or the Light, is also designated "Day," and the Darkness in Matter is designated "Night."

"Day and Night revolve without ceasing, and are the two principles, Light and Darkness," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, T'heen and Te, sentence 26.

Hence, in Chinese cosmogony, darkness broods over chaos until the birth of light, and thus *night is prior to day.*

7. MIND or Shang-te—the Subtle Ether—is the *demiurgic* framer

of the world; and the Divine Reason, or GOD, uniting with him, constitutes him the Ruler and Governor of the world; *e. g.* :—

"K'e accumulated forms body, Le unites with it, and *then* it has the power of intellect and perception; just as when oil is poured upon fire there is much flame. That which *causes* it to have perception is the Le of (*i. e.*, inherent in) MIND; that which *has* perception is the soul of the K'e,—*i. e.*, MIND himself, or the subtle K'e.—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix., 5.

"Being asked, with regard to the MIND and Le of heaven and earth, whether Le is Providence and MIND the Ruling Power (Shang-te), he (Choo-tsze) replied, MIND certainly is the Ruling Power, but that which constitutes him the Ruling Power is Le; not that, separated from MIND, there is a distinct thing, viz. Le, or that, separated from Le, there is a distinct thing, viz. MIND (*i. e.* these are *different* though not *separate* things, being eternally united). Being further asked whether MIND is the same as the Ruler, he replied, MAN is the same as Heaven (*i. e.* the world), and MIND is the same as the Ruler (Shang-te)."—Ibid. T'hëen and Te, sentence 20.

As it is the inherent reason which makes Shange-te or the Subtle Ether to be a MIND or rational soul, it follows that all Shang-te's acts in generating and governing the world are in reality the acts of the Supreme God or Le; *e. g.* :—

"Shang-te is *Le acting as Lord.*"—Ibid. sentence 27.

a. From the above statements it appears that the title "Heaven," given to the animated K'e, has a *threefold* application,—viz. 1, to the GOD κατ' εξοχην, or Le; 2, to the Ruling Power, or Shang-te—the subtle K'e; and 3, to the material Heaven or Universe—the gross K'e —which is Shang-te's body. These are the *only* applications of this term to be met with in the Chinese Classics; *e. g.* :—

"Being asked the meaning of the word "Heaven" in the Classics, he (Choo-tsze) replied, 'People must examine and distinguish for themselves; in some places *the azure firmament* is meant, in some *the Ruling Power* (Shang-te or MIND), and in some *Le is alluded to.*"—Ibid. sentence 29.

b. Hence Shang-te, or MIND complete, is the animated material Heaven, and there is no such thing to be found in the Chinese Classics as a *personal* God distinct from matter; *e. g.* :—

"The *Firmament* is *Heaven.* It is *this* Heaven which revolves and pervades (all things) without cessation. Now, to assert that Heaven has *a person* (Jin) up there, who records and judges sin and wickedness, *is certainly incorrect;* to assert that there is *nothing whatever* which governs it, is also incorrect. People should consider this point."—Ibid. sen. 28.

Thus *a* Lord and Governor of Heaven is admitted, while a *personal* one is denied; Shang-te or MIND being the inherent soul of heaven or the universe, who governs this his body, just as the soul in man governs *his* body; *e. g.*:—

"The substance, or *body* is called heaven, and the Lord and Governor thereof is called Te"—*i. e.* Shang-te.

"Shang-te is the Lord and Governor of Heaven, *as the human* MIND *is the lord and governor of the body*."—Medhurst's "Inquiry," &c., p. 28.

"Shang-te is the Ruler of Heaven, *just as* the MIND is the ruler of the body."—Legge's "Notions," &c., p. 52.

c. Although, however, the animated Heaven or World is Shang-te complete (body and soul), yet as the soul constitutes the being himself, it is the subtle invisible ether or "MIND" which is chiefly meant by the designation "Heaven" or "Shang-te" (see above, § 4); *e.g.*:—

"Heaven and Te (Shang-te) indicate *one* Being. The stars and constellations are not Heaven. Heaven must by no means be sought for *in what is visible*. In what does he, who seeks for Heaven in natural appearances, differ from a person who knows that a man has a body, colour, and form, but does not recognise *the honourable, sovereign* MIND?"—Ibid. p. 37.

6. It is from this animated Heaven or Shang-te that the whole mundane circle or world which he contains within himself is designated "Heaven;" *e. g.*:—

"Earth has hollow places; Heaven surrounds her on all sides, and has no hollow place. That which presses in and fills up all things is Heaven. The four quarters of Earth incline downwards, and rest upon Heaven; Heaven embraces Earth, and his K'e penetrates every place, so that *the whole mass is Heaven*."—Chung Yung Pun-e-hwae-tseuen, ch. i, p. 26.

"Heaven and Earth are in reality but *one* thing; *Earth is also Heaven*."—Works of the Two Chings, &c., vol. i., 30, 6.

Hence the World or Shang-te is indifferently styled "Heaven", or "Heaven and Earth;" and to worship this animated sacred circle is to worship Shang-te; *e. g.*:—

"Confucius said.... By sacrifices to *Heaven and Earth* they served Shang-te."—Chung Yung, sec. 19.

And *this* is the Being who is said in the Classics to "forgive" or "not forgive" sins; *e. g.*:—

"The phrase '*Heaven and Earth* will not forgive,' means that all things are devoted to destruction,"—*i. e.* are about to return to chaos. —Choo-tsze's Works, T'hëen and Te, sentence 5.

a. Thus Heaven and Earth, which are regarded as *male* and *female* (III. 5), ultimately resolve themselves into *one* Being, who partakes of *both* sexes, and is designated Heaven or Shang-te, and who contains and generates all things within himself:

"The *myriad of things* are included in Heaven and Earth; *Heaven and Earth* are included in Heaven."—Chung Yung, Pun-e, &c., ch. i., 26.

7. In this K'e, therefore, we have a compound Being, viz. the animated World, in whom Heaven or MIND—the subtle K'e—is the Soul, and the grosser K'e, or Matter, which ultimately becomes the Earth, is the Body. Hence we meet with such statements as the following:—

"Earth is *Matter*, Heaven is *God* (Shin)."—Chang-tsze, Ching-mung, i., 17.

"Heaven is *God* (Shin), Earth is *Body*."—Pit-tsze, ch. xlvii., 2.

This MIND or Shang-te pervades every portion of his body, the world, and is the principle of life in all creation. The soul in man is a portion of this subtle Ether or Soul of the World, and his body is derived from Earth or Shang-te's body; *e. g.*:—

"Every ether (*i. e.* soul) in existence, is it not from *Heaven?* every body in existence, is it not from *Earth?*"—Sing-le, &c., ch. xxvi., 9.

Hence, in the formation of man, Heaven or Shang-te confers the soul, and Earth the body: so that man is a microcosm, or lesser Shang-te (see iv).

8. This animated K'e, or Shang-te, triplicates his substance at the commencement of each universe; *e. g.*:—

"That which is infinitely great is called 'supreme,' and that which is undivided is called 'one'; this is the principle of the Great Extreme, which, including *three*, consists of *one*.—Medhurst's "Theology," &c., p. 82.

"The Great Extreme—the K'e—embracing *three*, is *one*."—Wan-haou-tseuen-shoo, p. 1.

"The "three" here spoken of are "Heaven, Earth, and Man," which are called the "San-tsae," or "the three Powers" of nature; and this triplication of the universe is effected by the power of the inherent MIND or soul, hence it is said,—

"When Te (Shang-te), the Lord, had so decreed, he called into existence *heaven, earth*, and *man*," &c., literally, "*the Three Powers.*"—Legge's "Notions," &c., p. 29 (see Chinese).

9. This animated K'e, or Shang-te, is also divided in the Chinese Classics into *eight* material forms; and this Ogdoad, we learn from the Yih-king, vol. xii., 17, 18, consists of Heaven, Earth, Thunder, Wind,

Water, Fire, Mountains, and Dew. These are the "eight Diagrams" of the Yih-king.

Thus we have in the Chinese system also the Triad and the Ogdoad, which are found in *every other Pagan system.* That these arbitrary numbers are not borrowed from any other system is plain from the fact of their differing *in details* from the others; and thus we have plain proof that the founders of the Chinese empire derived their system from the one source common to all before the Dispersion, and carried it with them from the Plain of Shinar to China.

In the "eight Diagrams" Heaven and Earth are regarded as the great Father and Mother, and the remaining six are styled "the Six Children," viz. three males and three females. The three males, or sons, are triplications of Heaven, or Shang-te; and the three females, who are united to them in marriage, are three daughters, triplications of Earth, or the Great Mother (see Yih-king, vol. xii., 17, 18). These are the chief gods of the Classics. Thus the three sons (or gods) resolve themselves into Shang-te, the Great Father, and the three females (or goddesses) into Earth, his wife; and Shang-te and his wife are blended into one compound hermaphroditic character, viz. Heaven, or the hermaphroditic Shang-te (see above, § 6, a). *e. g.* :—

"With regard to the whole (Heaven or Universe) then *Earth* is this one Heaven, and the *six children* are also this one Heaven."—Yih-king, vol. xiii., 19, 13 Com.

Thus the Triplication and the Ogdoad are alike *a delusion*, both resolving themselves into Shang-te himself (see vii. 3).

III. We now proceed to form the complete universe, or Shang-te, from the animated K'e. We have already seen that this K'e is twofold, and that it consists of an ethereal Fire or Light, which is the active and intellectual Principle, and grosser matter, which is designated Darkness, and which forms the ethereal Body, or vehicle of the Light or MIND.

1. The Light, which is the Good Principle, is designated "God," and the Darkness, or Evil and Material Principle, is designated "Demon;" *e. g.* :—

"*Demon* and *God* (Shin) are the K'e."—Choo-tsze's Works, chap. li., 3.

"The Darkness is Demon, the Light is God."—Ibid. p. 6.

"The Light is *Good*, the Darkness is *Evil*."—Ibid. Yin and Yang, sentence 23.

Both these Principles are by some of the Chinese philosophers designated "God" (see Hwae Nan-tsze's Cosmogony, p. 1, &c); but

the greater part designate the Good Principle alone "God," and the Evil Principle "Demon."

2. The Light, or Good Principle, is in the Yih-king designated "Këen," because its nature is "Hard;" and the inferior Principle is designated "Kwăn," because it is "Soft" and yielding. These two Principles generate the material world, of which they form the *twofold* Soul or MIND; *e. g.*:—

"When they assume form, Këen (the rational portion, or ψυχη) becomes Heaven, and Kwăn (the sentient portion or anima) becomes Earth."—Ibid. chap. xxviii, 1.

Being thus endowed with Body, the twofold soul is now regarded as *immaterial* when compared with it (see also II., 4); *e. g.*:—

"Heaven and Earth are Corporeal, Këen-Kwăn is *Incorporeal;* Heaven and Earth form the body of Këen-Kwăn, Këen-Kwăn is the essence of Heaven and Earth."—Ibid. chap. xlix., 26.

This Këen-Kwăn, or twofold soul of Heaven and Earth, as we have already seen (II., 2. *d.*) is MIND, or Shang-te; *e. g.*:—

"Këen-Kwăn is the Ruler (Shang-te) who governs all things."—Yil-king, vol. x., 13, 21.

Thus Shang-te's body is the whole world, and his soul is the twofold soul of the world.

a. Hence Shang-te (like Jupiter) is either Demon (Kwei) or God (Shin); that is, he is the chief Demon-God, or twofold soul of the world. Here we also perceive the vast difference which exists between "SHIN" and "Kwei-shin" in the Chinese Classics; the former being the Divine Reason, or soul of Shang-te, to whom the latter owes all his powers as well as his existence, and "Kwei-Shin" or "Demon-God" being Shang-te himself, or MIND, the twofold soul of the world.

3. This animated Heaven is designated "God," and the animated Earth is designated "Demon;" *e. g.*:—

"Heaven belongs to the Yang, and is God (Shin); Earth belongs to the Yin, and is Demon."—Sing-le, &c., chap. xxviii., 5.

And these are so designated from their souls; *e. g.*:—

"The soul of the Yang (Heaven) is God (Shin), and the soul of the Yin (Earth) is Demon."—Choo-tsze's Works, chap. li., 6.

Of these two Beings, however, as we have already seen, the animated Heaven or completed Këen, the rational soul of the world, from whom the whole circle or universe is called Heaven, is the most honourable; *e. g.*:—

"Këen is the commencement of all things, hence he is designated "*Heaven*" and "*Light*," and "*Father*" and "*Prince.*"—Yih-king, vol. ii., ch. 1, page 1. Com

a. Thus the *completion* of the rational soul of the world (Këen, or Shang-te proper), *i. e.* the endowing him with a body, is the same thing as the generation of Heaven; and the *completion* of the Demon, or anima mundi (Kwăn), by the generation of a grosser body, is the same as the generation of Earth; all this being effected by the constant revolutions of the K'e or Great Extreme, which thus divides into Yin (animated Earth) and Yang (animated Heaven); *e. g.* :—

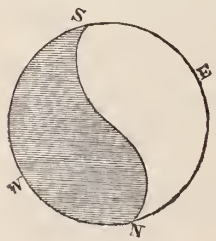
"He (*i. e.* Choo He) also said, the expressions, 'The producing of Heaven, the producing of Earth, the completing the Demon, the completing the Te (Shang-te),' mean the same as this, 'The Great Extreme moving and resting produced the *Yin* and *Yang*.'"—Legge's "Notions," &c., p. 63, note.

4. The two principles of Light and Darkness, which form the twofold MIND or soul of the material world, and constitute Heaven and Earth living Beings, are thus described by Choo-tsze :—

"That which fills up the midst of (*i. e.* informs) Heaven and Earth, *so that these can* make and transform (all things), is the twofold K'e, Yin and Yang, which cause termination, commencement, increase, and decline. The Yang (Light) is generated at the north, spreads out to the east, and fills up to the south. The Yin (Darkness) commences at the south, fills up to the west, and terminates at the north. Hence the Yang always dwells upon the left (*i. e.* the east), and to generate, nourish, cause to grow, and to cherish, is its province. Its species are Hard, Bright, Just, and Righteous, and the path of every good man belongs to it. The Yin always dwells upon the right (*i. e.* the West), and to hurt, wound, injure, and destroy is its occupation. Its species are Soft, Dark, Partial, and Selfish, and the path of every mean man belongs to it," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, Yin and Yang, sentence 25.

The Light, or Intellectual and Good Principle, is the rational portion of MIND, or ψύχη κοσμου, and is the most subtle ether inherent in the material heaven. The Darkness, or Material and Evil Principle is the *anima mundi* inherent in matter or the earth, on which it bestows life.

The usual way of depicting this twofold Principle of all things on walls and houses in China is thus :—



The Chinese do not say, "north, south, east, west," as we do, but generally, "south, north, west, east." In this diagram the spectator is supposed to stand *inside* the sphere, with his face to the north and his back to the south; then the east, the Empire of Light, will be on the left hand, and the west, the

Empire of Darkness, on the right. The Chinese do not mark the cardinal points in these diagrams; they are merely added here for the convenience of the reader.

This doctrine of an animated universe is held by all classes in China. The phrase "Wĕh-Tëen-Wĕh-Te" (Living Heaven and Earth), is constantly heard in Shanghae from men, women, and children; and the constant argument brought in favour of this idea is. "If Heaven were not alive how could he revolve? If Earth were not alive how could she generate things?"

As I was crossing a ferry one day, accompanied by a large number of passengers, I asked my usual question on such occasions, viz.:— "Can any one present read?" "Why?" said one. "Because," said another, "he wishes to give us books." "To teach us to worship Heaven and Earth" (*i. e.* Shang-te) said a third. "My books," I replied, "do not teach men to worship Heaven and Earth." "But don't you know that Heaven and Earth are alive?" asked another, repeating several times the phrase "Wĕh-T'ëen, Wĕh-Te," as proof of the accuracy of his statement. I answered, that my doctrine was "*Inanimate* Heaven and Earth," and that I worshipped the *Creator* of both. Upon this several shouted out, "Wĕh-T'ëen-Wĕh-Te! Wĕh-T'ëen-Wĕh-Te!" calling to one's mind the idolatrous cry, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" I begged of my fellow-passengers to believe in the only God, Jehovah, and not in the animated Heaven. "If," I added, "Heaven be alive, how comes it to pass that he allows astronomers to calculate his movements?" "Tush!" exclaimed one, pointing to the sky, "just look at him how great he is! Nothing can be greater than Heaven and Earth!"

As the Soul which animates the Earth is designated "Demon," all other Demons are supposed to be generated by her, and are comprehended in her substance. Hence the Chinese architect, who undertook to build my house at Shang-hae, refused to make the piles on which it stands six feet in length, lest in driving such long stakes he might wound the heads of some of the Demons, and so bring down calamities upon himself!

5. This complete animated World or Heaven and Earth, is regarded as being both Male and Female; and the animated Heaven or MIND now becomes the Male or Husband, who is styled in the classics "Imperial Heaven," while the animated Earth is regarded as the Female, and is styled "Empress Earth." These "two K'e" are the Chinese Great Father and Mother of all things; *e. g.*:—

"Këen is Heaven, and hence he is styled '*Father;*' Kwăn is

Earth, and hence she is styled '*Mother*,'" &c.—Yih-king, ch. xvii., p. 18.

"Heaven and Earth are *the Father and Mother of all things*."—Ibid. vol. iv., ch. iv., p. 6.

"If Heaven and Earth did not mingle together, the myriad of things *could not exist*."

"Heaven and Earth *generate all things*, and throughout all ages cannot be separated from the myriad of things."—Choo-tsze's Works, T'heen and Te, sentence 7.

"The officers slowly made obeisance three times and replied, you *stand upon* Empress Earth, and you *wear as a cap* (overhead) Imperial Heaven. Imperial Heaven and Empress Earth certainly hear what you say," &c.—Officers of the Tsaou and Tsin Countries. See Chun Tsew of Confucius.

In the Sho-king, book v., section 3, "Where one sage is said to influence Imperial Heaven, and another to influence Shang-te, a commentator says that 'Imperial Heaven' and 'Shang-te,' *both refer to Heaven*, and the difference is only *in the variation of the expression*," &c.—Medhurst's "Inquiry," &c., p. 23.

"Empress Earth . . . . is associated in the Chinese mind with Imperial Heaven, here called High Heaven, in the management of human affairs," &c.—Medhurst's "Theology," &c, p. 49.

Thus the whole World, or "Heaven," or Shang-te complete, is a great Hermaphroditic Deity, who is at once the Father and the Mother of all things, and who generates all things within himself, from his own "capacious womb"—the Earth. Thus when the world or Shang-te is regarded as "one K'e," he forms a complete Being or animal, in which Mind or Heaven is the Soul, and Matter or Earth is the Body (II. 7). Regarded as "two K'e," Mind or "Imperial Heaven" is the Male or Husband, and Matter or "Empress Earth" is the Female or Wife; and these two Beings, united in one universe, form the great Hermaphroditic Heaven or Shang-te, who generates all things from and within himself.

"If any one doubts whether Empress Earth is included, I should then say that Empress Earth was evidently included in the designation Shang-te."—Shoo-king, Canon of Shun. Com.

6. The First Man, the third great Power of nature, is the son of these two Beings, viz, Heaven or Shang-te, and his wife Empress Earth; *e. g.*:—

"(Choo-tsze) being asked how the First Man was generated, replied that he was formed from the K'e; the finer particles of the

Yin (animated Earth) and Yang (animated Heaven) and the five elements combined and completed his form," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, T'hëen and Te, sentence 5.

"Chaos is a bubbling, turbid water, which inclosed and mingled with the dual pewers (*i. e.* Heaven and Earth) like a chick *in ovo*, but when *their offspring* Pwanku appeared, their distiuctiveness and operations were apparent."—Williams' "Middle Kingdom, vol. ii., p. 196.

"The K'e of Heaven and Earth revolves without ceasing, *constantly generating both men and things;* it's midst contains coarse and fine (K'e) so that men are *depraved* and *upright.*"—Choo-tsze's Works, T'hëen and Te, sentence 26.

Thus the triplicatiou of the K'e or Great Extreme is Shang-te or Heaven, the Father; Empress Earth, his wife; and the First Man, their son; and these "three" MINDS, or Worlds, are in reality but "one" uuiverse or Great Extreme, or Shang-te; and hence Shang-te is always worshipped in the state religion under his triplication "Heaven, Earth and Man."

7. This Great Father and Mother are astronomically the Sun and Moon, by whom the Stars are generated; *e. g.*:—

The Yin and Yang "placed in opposition are Heaven and Earth, *Sun* and *Moon*," &c.—Yih-king, vol. x., 13, 21, Com.

"By the seminal influence of the Sun and Moon, the Stars were produced."—Chinese Repos. vol. iii., p. 55.

"The Sun and Moon are regarded as *the foci of the dual powers*, the male and female principles, and the former as the lord of life, like a great prince nourishes and bestows his favours, while the moon his queen is matched to him."—Williams's "Middle Kingd." vol. ii., p. 151.

Hence Shang-te or the Sun is thus addressed in the Book of Odes.

"How *majestic* is Shang-te, looking down on this lower world, *how gloriously does he shine!*" &c.—Medhurst's "Inquiry," &c., p. 39.

Hence also the Sun is supposed to be animated by the Soul of "Heaven" or Shang-te, which was translated to it; *e. g.*:—

"The Shin (*θεος-ψυχη*) of Heaven (the Universe) resides in *the Sun*," &c.—Sing-le, &c., 12, 30.

The Yin and Yang are always depicted thus on guard-houses in China , which represents the great Father Shang-te or the Sun escaping in the Lunar boat from the flood.—See Faber's Orig. of Idol.

8. Shang-te or Heaven, and his wife Earth, being the patrons of generation, are invoked at marriages; *e. g.*:—

"The first copy (of the marriage contract) we shall take and burn before *Heaven and Earth*," &c.

"(The contract) being solemnly sworn to, they knelt in humble worship before Heaven and Earth."—Wang Keaou Lwan, &c.

These two Beings are represented in Choo-tsze's T'heen and Te, sentence 37, by two symbols, which cannot be mistaken; the passage is unfit for translation.

9. The animated "Heaven" or Shang-te surrounds the Earth or World and preserves it in existence by his constant gyrations; *e. g.*:—

"Heaven revolving without cessation, Day and Night revolve, and Earth is supported in the centre. If Heaven should cease for an instant, Earth *must then sink down;* but Heaven revolves quickly, and therefore much sediment is condensed in his midst. Earth is the sediment of the K'e, therefore we say, the subtle and clear (K'e) became Heaven, the heavy and gross (K'e) became Earth."—Choo-tsze's Works, T'hëen and Te, sentence 2.

10. MIND proper, or the ψυχη κοσμου, the subtle ethereal Fire, is placed at the *outer* circle of this "Heaven" or complete Shang-te, who consists of *nine spheres; e. g.*:—

"Persons constantly assert that Heaven has nine stories, and divide these into signs; this is incorrect, he has merely *nine spheres*, but the lower portion of the K'e is comparatively gross and dark, above *at the highest point*, it is *most clear and bright*."—Choo-tsze's Works, T'hëen and Te, sentence 3.

Hence this animated "Heaven" or Shang-te, the Husband of the world, is thus spoken of in the classics:—

"Heaven is *widely extended over all*, without any private feeling, forgetting the difference between self and others (in making any decision) his justice and equity pervade to the utmost distance, in everything judging and discriminating accurately, therefore Heaven is called Te," *i. e.* Shang-te.—Medhurst's "Inquiry," &c., p. 6.

"In the collection of Imperial Odes, 9th section, 6th page, the writer says, 'We reverence Shang-te, because he *widely overspreads* all regions.'"—Ibid. p. 93.

"The *vast* and *sublime* Shang-te is the governor among the nations."—Ibid.

Wishing to ascertain accurately the views of the mass of the people at Shang-hae on this point, I set out, on one occasion in particular, to visit the principal temples in the city and to make certain inquiries of all those whom I might happen to meet. To relate all the incidents of this day is unnecessary; I shall merely mention one and request the reader *ab uno discere omnes.*

On going into the chief temple, I entered into conversation with a man who was standing near the idol, smoking his pipe. "Whom do you worship?" I asked. "I worship Heaven just as you foreigners do," he replied. "Who is the Heaven you worship?" "Why, Shang-te, of course," said he. "Can you *see* Shang-te or not?" I inquired. "Why," replied he, looking at me with surprise at my ignorance, and leading me to the door while he pointed up to the sky, "there he is!" "What," said I, do you mean that *blue sky* up there?" "Of course," said he, "that is Shang-te, *the same as your Jesus!*"

I have never yet asked the above questions without receiving *precisely the same answers*, for *all* classes of Confucianists in China consider Shang-te to be the animated material Heaven.

11. This animated "Heaven," or "Shang-te," is the only Being who has ever received supreme worship in China, so far as we can learn; for the account given of *the earliest act of worship*, is as follows:—

"Shun then offered a sacrifice of the same class (with the border sacrifice) to Shang-te," &c. On which passage the commentator remarks, "the border sacrifice was the usual offering presented to *the expansive heavens*," &c.—Medhurst's Shoo-king, p. 17, and note.

The reason of this title "Expansive" being given to Shang-te or the "heavens," is as follows:—

"Because of *the immensity of his ether*, he is designated 'Expansive Heaven;' because his throne is on high (*i. e.* spread over the earth) he is designated 'Shang-te.'"—Chow Le, section 18, 2.

Hence the Confucianists consider it absurd to make images of Shang-te as the other polytheists do; *e. g.*:—

"In the works of Choo-foo-tsze, section 12, p. 12, one asked in regard to the phrase 'offending against Heaven,' whether Heaven is that passage meant the azure canopy of heaven, or the principle of order? to which Choo replied, 'the substance or body,'" *i. e.* the material Heaven "is called heaven, and the Lord and Governor thereof," *i. e.* the subtle Ether or animating soul; "is called Te (Shang-te), but you must not confound this being with him whom the Taouists call the thrice pure great Te, whom they represent as enrobed in splendour and enthroned in state."—Medhurst's "Inquiry," &c., p. 27.

12. As the whole complete universe is styled "Heaven and Earth," or "Heaven," or "Shang-te," the intellectual Fire, or ψυχη κοσμου, which animates it, is indifferently styled "the MIND of

Heaven and Earth," or "the MIND of Heaven," or "the MIND of Shang-te," in the Chinese classics; *e. g.*:—

"In the same section, the writer talks of submitting himself to the inspection of Shang-te's mind, upon which Choo-foo-tsze has the following—'virtue and vice are all known to Heaven (see II., 7, 5): it is as if a catalogue of all our faults were made out and reckoned up; when we do anything good it is present to the mind of Te (Shang-te) and when I do anything bad it is also present to the mind of Te.' The phrase, "the mind of Shang-te' is explained by the commentator to mean 'the mind of Heaven.'"—Ibid. p. 23.

"Being asked whether the MIND of Heaven and Earth has life or is motionless, effecting nothing: he (Choo-tsze) replied, we must not assert that the MIND of Heaven and Earth has not life, but, *it cannot think and plan like man*," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, T'heen and Te, sentence 19.

It is this MIND of soul of the world, who appoints Emperors; *e. g.*:—

"Prefixed to the Yew-heŏ is a historical poem, in which the writer, speaking of the present dynasty, says, 'The mind of Te (Shang-te) surveyed the glories of the Tartar dynasty, and raised T'hëen-ming to the throne, who after reigning eleven years, reverted to the palace of Te'"—Medhurst's Inquiry, &c., p. 34.

13. From the preceding statements, the complete universe, or Shang-te, regarded as one K'e, or complete Being, Soul, and Body, may be thus described by a diagram:—

MIND
or
Heaven
or
Heaven and Earth
or
Shang-te
or
MAN (see Part IV.)

The Supreme Soul of the whole universe, or Shang-te, is the Divine "Reason," or GOD, κατ' ἐξοχήν, the Infinite Immaterial Space in which the universe, which is his visible representation, revolves. As in the

case of man, he unites chiefly with the MIND of Shang-te or the World, and makes it to be a rational Sould. From this twofold Soul (ψύχη and anima), the world is designated MIND, or Shang-te, and this twofold subtle Ether, by whose expansions and contractions all creation is generated or dies, is designated (as in man) "Kwei-shin," or "Demon-god." The ψύχη κόσμου, or rational portion of this twofold Soul, being the most pure Ether, is considered to be "hard" as to its nature, and is therefore designated "Këen." This Këen is the Demiurge or Great "Father" himself, who being constituted an intelligent Being or Soul by the First GOD or "Reason," which unites with him, generates or arranges the various portions of the world by his delegated power. From the *Supreme* Soul or GOD, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, who pervades the whole universe without division of substance, the animated World, or Shang-te, is designated "Reason," "Heaven," &c. &c. Hence the philosopher Ching-tsze thus describes him:—

"If we divide him (Heaven or Shang-te), and describe him, then his *Body* is called Heaven (the World); the ruling power (ψυχὴ or rational Soul) is called Te (Shang-te); the active energy (*twofold* Soul) is designated Kwei-shin (Demon-god); and that which renders all things mysterious is designated GOD (SHIN). With regard to nature, he (Shang-te, or the rational Soul) is designated K'ëen. K'ëen is the commencement of all things, and heuce he is designated Heaven, Light, Father, and Prince."—Yih-king, vol. ii., p. 12, Com.

By drawing the line A. B., we have Shang-te, or the world regarded as "two K'e," *i. e.*, "Imperial Heaven," the Husband, and Empress Earth, his wife; and these two Beings thus joined in one, form the great Hermaphroditic Shang-te, who generates all things from and within his own substance.

IV. Thus this complete universe, or "Heaven and Earth," or "Heaven," or "Shang-te," or by whatever other designation he may be called, although adorned with all the attributes of the true God, is yet merely a MAN; for he has a Body, viz., Heaven and Earth, the former his *head*, the latter his *feet;* his soul is twofold, partly rational and partly sentient, the former being the most subtle and pure Ether or Fire; and united with his rational Soul, is the GOD, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, the Divine "Reason." (Le Fate), which is his "*virtuous nature*," couferring upon him all the powers which he possesses, and to whom he owes his existence.

1. The World, or Shang-te, whether he be designated "Heaven," or "Heaven and Earth," or "MIND," is expressly declared to be a MAN; *e. g.*:—

"Heaven is a mould—*a Great Man*; Man is a small Heaven (Microcosm)."

"Heaven and Earth are a mould—a Great Man; Man is a small Heaven and Earth."—Yu-luy, ii., 26.

"Man is the Mind of Heaven and Earth."—Le Ke, iv., 26 (Le Yun).

By the term "Man" here, Sages and Emperors are chiefly meant; *e. g.*:—

"The Sage is the same as Heaven (Shang-te)."—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xvii., 30.

"The Sage is Heaven (Shang-te), and Heaven (Shang-te) is the Sage."—Ibid. ch. xxviii., 9.

"He (the virtuous Prince) stands as *one with* Heaven and Earth (Shang-te), and rebels not."—Chung Yung, sec. 29.

"One of the titles of the Emperor is *Heaven*, or *the Divinity*."—Medhurst's Inquiry, &c., p. 70.

Hence the Emperor is worshipped with the same degree of honour as Heaven, or Shang-te.—See Chinese Repos. vol. ii., p. 375.

Hence also the Emperor's wife is the same as "Empress Earth;" *e. g.*:—

"Eight days after this (16th June, 1833), on the 7th of the 5th moon, another paper appeared in the Gazette, praising her majesty, whose name was Tung-këa, for her great virtues ever since she became consort to Heaven (*i. e.* the Emperor), and during the thirteen years that she had held the relative situation of *Earth* to *Imperial Heaven*," *i. e.*, Wife to the Emperor.—Medhurst's Inquiry, p. 212.

2. The animated World, or Shang-te, and Man, are precisely the same, being formed from *the same materials*, viz. Le and K'e; *e. g.*:—

"That which *makes man to be man* is, that his Le is the Le of Heaven and Earth, and his K'e is the K'e of Heaven and Earth," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, sentence 23.

And, as the K'e in the World, or Shang-te, is twofold, viz. Mind and Matter, so also in Man:

a. The gross K'e, or body in Man, is the same as the gross K'e, or body of Shang-te, viz. Heaven and Earth; *e. g.*:—

"Heaven and Earth are one K'e, just as all the bones of a Man constitute *one* Body," &c.—Chung Yung, ch. iii., 51.

"Man's *head* is round like Heaven, his *feet* are square like Earth," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlii. 31.

"The Sun and Moon in Heaven (Shang-te) correspond to the eyes in Man," &c.—Sing-le, &c. xxvii., 1.

"The Shin of Heaven (ψυχὴ κόσμου) resides in the Sun (Shang-

te's eye) as the Shin (ψυχή) of a Man is manifested in *his* eye."—Ibid. xii., 30.

"Man receives the gross and subtle K'e, and resembles Heaven and Earth in form. . . . . His head is round like Heaven, his feet are square like Earth, his eyes are like the Sun and Moon, his voice like thunder," &c.—Ibid. xxvi., 29.

b. Also, the subtle K'e or MIND in Man, is the same as the subtle K'e or MIND of Heaven and Earth, *i. e.*, Shang-te proper.

"The MIND of Heaven and Earth pervades all things; Man obtains it, and then it becomes *the Mind of Man;* things obtain it, and then it becomes *the Mind of things;* Grass, Trees, Birds and Beasts obtain it, and then it becomes *the Mind of Grass, Trees, Birds and Beasts;* all is but the *one* MIND of Heaven and Earth."—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix., 23.

Hence the Minds or Souls of Men, Birds, Beasts, Trees, &c., are all alike Shang-te, being portions of this one MIND who pervades, animates, and governs every portion of his Body the World, as the Soul does the body in Man; *e. g.*:—

"Heaven and Earth are one K'e, just as the various bones of a Man constitute *one* body. Shang-te is the Ruler of Heaven (*i. e.*, his Body, the World), *just as the Soul is the Ruler of the body.* How can there be two (Rulers)?"—Legge's Notions, &c. p. 52.

As there can be but one rational Soul (or Ruler) in Man, so there is but one rational Soul (or Ruler) in the animated World, and all other Souls (or Gods) being but decerpted portions from this ψυχη κοσμου, are all alike Shang-te; *e. g.*:—

"If we speak of all the Gods (Shin) of Heaven (the World) *collectively,* we designate them Shang-te."—Le-Ke, book v., 34, Com.

3. As MIND, or Shang-te, is a *twofold* Soul in "Heaven and Earth,' so is he also in Man, and *in both,* this twofold soul is designated "Kwei-Shin," or "Demon-god."

"Heaven and Earth are *one thing with my body;* that which is designated Demon-god (in the World) is *my own K'e.*"—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. li., 22.

"That which Heaven and Earth possess *in common with Men* is called Kwei-shin," *i. e.*, Demon-god, or ψυχη and anima.—Medhurst's Theology, &c. p. 167.

4. On the ground that Man and Shang-te are one and the same, the former is exhorted to virtue; *e. g.*:—

"Man is *one thing with* Heaven and Earth (complete Shang-te) why then should he demean himself?"—Works of the Two Chings, &c. vol. i., 52.

Heaven, Earth, and the myriad of things are *one substance with my body;* when *my* MIND is properly adjusted, the MIND of Heaven and Earth (Shang-te) is properly adjusted," &c.—Chung Yung, i., 25, Com.

"The shin (rational soul) of Man, is the shin (rational soul) of Heaven and Earth (Shang-te); so that when Man demeans *himself*, he demeans *Heaven and Earth* (Shang-te). Can he then venture to do so?"—Sing-le, &c., ch. xii., 4.

Hence we see the reason why the rational soul in Man is designated God (Shin), namely, because it is a decerpted portion of the subtle Ether, or that God (Shin—Shang-te) who is the Soul of the World.

V. Shang-te, or the animated World, being thus shown to be but a mortal, although adorned in the attributes of Jehovah, the next subject of inquiry is, *Who* is this Man? To this question two answers may be given; *e. g.*:—

1. He is Pwan-koo.

The Great Extreme, or Chaos, we have seen, is a compound substance, consisting of MIND and Matter, the former the Soul, and the latter the Body: hence this origin of all things is evidently *a Man.* Now the Confucian law regarding dissolution is, that the soul and body return to their respective sources whence they were originally derived; *e. g.*:—

"Every ether (soul) in existence, is it not from *Heaven?* every body in existence, is it not from *Earth?*"—Sing-le, &c. xxvi., 9.

Hence when dissolution takes place,

"The body and anima descend (to Earth), and the Intellect and ether (*i. e.*, the rational soul in an ethereal vehicle) ascend (to Heaven)."—Le Yun, i., 20.

According to this law, therefore, when Chaos or the eternal First Man, separates into his component parts, the Soul or MIND ascends, and in this case *becomes* Heaven or Shang-te, while the Body or Matter descends and *becomes* Earth, and thus, as Socrates says, "*Life* springs from *Death.*" These two, now uniting in one universe, form the First Man, *in human form,* or lesser Shang-te, who is Pwan-koo, or *Adam.* Hence we are told that,

"The First Man was Pwan-koo. At the approach of death his body was transformed; his breath was changed into winds and clouds, his voice into thunder, his left eye into the sun, and his right into the moon, his limbs became the four regions, his blood and serum rivers, his sinews and arteries the earth's surface, his flesh fields, his beard the

stars, his skin and hair herbs and trees, his feet and bones metals and rocks, his fine marrow pearls and precious stones, his dropping sweat rain," &c.—Chinese Repos. vol. iii., 55.

Thus we have here a man, from first to last, who is, *first*, Chaos, or the Fœtus; *secondly*, the animated Heaven and Earth or World, and who, *lastly*, appears in human form; and hence the Great Extreme, or Animated Chaos, is said to have *triplicated* himself, or divided into three MINDS or Shang-tes. (See above, II. 8, and III. 6.)

Hence, when we turn to Chinese history, we find that Pwan-Koo, the First Man, or Animated Chaos, was succeeded by three sovereigns, styled *Heaven* Emperor, *Earth* Emperor, and *Man* Emperor; and these three Beings, the commentator states, are in reality "Heaven, Earth, and Man," the Three Powers of Nature, and the triplication of the "Great Extreme," or "Supreme Unit," or "Shang-te."—See "Mirror of History," vol. i.

Now these Beings being all formed by the union of the Male and Female Principles, are *Hermaphrodites*, and for the same reason *all* males and females are so regarded in China; *e. g.*:—

"Keen (Heaven or Shang-te) completes the male, Kwăn (Empress Earth) the Female. Although the male belongs to the *Yang*, yet we cannot affirm that he is not *Yin* (*i. e.*, female); and, although the female belongs to the *Yin*, yet we cannot affirm that she is not *Yang* (*i. e.*, male).—Choo-tsze's Works, Yin and Yang, sentence 17.

Thus we have in this family of the First Man (Pwan-Koo and his three hermaphroditic successors) in reality *eight* persons—viz., Pwan-Koo, or Shang-te, or MIND, the Great Father, his wife, three sons, and their three wives; and these eight individuals issue forth from chaos or the *ovum mundi*, and correspond to the prominent characters in the family of Adam."

2. Shang-te is also Fuh-he.

It is plain, from what has been already stated, that the First Man in his human form is in reality but a *re-appearance* of a former First Man, viz., animated Chaos; and between these two individuals intervenes a universal Deluge, from which the *second* First Man (if I may so designate him) escapes. Now this First Man, who escapes the Deluge and reappears at the commencement of each new world, is Fuh-he; *e. g.*:—

"Fuh-he is the First (who appears) at each opening and spreading out (of the universe)."—Sing-le, &c. xxvi., 19.

This Fuh-he, who is but a re-appearance of Pwan-koo or Adam, escapes from the Deluge with *seven companions;* and hence, in this

material system, the universe is not only divided into *three*, but also into *eight*; *e. g.* :—

"Although the Great Extreme of the Yih-king has not been delineated, yet Këen (Imperial Shang-te or MIND) is the Great Extreme. Speaking of both portions (of the sacred circle or universe), then Kwăn (Empress Earth) may be paired with him, and the *six children* are also included (*i. e.*, in the circle). With regard to the whole (circle or universe), then Earth is this one Heaven (universe or Shang-te) and the six children are also this one Heaven," &c.—Yih-king, vol. xiii., 19, 13 Com.)

Here we have also a family of eight persons, who issue from the sacred circle, viz., Shang-te or Fuh-he, his wife, and their six children. These "six children," we find, on reference to the Yih-king, vol. xii., chap. xvii., p. 18., are three sons and three daughters; and these brothers uniting in marriage with their three sisters complete the universe.

In this Fuh-he and his family, then, we have the prominent characters in *Noah's* family, who escaped from a general Deluge, which destroyed the rest of the human race.

It is evident that this family corresponds to Pwan-koo's, the males and females being here *separated;* for we are told that previous to this time there was *no distinction of sex*, Fuh-he having been the first who instituted *marriage*.—See Chinese "Mirror of History," vol. i., p. 7.

By the constant succession of similar worlds, the two periods of the world's history, viz., Chaos (or Creation) and the Deluge, are blended together, and consequently the families of Pwan-koo (or Adam) and Fuh-he (or Noah), are also blended together, the latter being merely a re-appearance of the former. This confusion is facilitated by the fact, evidently known to the ancestors of the Chinese, that the Adamic and Noetic families both consisted of eight persons; and hence in this material system they divided the universe or chief god into eight arbitrary forms. (II. 9.)

As the Deluge occupies so prominent a position in Chinese cosmogony, the First Man or Shang-te is rather Fuh-he than Pwan-koo, yet it is plain that the former is only a re-appearance of the latter; or, in other words, the Chinese classical Shang-te is the same Being as the "Great Father," worshipped by the whole Pagan world under the different designations of Jupiter, Baal, Osiris, Brahm, &c., *Adam re-appearing in Noah.*

VI. The above system of theology will be found, on examination, to correspond with remarkable accuracy, to the general system adopted

by the subjects of Nimrod's kingdom before their dispersion, and which was afterwards carried by them into the various countries where they settled.

1. The Yih-king is the Chinese authority on Cosmogony, and the doctrines of the Chinese philosophers are derived from this source. The doctrine of the endless succession of similar worlds as drawn from this ancient classic by Choo-foo-tsze (II., 1.) has striking points of resemblance to that taught by the stoics. Choo-tsye attributes the destruction of each universe to *the degeneracy of the human race,* and also states that each return to chaos is caused by *a general deluge.*

These rounds of nature are designated "*Great Revolutions*" or "*Years*" of the world. The circle in which the universe is supposed to revolve is divived into twelve portions thus,

Each complete revolution of this circle is called a "*Yuen,*" and each subdivision a "*Hwuy*" A Hwuy is generally supposed to consist of 10,800 years: on this point, however, the philosophers differ. In the first Hwuy, which answers to the Fŭh Diagram of the Yih-king, Heaven (Shang-te) emerges from the Ovum mundi or Chaos; in the second, Earth; and in the third, Man; each world commencing with this Triad. The Deluge prevails during the 12th and last Hwuy, that is the *ninth* period from the formation of the First Man, and on the return to the first Hwuy, the universe is again generated from chaos as before. The Cycle, which is formed by the combination of this Circle with another of ten divisions, is said to have been invented by "Naou the Great" after the Deluge.—See Kae-peih-yeu-e, vol. i., pp. 1, 2; also Kang-këen, &c., p. 11.

"After an interval of rest, says Seneca, in which the Deity will be intent upon his own conceptions (II. 1,) the world will be *entirely renewed;* every animal will be reproduced, and a race of men free from guilt, and born under happier stars will repeople the earth. *Degeneracy and corruption* will, however, again creep into the world; for it is only when the human race is young that innocence remains upon the earth. The grand course of things from the birth to the destruction of the World, which, according to the Stoics, is to be repeated with *endless succession* is accomplished within a certain period. This period, or fated round of nature, is probably what the ancients meant by *the Great Year.*"—Enfield's Hist. of Philos. vol. i., p. 341.

Mind or Shang-te, who is inherent in Chaos, generates the world from his own body, Matter; and after the expiration of a certain period, swallows up his offspring again; he himself remaining like "the Deity" of the Stoics, in profound quiescence during the Deluge. Thus Shang-te corresponds to the "Devouring Jupiter" of the Stoics.

"The world, says Seneca, *being melted,* and having *re-entered* into the bosom of Jupiter, this God continues for some time totally concentred in himself, and remains concealed, as it were, wholly immersed in the contemplation of his own ideas. Afterwards we see *a new world* spring from him perfect in all its parts," &c.—Faber's Orig. of Pag. Idol., vol. i. p. 139.

2. Thus Jupiter and Shang-te are *the same Being;* for,

a. Shang-te is the pure Ether or Fire (II., 4.)

"The Stoics held that *the ether* was signified by the name of Jove."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 428, note.

"Let Jupiter, therefore, be no longer that *fiery and ethereal substance,* which the ancient Pagans, according to Plutarch, supposed him to be," &c.—Ibid. p. 424.

b. Shang-te is placed at the *outer* circle of Heaven or the Universe, which consists of *nine spheres* (III., 10). Cicero says,

"All things are connected together in *nine spheres,* of which one is the celestial and *outermost,* which comprehends and encompasses all the rest, *the Supreme God himself* confining and containing the others." "But here," remarks Dr. Mosheim, "Cicero's summus Deus is the last of those nine spheres *of which the ancients supposed Heaven to consist.*—Cudworth, vol. ii., p. 127, note.

"The Stoical system teaches that *both* the active and passive principles in nature are *corporeal,* since whatever acts or suffers must be so. The efficient cause or God, is *pure ether or fire,* inhabiting *the exterior surface of the heavens,* where everything which is divine is placed," &c.—Enfield's Hist. of Philos., vol. i., p. 331.

c. Shang-te is the Soul of the World, containing and governing it as the soul governs the body in man. (II., 7 *b.*)

"As we are governed by a soul, so also the world has a soul which *contains it*, and this soul is called Zevs or Jupiter."—Cudworth, vol. ii., p. 296 note.

d. Shang-te is designated MIND. (II., 4, 7.)

"By Zeus the Greeks understood that MIND of the world which framed all things in it, and containeth the world."—Ibid. vol. i., p. 424.

e. Shang-te preserves the world in existence by his constant gyrations. (III., 9.)

Jupiter is thus invoked in a passage in Euripides:—

"Thee, the self-sprung, I invoke, who *enfoldest* the whole nature of things, *whirling* in ethereal gyration, around whom *day* and variegated *night*, and the countless throng of stars perpetually dance."—Ibid. p. 631 note.

f. Shang-te is a *twofold* Soul, partly rational ($\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$) and partly irrational (anima). See III., 2.

So Plutarch's "Ruler," or Jupiter;

"From this (evil soul)" *i.e.*, anima, "and that orderly and best substance," *i.e.* the rational and good soul, "God made it prudent and regular, and imparting, as it were, intelligent form to sensitive, regular to moving, appointed it *the ruler of the universe.*"—Ibid. p. 335 note.

So also Plato:—

"Must we not necessarily say that the soul *governing* and *residing in* all things that move, governs also heaven (*i. e.* the world)? Assuredly. One or more? At least more than one; nor ought we to lay down fewer than *two*, the one *beneficent*, the other *working contrary things?*"—Ibid. p. 339 note.

g. Shang-te or the World is a Man, and Man is a microcosm, the Soul of the latter being twofold, like the soul of the world whence it is derived. (IV., 1, 3.)

So Jupiter or the World:—

"Man, according to Plato, bears the image of *the whole world;* both the world and man being a compound of *soul* and *matter*, and the soul of both, being *partly rational* and *partly irrational.*"—Ibid. p. 348 note.

"From this we see the nature, as well as the origin and birth, of that soul which *governs and rules the whole universe.* That mundane soul consists of two parts, &c. From this soul of the world were derived, according to Plato's opinion, *those souls by which our*

bodies are governed. What is said of it, therefore, we are to suppose as said of these also. As the soul of the world consists of two parts, one brute and irrational, the other rational and wise, *so also our minds.*"—Ibid. p. 335 note.

h. The rational Soul of the World, or Shang-te proper, is designated God (Shin), and hence the rational soul in Man being a decerpted portion from this rational soul of the world, is designated God (Shin). See IV., 3, 4.

So also the ψυχη κόσμου or Jupiter proper ; (*a.*) is designated God (Θεος), and hence (*b.*) the rational soul in man, being a decerpted portion from this rational soul of the world, is designated God (Θεος) also.

a. "God (Θεός) is the soul (ψυχη) of the world."—Ibid. p. 211 note.

b. According to Zeno's doctrine, the "*minds* of men are *parts of God.*"—Ibid. vol. ii., p. 107 note.

"The Stoics do not hesitate frequently to call *the human mind* God."—Ibid. p. 106, note.

Vetet enim *dominans illa in nobis Deus,* injussu hinc nos demigrare."—Tusc. Disp. lib. i., cap xxx. lxxiv.

Hence also, as men are called Gods (Shiu) in China, so were they called Gods (Θεοι) in Greece and elsewhere ;

" . . . . . it is *a common practice* with the Stoics and Platonists to call men *gods,* as supposing that the sovereign portion of man, namely, *the mind and rational soul,* emanated from God himself, and is a part of God ; and that if man bestows due care on this part, and abstracts it from body, he then becomes wholly like unto God, nay altogether a god."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 373, note.

"Wherefore, in order to be consistent, they ought also to have placed *all souls* among the gods, and to have mutually paid divine honours to each other."—Ibid. vol. ii., p. 106, note.

According to the Chinese not only Mind but also,

"*Human speech* and action . . . . . belong to the Shin (God).—Medhurst's "Theology," &c., p. 9.

And according to the Stoics,

"Even mind and *voice* are corporeal, and in like manner *Deity.*"—Enfield's Hist. of Philos., vol. i., p. 332.

i. Shang-te, the animated Heaven, receives various titles in the Chinese Classics: *e.g.* "The *vast* and *sublime* Shang-te," &c. (III., 10.)

So also Jupiter, or the animated Heaven ;

"Aspice hoc *sublime candens,* quem invocant omnes *Jovem,* &c. The reason of which speeches seems to have been this, because in

ancient times some had supposed *the animated heaven, ether, and air* to be *the supreme Deity.*—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 423.

k. The animated World, or Shang-te, generated and animated by the God (Shin) κατ' εξοχην is designated "Heaven," and is the chief numen worshipped in the state religion. (II., 3. 6.)

So the animated world or Jupiter:

". . . . . he (the God κατ' εξοχην) generated the universe a *blessed God.*—Timæus, sec. 13.

"The world, and that which by another name is called *Heaven*, by whose *eireumgyration* all things are governed, ought to be believed *a numen*, eternal, immense, such as never was made, and shall never be destroyed."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 210.

"Let the universe then be called *Heaven*, or the world, or by any other name which it usually receives," &c.—Timæus, sec. i.

l. Shang-te, or Mind, or the animated universe, must not be confounded with idols; (III., 11).

So also Jupiter, or the animated universe;

"Seneca speaks of the Tuscan augurs as employing the terrors of Jupiter's lightnings to keep in awe those who could only be restrained from wickedness by fear; and adds, that they believed the thunder of heaven to be in the hands not of the Jupiter worshipped by the Romans *in the Capitol and other temples*, but of a Supreme Intelligence, the *guardian* and *governor* of the universe, the *maker* and *lord* of this world. But, he adds, 'to this Deity agree the several names of Fate, Providence, Nature, or *the universe sustaining itself by its own energy*;' a doctrine we shall afterwards see was held by the Stoics."—Enfield's Hist. of Philos. vol. i., 111.

m. Earth or Matter first generates Heaven or Shang-te, the ethereal Fire, and then consorting with this her son, she generates the rest of creation, (II., 4, 5. III., 5.)

So also Heaven or Jupiter;

"Earth first produced Heaven radiant with constellations; that is, the *fiery* and *more subtle* particles of matter flew off from the rest, and rose to loftier regions, forming the heavens and the stars, &c. Then Earth *consorting with her own offspring Heaven*, gave birth to several Deities, and last of all to Saturn," &c.—Cudworth, vol. i., 406, note.

Hence as Shang-te is either the *Soul* or *Husband* of the world, so is Jupiter;

n. Heaven or Shang-te and his wife the Earth, are astronomically the Sun and Moon; (III., 7.)

"The Stoics, amongst the Greeks, look upon the fiery substance of the whole world (and especially the Sun) as animated and intellectual, to be *the supreme Deity*," &c.—Cudworth, Ibid. p. 472.

"Jupiter is said to be the Sun by Macrobius, Nonnus, and the author of the poems which bear the name of Orpheus."—Faber's Orig., &c., vol. ii., p. 206.

". . . . the Persians added the worship of the moon to that of the sun, and regarded the moon as the sun's wife."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 473, note.

o. Man is the offspring of Heaven or Shang-te and Earth, his wife; the former gives the soul, the latter the body; and at death these return to their respective sources. (II., 7, III., 6, V., 1.)

"The mighty *earth* and the *ether of Jove*, the father of men and gods, *gencrate the human race.* What is produced from the earth *goes back again to earth*, and that which springs from ethereal seed *returns to the celestial pole.*"—Ibid. vol. iii., p. 279, note.

"Earth is the *mother*, she produces *the body;* ether adds *the soul.*" —Ibid. p. 280, note.

3. Chaos animated by MIND is the chief god (Shang-te) of the Chinese Philosophers. (II., 2, c; 3.)

"This Chaos, which was also called Night, was *in the most ancient times* worshipped as one of the superior divinities."—Enfield's Hist. of Philos., vol. i., p. 90.

Besides the material principle, "the Egyptians admitted *an active principle*, or *intelligent power*, eternally united with the chaotic mass, by whose energy the elements were separated and bodies were formed, and who continually *presides over* the universe, and is the efficient cause of all things."—Ibid.

4. The K'e when in its chaotic state is designated "one," and this "one" is a compound Being composed of *two* Beings, a Male (Heaven) and a Female (Earth). (II , 2, c. III., 4, 5.) Thus all things are generated from an *hermaphroditic* unity. The whole Pagan world likewise held that,

"All things were produced from *an hermaphroditic unity.*"—Faber's Orig. &c. vol. iii. p. 69.

5. Chaos, properly so called, is the *Water*, which is a turbid and muddy mass from which all things are generated by the inherent MIND; (II., 4, a.)

"It is probable that by the term *Water* Thales meant to express the same idea which the Cosmogonists expressed by the word *chaos*, the notion annexed to which was, as we have shown, *a turbid and muddy mass*, from which all things were produced."—Enfield's Hist., &c., vol. i., p. 151.

6. The Eternal Matter, or K'e, is two-fold, gross and subtle (II., 4.)

The Pagan Philosophers of other nations also,

". . . . supposed two kinds of matter: one a *grosser* nature and dissolvable from various causes; the other *more subtle*, and capable of eing destroyed by divine power alone."—Cudworth, vol. iii., p. 111, *note*.

Thus the K'e, or *material* "Nature" (I., 4 c.) is one whole, consisting of a subtle Ether or Fire, which is the active principle (Shin—God), and grosser matter which is the passive principle, and the ethereal body of the former, which is the animating MIND or Soul: *both* of these being in reality the *same* substance—K'e, air;

"Pythagoras, Heraclitus, and after them Zeno, taking it for granted that there was no real existence which is not *corporeal*, conceive nature to be *one whole*, consisting of a *subtle ether* and *gross matter*, the former *Aetive*, and the latter the *Passive* Principle, as essentially united as *the soul and body in man;* that is, they supposed *God*, with respect to nature, to be not a co-existing, but an informing principle."—Enfield's Hist., &c., vol i., p. 335.

8. The two principles are Light, the Active, and Darkness, the Passive Principle. The latter is *prior* to the former (II., 6).

"The *mus araneus* being blind, is said to have been deified by the Egyptians, because they thought that *darkness was older than light*."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 399.

9. Hwae Nan-tsze, and some others, designate *both* these principles "God (Shin);" but the generality of the Chinese Philosophers designate the Light or Good Principle "God (Shin)," and the Darkness or Evil Principle "Demon (Kwei)," III., 1. According to Plutarch,

"Zoroaster and the ancient Magi made *good* and *evil*, *light* and *darkness*, the two substantial principles of the universe, that is, asserted an evil demon co-eternal with God, and independent of him," &c.—Ibid. p. 486.

This class, "called the better principle *God*, and the worse *demon*," &c.—Ibid. 371, *note*.

"Some suppose that there are *two* gods, as it were of contrary arts, so that one is the author of good, the other of evil things; others call him that is better a *god*, but the other a *demon* only."—Ibid. 354.

". . . . almost all the oriental nations believe the all-pervading light to be *God*."—Ibid. p. 475, *note*.

"In the earliest ages, God himself was believed to be *light* and *ether*."—Ibid. vol. iii., 279.

10. The Light or MIND proper is the first *generated* God (Shin), and is the chief God of the Chinese Pantheon (II., 5);

So Jupiter or the Light,

"But the earth being then invisible by reason of the darkness, a *light* breaking out through the ether illumined the whole creation; this light being said by him (Orpheus) to be that *highest of all Beings* (before mentioned) which is called counsel and life."—Ibid. vol. i., p. 503.

11. The K'e, which *emanates from* the GOD (SHIN), κατ' ἐξοχην (I., 3), consists of two principles: the one Light or an intellectual God (Shin), the other Darkness or an evil Demon (Kwei'). So Zoroaster;

"If these authorities be carefully compared, it will appear probable that Zoroaster, adopting the principle commonly held by the ancients, that from nothing, nothing can be produced, conceived *light*, or those spiritual substances which partake of the active nature of fire, and *Darkness* or the impenetrable opaque and passive mass of matter, to be *emanations from one Eternal Source;* that to the derived substances he gave the names already applied by the Magi to the causes of good and evil: Oromasdes and Araminius, and that the first Fountain of Being, or the Supreme Divinity, he called Mithras."—Enfield's Hist. &c., vol. i., p. 64.

Hence in the SHIN, κατ' ἐξοχην, of the Confucian Classics we have Mithras, or the Θεος κατ' ἐξοχην of Zoroaster; and in the twofold matter generated by the former, we have Zoroaster's two generated deities, viz., Oromasdes (Shang-te) and Araminius.

12. Chaos consists of a rational Soul inherent in matter; or three hypostases, viz., Reason, MIND, and Matter. MIND, or Shang-te, being merely the *Demiurge* or *second* God, who owes his existence and all his powers to the Divine Reason (II., 4, 7).

So the Egyptians, &c.,

". . . . they determining *mind* and *reason* first to have existed of themselves, and so the whole world to have been made. Wherefore they acknowledge *before* the heaven and *in* the heaven a living power, and place *pure mind* above the world as the Demiurgus and architect thereof."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 540.

The maker of the world *was not* "the Supreme Being, but . . . . *far below* the parent and founder of all things."—Ibid. p. 598, *note.*

"Among the *rulers*" of the world, "Jamblicus assigns the *first* place to the *Demiurgic Mind*, which he tells us is Ammon, Phtha, and Osiris."—Ibid. p. 602, *note.*

Thus, although a GOD (SHIN), κατ' ἐξοχην, who is in reality the Father of all things, is acknowledged by the Confucianists, yet this First God is wholly neglected by them, and the *second* God, or Shang-te receives all the worship due in reality to the First; no higher God being recognized in the state religion than this Demiurge,

who is regarded as the Creator himself. In this, however, the Chinese resemble the rest of the Pagan world, *e.g.*,

"The Father perfected all things, that is, the intelligible ideas (for these are those things which are complete and perfect), and delivered them to the *second* God to *rule over* them. Wherefore, whatsoever is produced by this God according to its own exemplar, and the intelligible essence, must needs owe its original also to the highest Father. Which *second* God the generations of men *commonly take for the first*, they looking up no higher than to the *immedate* architect of the world."—Ibid. p. 484.

13. In the Chinese Chaos we have Plato's Trinity, *viz.*, 1. The indivisible Unity, or First God, the Soul of the K'e, or Shang-te 2. MIND, or Shang-te proper, the rational portion of the Soul of the world; and 3. The anima mundi, or irrational portion of the soul of the world (II., 4).

". . . . these three divine hypostases of the Egyptians with the Pythagoric or Platonic trinity of first, τὸ ἓν, or τ' ἀγαθὸν *unity* and goodness itself, secondly, νοῦς, *mind*, and thirdly, ψυχη (*i.e.*, anima), *Soul*."—Ibid. p. 601 (see also pp. 484-5).

14. The two principles of Light and Darkness ultimately become the twofold soul of the world, intellect being first placed in this soul by the GOD (SHIN) κατ' ἐξοχεν, and the soul being then placed in body, *viz.*, the universe (III., 3, 4).

So Plato,

"In pursuance of this reasoning, placing intellect in soul, and soul in body, he (the Θεὸς κατ' ἐξοχην,) *constructed* the universe."—Timæus, ch. 10.

15. Shang-te complete is the whole animated world, Heaven is his head, Earth (including Tartarus, ii., 2 e), his feet, the Sun and Moon are his eyes, his rational soul (Νους or MIND) is the pure ether &c., &c. (IV., 2; V., 1.)

So Jupiter.

"The whole universe constituted one body; the body of that king from whom originated all things; and within that body every elemental principle alike revolved; for all things were contained within the vast womb of the God. Heaven was his head; the bright beams of the stars were his radiant locks; the east and the west those sacred roads of the immortals were his tauriform horns; the sun and the moon were his eyes; the grosser atmosphere was his back, &c.; the all productive earth was his sacred womb; the circling ocean was his belt; the roots of the earth, and the nether regions of Tartarus were his feet; his body the universe was radiant, immoveable, eternal; and

the pure ether was his intellectual soul, the mighty *Nous* by which he pervades, animates, preserves, and governs all things."—Faber's Orig. &c., vol. i., p. 42.

So also the Egyptian Serapis,

"The celestial world is my head; the sea is my womb, the earth supplies to me the place of feet; the pure ether furnishes me with ears; and the bright lustre of the sun is my eye."—Ibid. p. 43.

16. The Chinese and Stoics agree precisely in their ideas of *Man*. Man according to the Stoics and others, had a twofold body, viz., Head and Feet; and a two-fold soul, viz., Demon and God (*Θεος*). This they transferred to the universe or Heaven, *i.e.* Jupiter. According to the Chinese also, Man's body is two-fold, viz., Head and Feet; and his soul is two-fold, viz., Demon and God (Shin): and this they have also transferred to the universe or Heaven, *i. e.* Shang-te.

VII. Shang-te or MIND is the "Great Father" (Adam reappearing in Noah) worshipped by the whole Pagan world, under the various designations Jupiter, Baal, Brahm, Osiris, Eros, &c., &c.

1. Shang-te or MIND, the creative Soul of the world, is born from the *ovum mundi*. (II., 2 e: 5.)

"We perpetually meet with a legend of *the great father* being born out of *an egg*, &c."—Faber's Orig. &c., vol. i., p. 171.

"The creative soul of the world therefore, which triplicates itself at the renovation of the mundane system *is produced out of an egg*, which floated during the intermediate period between two worlds, on the surface of the ocean, notwithstanding it is described as being the productive cause of all things."—Ibid. p. 172.

2. Shang-te triplicates his substance into *three* worlds, viz., Heaven, Earth, and Man, which, however, are regarded as being but *one* universe. (II., 8, III., 6.)

"Whether they (the Pagan world) addicted themselves to Demonolatry, to Sabianism, or to gross materialism, we still invariably find the same propensity to *the triple division*, which was esteemed so peculiarly dear to the god whom they worshipped. Pursuant to such a speculation the unity of the whole world, that supposed body of the great father was divided into what were called *three* worlds, though the three were nevertheless fundamentally but *one* universe," &c.—Ibid. pp. 44, &c.

This Triad consists of *two gods*, viz., "Imperial Heaven," or Shang-te, and "Man;" and *one goddess*, viz., "Empress Earth;" so that under this Triad we have "Heaven" or Shang-te, the *father;* Earth, the *mother;* and Man, their *son*.

"Thus we find (amongst the Pagan mythologists) triads consisting

of a god and two goddesses, and again of *two gods and one goddess* Each of these principal varieties had also its sub-varieties. Under..... the *second* we have a *father*, a *mother*, and a *son*."—Ibid. p. 24.

These three Beings are also styled "Heaven-Emperor, Earth-Emperor, and Man-Emperor," being three sovereigns who divide the universe between them. (V., 1.)

"Noah was esteemed the universal sovereign of the world; but when he branched out into *three kings*, that world was to be divided into *three kingdoms*, or (as they were sometimes styled) three worlds. To one of the three kings, therefore, was assigned the empire of heaven; to another, the empire of the earth, including the nether regions of Tartarus; to a third, the empire of the ocean. Yet the characters of the three kings as we examine them *mutually melt into each other;* until at length we find but *one* world and *one* sovereign. who rules with *triple* sway the three grand mundane divisions."—Ibid. p. 17.

3. This great Hermaphroditic Shang-te, who thus triplicates his substance, is also said in the Yih-king, to divide into *eight* Beings or portions. The great Father triplicates, generating *three sons;* the great Mother triplicates generating *three daughters;* and these three brothers united with their three sisters, are designated "the six children."—See Yih-king, vol. xii., ch. xvii., p. 18. (II., 9, V., 2.)

"The genuine triad doubtless consisted of *three sons born from one father*, and united in marriage with their *three sisters;* and this was sometimes mystically expressed under the notion of the primeval Demon-god wonderfully *triplicating his substance*, &c. We shall constantly find the old hierophants confessing, that in reality they have but one god, and one goddess, for that all the male divinities may be ultimately resolved into *the great father*, as all the female divinities finally resolve themselves into *the great mother*."—Ibid. p. 24.

This Ogdoad or "Eight Diagrams" of the Yih-king, are materially "Heaven, Earth, Thunder, Wind, Water, Fire, Mountains, and Dew," (II., 9); a most arbitrary division of the great Demon-god Shang-te, or the animated universe.

"There was another characteristic of the chief Demon-god which was not to be overlooked. The ancients well knew that his family at the commencement of *both* worlds consisted of *eight persons* . . . and at all hazards these determined analogical speculatists were resolved to elicit the number eight from the reluctant frame of the unbending universe. From the whole connection of this legend there can be no doubt, I think, that the eight forms of the great father mean *the eight*

persons who were saved in the ark; those eight persons whom the Egyptians adored as their *chief gods*, and whom they depicted sailing together in a ship over the ocean. Yet, when the same great father is materially identified with the universe, his eight forms are then expressly pronounced to be the somewhat heterogeneous ogdoad of Water, Fire, Sacrifice, the Sun, the Moon, Ether, Earth, Air . . . An Ogdoad is said to have been produced from the womb of the hermaphroditic Jupiter, who is described as the great parent identified with the universe; but, while it is just as heterogeneous in point of composition as the last," and also, we may add, as the Chinese Ogdoad, "*its members are by no means coincident*, though the sum total in both cases equally produces the number *eight*. This second ogdoad consists of Fire, Water, Earth, Air, Night, Day, Metis, and Eros. Here again as in the case of the former one," and of the Chinese, "*the members are plainly accommodated to the number;* the number is not chosen, because by a *natural arrangement* the members exactly amounted to eight, but eight members are arbitrarily associated together because the precise number eight had been *previously selected*, and the sum total was to be made up whether congruously or incongruously."—Ibid. pp. 44-46.

4. The *Ovum mundi*, or sacred circle, out of which Shang-te and his family are generated after the Deluge, represents either the Chaotic World in which MIND is hidden in the womb of Earth or Matter, or the arranged and completed Universe of which MIND is still the animating Soul (II., 2, e).

Of the *Ovum mundi* Mr. Faber says :

"The ancient pagans, in almost every part of the globe, were wont to symbolize the world by *an egg*. Hence this hieroglyphic is introduced into the cosmogonies of nearly all nations ; and few are the persons, even those who have not made mythology their peculiar study, to whom the mundane egg is not perfectly familiar. The symbol was employed to represent not only *the Earth*, but likewise *the universe* in its largest extent," &c.

"But there was another world which the hieroglyphical egg was employed to represent, as well as the Earth or Universe. At the period of the Deluge, the rudiments of the new world were enclosed together within the Ark, which floated on the surface of the ocean in the same manner as the globe of the Earth was thought to have floated in the waters of Chaos. Hence the Ark was esteemed a microcosm or little world ; and hence arose a complete intercommunion of symbols between *the Ark* and *the Earth*. The egg accordingly, being made a symbol of the Earth was also made a symbol of *the Ark*," &c.

"As the globe, which is a solid circle, is sometimes substituted for the egg, so *the circle* or *ring*, which is a plain sphere, sometimes occupies the place of the globe," &c.—Ibid. pp. 175, 176, 189.

5. With regard to the confusion, visible also in the Chinese system, between the Creation and the Deluge, and the blending together of the Adamic and Noetic families (V., 2), Mr. Faber says,

"The primitive world commenced with a single pair; who may indeed have had other children, but who were chiefly memorable as being the parents of *a triad of sons* espoused to *a triad of daughters*," &c.

"Now it is a curious circumstance that in all these particulars, the new world, with more or less exactness, resembles the old. *It also* commenced from a single pair, remarkable as having for their offspring a triad of sons espoused to a triad of daughters-in-law, &c.

"Such being the clear analogy between the histories of the two worlds a fresh theoretical refinement was built upon it. The doctrine of a mere succession of worlds was heightened to the doctrine of a succession of *similar* worlds. Each mundane system was thought to present an exact resemblance of its predecessor. The *same persons* appeared in *new bodies*, &c.

"Agreeably to these speculations, while Noah and Adam are *each* esteemed the great universal father both of gods and men, the former was supposed to be no other than a *re-appearance* of the latter; and in a similar manner, the divine souls which once animated the Adamitical triad, were thought to have been again incarnate in the persons of the Noetic triad," &c.—Ibid. pp. 11–14.

6. The designation given to Shang-te, who animates the world as the soul does the body, is MIND (II., 2 d: 4 & 7 b).

"A somewhat similar observation may be made on the name which the Greeks employed to designate the all-pervading Mind or Intellect, that was thought to animate and govern the world *as the human soul does the body*. In point of matter of fact, this Mind was certainly *the great father or Noah viewed as a re-appearance of Adam*. The Adamitical Noah, therefore, being the fabled Mind of the world, the Greeks borrowed the proper name (*Nous* or *Nus*) of that patriarch, and employed it to describe Mind or Intellect."—Ibid. p. 173.

Hence Shang-te, the soul of the world, is the same as Janus, Jupiter, &c.

". . . . the imaginary Soul of the World is the same as that *great universal father, both of gods and men, whom the Gentiles adored under so many different names:* for Janus, Jupiter, Cronus, Dionusus, Osiris, and Brahm, are all undoubtedly the great father; and at the same

time they are all equally described as being *the pervading soul of the world.*"—Ibid. p. 170.

And, in the three MINDS, or Emperors, into which this Demiurgic MIND, or Shang-te, divides himself, we have the Platonic "three kings" (V., 1 a);

"The demiurgic Mind or Soul which Proclus rightly identifies with the creative hemaphroditic Jupiter of Orpheus and Plato, is said by Amelius to have triplicated itself; so that this one Mind became three Minds, or *three kings*, and these three Minds or demiurgic principles, as Proclus subjoins, are the same as the Platonic three kings, and as the Orphic triad of Phanes, and Uranus and Cronus."—Ibid. p. 171.

7. Shang-te is also the Husband of the Earth or World which forms his body or Wife (ii., 7, iii., 5). These two Beings are worshipped under the titles "Imperial Heaven" and "Empress Earth," and the whole universe or Shang-te is a great Hemaphroditic Deity formed by their union;

"This Intelligent Being who was indifferently the *soul* and the *husband* of the world, was the great father or principal Demon-god of the Gentiles; while his *body* or *consort*, the Earth, was their primeval great mother or chief goddess. The two were allowed to be the most ancient of their deities, and the first of the Cabiric gods; and they were ever venerated conjointly in different countries under the names of *Cœlus* and *Terra*, *Osiris* and *Isis*, *Taautes* and *Astarte*, *Saturn* and *Ops*, *Woden* and *Frea*, or *Isani* and *Isi*."—Ibid. p. 165.

"The writings of the old mythologists strongly maintain the doctrine which identifies both the great father and the great mother, or these two persons blended into *one compound hermaphroditic character* with *the whole material creation*."—Ibid. p. 41.

8. Shang-te and his wife the Earth, are worshipped as the patrons of generation, and are represented indecorously (III. 8).

"These two ancient personages, from whom all things were allowed to have been produced, were on that account esteemed the patrons of generation, and were thought to preside over births of every sort and description. They were reckoned the two principles of fecundity, whether animal or vegetable; and as the universe was supposed to have originated from their mystic union, they were *in every quarter of the globe*, represented by two symbols: which were indeed sufficiently expressive of their imagined attributes, but which cannot be specified *consistently with a due regard to decorum*."—Ibid. p. 24.

9. Shang-te and his wife Earth, are astronomically the Sun and Moon (III., 7);

"As they (the ancient hierophants) highly venerated the souls of

their paradisiacal and arkite ancestors, considering them in the light of Demon-gods who still watched and presided over the affairs of men; it was a very easy step in the progress of apostate error to imagine that they were *translated to the heavenly bodies*, &c. Since they perceived the Sun and the Moon to be the two great lights of heaven, and since they worshipped with an especial veneration the great father and the great mother, they would naturally *elevate these two personages to the two principal luminaries*. Such accordingly was the plan they adopted," &c.—Ibid. p. 31.

10. From the union of MIND and Matter, Shang-te, or the world, is stated to be "a great man," and Man "a small world" (IV. 1);

For the same reason Mr. Faber says,

". . . . physiologists were accustomed to style the world *a great man*, and man *a small world*," &c.—Ibid. p. 163.

11. The souls of men are emanations from Shang-te (IV., 2 b);

"The souls of men consequently were reckoned to be emanations from the great Soul, and were considered as fellows and members of the principal deity."—Ibid.

12. All the other deities resolve themselves into Shang-te (Ibid. and II., 9);

"Though the gentiles were ostensibly polytheists, yet in absolute strictness of speech they worshipped only *one great compound deity*, who was the reputed parent of the universe. All their gods ultimately resolve themselves into a single god, who was esteemed the great father; all their goddesses finally prove to be only one goddess, who was accounted the great mother; and these two beings at length appear as *a sole divinity*, who was thought to partake of *both sexes*, and who was venerated as alike the father and the mother of the whole world."—Ibid. vol. ii., p. 205.

13. Shang-te remains inactive until the time arrives for the formation of a new world. During the period of the Deluge he remains securely shut up in the *ovum mundi* (or Ark), all things being absorbed into his substance (II., 1 a);

"Every thing is then (at the return to chaos) absorbed into the unity of the great father; and this mysterious being during the period that elapses between each two mundane systems, reposes on the surface of the mighty deep, floating securely, either in *a wonderful egg* or in the calix of the lotos, or on a naviform leaf, or on a huge serpent coiled up in the form of a boat, or in a sacred ship denominated Argha, of which the other vehicles are consequently symbols. To destroy, however, is but to create afresh, for destruction affects *form* alone; it reaches not to *substance*. Hence when the great father has slept a

whole year of the creator, the space which ever intervenes between world and world, he *awakes from his slumber*, and produces a new order of things. Out of the chaotic materials of the prior world, another world is fashioned," &c.—Ibid. vol. i., p. 112.

14. Shang-te's body is the world, and his soul is the soul of the world. All things are generated by him and return to his substance (II, 2 b, III., 2, IV., 2 b);

So also the great father of the whole Pagan world;

"All nature was *produced from him* and *returned to him;* all nature was his *body;* and his pervading spirit was *the soul of the world.*"—Ibid. p. 40.

15. Shang-te is the *Son* or *Father* of the Earth or Ark (II., 5); and the

". . . . speculations of Paganism . . . . represented Noah both *as the father and as the son of the Ark*," *&c.*—Ibid. p. 198.

16. Shang-te is merely a MAN (IV., 1, V., 1, 2);

"The person, therefore, who in the mythology of the Pagans is venerated as the creator of the world, who is esteemed the Soul of the Universe, and of whom every thing material, whether great or small, is a member or form, is plainly *not the Supreme Being*, whom by their perverted wisdom they had ceased to know; but *a mere man* who was deemed the head and parent of each successive similar world, who was thought to have produced and still to animate every living creature, and who was worshipped as the chief god and oldest of the Demon-gods."—Ibid. p. 49.

17. This First Man is regarded as an Hermaphrodite. (V., 1, a.);

"The notion of the first created man being an Hermaphrodite has doubtless arisen from a misconception of the primeval tradition, which through Noah was handed down to the builders of the tower, respecting the process of forming the original pair. As the woman sprang out of the side of the man, and as therefore she made a part of him before such disjunction, it was mystically said that Adam or Swayambhuva was androgynous, and that all things were produced from an hermaphroditic unity."—Ibid. vol. iii., p. 68.

18. The Source of all Shang-te's powers, however, is the GOD (SHIN) *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, who unites with his Soul or Mind. (II,. 7);

"For them (those who rejected two *independent* principles) *Wisdom*, ever kindly ready to solve all difficulties, had provided another expedient. This was, since the great triplicated father was confessedly eternal, to *identify him with the Deity;* and since matter was also eternal to make the Soul of the great father the Soul of the world, and to give him the whole universe for his body. But here it would

readily be objected, how can the mere man Adam or Noah, whose office it is to appear at the beginning of every new world, be admitted as God, when his form had been always that of a simple mortal? To this question *Wisdom* is at no less for a reply; the body indeed was the body of a man, but the immortal soul was *the Deity himself;* from time to time he descends and becomes incarnate in the person of the great Father, and on special occasions appears in the form of other eminent characters; the spirit of this eternal great Father with whom when multiplied into three forms each world commences, is to be revered as the true plastic arranger and governor of the universe; beside him there is no God, for his *three forms* or his *eight forms* are equally a delusion, *emanating from him, and resolvable into his sacred essence.*" (II., 8, 9.)

"Thus, as the Apostle speaks, did *Wisdom* teach mankind," including the founders of the Chinese Empire, "at Babel, *to change the truth of God into a lie, and to worship the creature more than* or *in preference to the Creator.*"—Ibid. vol. i., p. 102.

From the above statements it appears: 1. That the Chinese system of Theology, as derived from the Yih-king, corresponds in a very remarkable manner to all the other Pagan systems: 2. That this remarkable agreement not only extends to what is "obvious and natural," but also to "arbitrary circumstantials," proving that the Chinese have not borrowed from any other nation: and this proof is rendered still stronger by the fact that these "circumstantials" differ in detail from those of all other systems (*e. g.*, the Triad and Ogdoad). 3. Hence the conclusion is inevitable that the Chinese also derived their system from one primeval system common to all the Pagans: or, in other words, that the founders of the Chinese Empire formed a part of the single community assembled on the plain of Shinar, under Nimrod, before the dispersion, and after that event carried to China that idolatrous system which has existed there to the present day.

NOTE.

As the above system appears to me to throw light upon the unhappy controversy which has now been carried on for some years in China, I shall make a few remarks here on this subject.

The want of a new translation of the Scriptures into the Chinese language, has long been felt by the missionaries in China. Some years ago preparations were made to supply this want. and the delegates appointed at the various missionary stations to engage in this work, assembled at Shang-hae in the month of June, 1847.

These gentlemen had scarcely commenced their labours, when a difference of opinion arose amongst them with regard to the proper Chinese term to be used as the translation of אֱלֹהִים and Θεὸς. One party considered that the Chinese term "SHIN" is the translation of these terms, and the other thought that wherever these terms occurred in the Scriptures, the designation of the being most honoured by the Chinese, viz., "Shang-te," should be inserted in the Chinese translation, the term "Shin" appearing to them to signify "Spirit," and not "God."

This difference of opinion gave rise to a *vivâ voce* discussion which lasted for some days: and the discussion was afterwards carried on in writing for about five months. Afterwards, several missionaries published their views on the subject. Neither party, however, having been at all influenced by the arguments of the opposite one, this important question remains still undecided; and the Bible Society, feeling unable to decide which opinion is correct, has generously offered to assist each party in printing the new translation, with the terms of which they severally approve, throwing any responsibility which may attach to this course on the several Missionary Societies.

It is, however, a matter of the utmost importance, that we who are privileged to preach the Gospel of Christ to the Chinese, should "with *one mouth*," as well as "with *one heart*," proclaim the glad tidings of salvation; and hence, with an humble desire to promote, if possible, so excellent an object, I have endeavoured to lay before the reader the *complete* system of theology inculcated in the classical writings. I feel sure that the only way to bring the controversy to a favourable termination, is to lay before classical scholars the very striking similarity which exists between the Chinese and all other Pagan systems.

It appears to me that in investigating any Pagan system of philosophy, we should take especial care to ascertain the ideas attached to important terms *by Heathen writers themselves*. For if caution be not exercised on this point, we are in danger, by affixing a *Christian* sense to such terms, of giving the Heathen credit for an amount of knowledge which they never possessed, and of thus damaging any conclusions we may draw from our own researches.

"It is the custom with a great many," says Dr. Mosheim, "to believe the ancients to have attached *the same idea* to words that we do at this day, and to take for granted that the old philosophers followed the same laws and principles in their reasoning as ourselves: hence they altogether remodel these Philosophers, and present them before us, not as they really were, but *such as they would have been*,

had they been educated in our schools."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 53, note.

The mistakes which may arise from this method of interpreting the works of Heathen writers, might be fully exemplified from what has been published in China on the subject of the controversy above alluded to. I shall, however, merely notice a few of the most important.

1. It has been strongly urged that the Chinese term "Shin" merely means "spirit or spiritual," and not "God," because the Chinese Philosophers, and also the literati of the present day (amongst whom the Lieutenant Governor of Fokien Province has been appealed to) define that term "Woo-hing," or "Incorporeal," and this term "Incorporeal," it is taken for granted, is equivalent to *our* terms "spirit or spiritual." Such would doubtless be the case in any *Christian* work; but it is not so in *Chinese* writings. This is plain from the fact that Choo-foo-tsze, who has been appealed to by the writers on both sides of the controversy, states, ch. xlix., p. 25, of his "Complete Works," that Heaven, or the Subtle Ether, is "Incorporeal (Woo-hing)," and the Ether is certainly not "spirit or spiritual" in *our* sense of these terms.

The fact is that the terms "Incorporeal," "Immaterial," &c., are used by the Chinese Philosophers in precisely the same way as ασωματον was used by the Western Pagans, and must be considered *relatively*, and not necessarily implying what *we* mean by these terms: for, *the same thing* is sometimes pronounced by Pagan Philosophers to be both "material" and "immaterial," when spoken of in reference to *finer* or *more gross* substances; *e. g.*:—

"MIND compared with Nature is *more material*, compared with the K'e he is certainly *more spiritual*." (II, 4.)

Here Mind or the ψυχη κοσμου, (*i. e.* Shang-te), which rules the world, and is "Woo-hing," is stated to be either a "material" or "immaterial" Being, according as he is compared with the GOD κατ' εξοχην, or with the more material world, in which he is inherent, and which forms his body. On this subject Dr. Mosheim says,

". . . . . it appears very doubtful, whether that which the ancients termed ασωματον (Woo, *not*, hing, *body*), and incorporeal, was intended to be such as what *we* call spiritual and spirit. Certainly many things seem to show, that that very thing which *they* supposed to be immaterial, was considered by them *to consist of particles*, although certainly the most subtle."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 53, note.

That which this learned writer here states to be so doubtful, has, in the case of the Chinese Philosophers, been taken for granted; with what degree of accuracy let the passage quoted from the works of

Choo-tsze testify. It is plain that a point so doubtful ought to have been first *proved*, before any argument was built upon it, as to the meaning of the term "Shin."

2. It has also been urged that "Shin" means "spirit or spiritual," and not "God," because the rational soul in man is so designated. This is, in fact, the great stronghold of those who consider that the term "Shin" means "Spirit," and not "God."

But here, it seems to me, two important points which ought to have been first *proved*, before this argument can have any weight, have been taken for granted; viz.: *first*, that the rational soul *is* in the estimation of the Chinese Philosophers what *we* call "spirit or spiritual:" and, *secondly*, that the meaning which *the Chinese themselves* attach to the term "God," renders it impossible that *they* should apply such a term to the rational soul.

Now with regard to the first point, the rational soul, in the opinion of the Chinese, is a portion of the subtle Ether or Soul of the World (iii., 2, b.), which according to *our* ideas is *material*, inasmuch as it consists of particles, although, as Dr. Mosheim says, "the most subtle." Hence an examination into the ideas entertained by the Chinese themselves as to the nature and origin of the soul, would have shown the inconclusiveness of the argument alluded to, as to the meaning of the term "Shin." With regard to the second point: the Chinese Philosophers have been shown to resemble the rest of the Pagan world in holding "Shin," like Θεὸς and Deus, to be the ψυχη κοσμου, and the rational soul in man to be *an emanation* from that Soul; and hence we find these two souls designated by the same term. In this case it is plain that such an application of the term "Shin" no more necessarily proves that term to mean "mere spirit," than the like application of Θεὸς and Deus proves that these terms mean "mere spirit," and not "God." On the contrary, we have here a most remarkable point of similarity in the use of the three terms, Shin, Θεὸς, and Deus.

The application which the Chinese Philosophers themselves make of the term "Shin" in their writings, it appears to me, places it beyond question that this term agrees precisely to the term "God" as used by all Pagan Materialists: for,

a. As all Pagan nations held one Θεὸς κατ' εξοχην, so the Chinese hold one SHIN, κατ' εξοχην, the Author of all things.

b. The Chinese Pilosophers give precisely the same titles and attributes to their Supreme "Shin" which the rest of the Pagan world gave to their Supreme "Θεὸς."

c. The position and power assigned to both "SHIN" and "Θεὸς" in the Universe is precisely the same;

d. With regard to the first *generated* Deity, as "almost all" the Oriental nations call the Light "God;" so the Chinese call it "Shin." So that, as in the earliest ages "God" was considered to be Light and Ether, so do the Chinese consider "Shin" to be Light and Ether.

e. The twofold Principle of the world was designated by the Pagans "Light" and "Darkness;" the better Principle or Light they designated "God," and the inferior "Demon;" and the Chinese hold this twofold Principle, designating the Light or better Principle "Shin," and the inferior one or Darkness "Demon." Also, the Chinese, in common with the rest of the Pagans, designate the Light "Good," and the Darkness "Evil."

f. The Light or "God" was the ψυχη κοσμου, and was designated Jupiter; and the Chinese hold the Light or "Shin" to be the ψυχη κοσμου, and designate it Shang-te.

g. The Pagans considered the soul in man to be a portion of this ψυχη κοσμου or "God," and hence they designated it Θεὸς, Deus, or "God; and the Chinese consider the soul to be a portion of the ψυχη κοσμου or "Shin," and hence they designate it "Shin."

It is unnecessary to pursue this parallel further; sufficient has, I think, been stated to show that the meaning of the terms Θεὸς and Deus must be affected by the meaning attached to the Chinese term "Shin;" so that, if the latter must be regarded, from its use in the Chinese Classics, as signifying "Spirit," and not "God," so must the former be also regarded as signifying "Spirit," and not "God;" for no material difference can be found in the applicatiou of these several terms in the Chinese and other Pagan systems.

With regard to the term "Spirit," it appears to me hopeless for any one to expect to find amongst Pagan writers a term signifying "Spirit" in our *Christian* sense of that term. The Heathen have no idea of any nearer approximation to pure spirit than very subtle ether. Neither the Greek Πνευμα, nor the Latin "Spiritus," signified Spirit in *our* sense of that term, until Christianity gave them that higher application. As to Angels and Spirits, we are indebted, as Mr. Locke observes, *to Revelation*, for our knowledge of the existence of these Beings; so that, to regard the "Shin" of China (amongst whom are ranked *Trees*, *Birds*, and *Beasts*, &c.) as "immaterial Spirits," or "Angels," is, to say the least of so extraordinary a statement, giving the Chinese credit for a knowledge which they do not possess. (See Legge's "Notions of the Chinese," &c., p. 149, and Medhurst's "Inquiry," &c., pp. 146–7.

If, as in the case of "Shin," we investigate the meaning and

application of the Chinese term "Ling," we shall find that it corresponds accurately to the terms πνευμα and spiritus as used by the Pagan Greeks and Romans.

The twofold soul in man and in the world is anima and ψυχη; the former being designated by the Chinese, Greeks, and Romans, "Demon," and the latter being designated by these Pagans respectively "Shin" "Θεος," and "Deus." As the "Yin," or inferior principle always "confers body," the anima or Yin-soul is the *ethereal body* of the rational soul. Such was also the idea of the Platonists, Pythagoreans, and others. Hence in China, as in other Pagan nations, the demons in Hades are represented *in human form.*

a. Although *both* souls were by Western philosophers designated πνευμα, yet this was the proper appellation of the anima; and in China also, although both souls are designated "Ling," yet this, like πνευμα, is the proper appellation of the anima; *e.g.*,

"The clear K'e of the yang (*i.e.* the ψυχη) is called Shin (God), and the clear K'e of the Yin (*i.e.* the anima), is called Ling (Spirit)."—Kang-he.

These "Ling" or Simulacra were,

"The πνευματα of Homer, which Ulysses beheld in the lower regions, or *spirits representing the form of the human body.*"—Cudworth, vol. iii., p. 284, *note.*

b. These "Ling" are material, *e.g.*,

"That which makes the p'hih, anima or sensitive soul, differs from the h'wăn, rational soul, is that the anima is *matter,*" &c.—Medhurst's Inquiry, &c., p. 101.

And, of the term πνευμα, Dr. Mosheim says,

"I have already more than once remarked, that this word in ancient authors frequently means, *not what we call spirit*, but a thin, subtle, nature, resembling a shadow rather than a body, and yet consisting of *a certain matter.*"—Cudworth, vol. iii., p. 370, *note.*

c. Kang-he states that the Ling, or anima, is "man's animal spirits," and we learn from the Chun Tsew of Confucius, and elsewhere, that it is nourished by animal food, such was also the πνευμα, or anima, of the Western Pagans, *e.g.*,

". . . . blood is the food . . . . of the πνευμα, *i.e.*, that subtle body called *the animal spirits.*"—Ibid. p. 266.

Thus the very same thing, which was designated in the West "πνευμα" and "Spiritus," is designated "Ling" by the Chinese; hence these three terms correspond, and, as the Apostles taught their hearers to apply the term πνευμα in a higher sense than they were previously accustomed to do, so must the Missionary of the present day teach the

Chinese a higher and more noble application of the term "Ling," than they are capable of discovering by the mere light of nature.

3. In what has been stated regarding the application of the word "Heaven," in the Chinese Classics, by two of the most voluminous writers on the controversy, we have another example of the necessity of investigating the meaning attached to so important a term by *the Chinese themselves*. From want of caution on this point, these authors have fallen into the mistake of considering that the Chinese use the appellation "Heaven," just as Christians do. One of these writers says on this point,

"In this application of the word Heaven to the Supreme (*i.e.* Shang-te), the Chinese are not singular. It is used *in the sacred Scriptures* by metonomy for the Divinity."—Medhurst's Inquiry, &c., p. 20.

The other writer alluded to, speaking of the application of the term "Heaven" to Shang-te in the Classics, says,

"It is a mode of speech which has *the sanction of the Bible*—which *the blessed Saviour Himself* did not disdain to employ."—Legge's Notions, &c., p. 38.

From these statements it is evident that these authors are not aware that Shang-te, or MIND, is *a Soul*, and not a *personal* Being, distinct from matter, or they would not have fallen into the mistake of imagining that the Holy Scriptures and the Chinese Classics speak of the *same* thing—"Jehovah," under the *same* title—"Heaven." And yet, it seems strange that these writers should not have suspected the truth on this point, for they both quote the statements of the Classics that Shang-te governs the world as the soul does the body in Man.

4. From the Chinese sysem of Cosmogony laid before the reader in the previous pages, it will be seen that Shang-te is the identical "Great Father," or Adam re-appearing in Noah, worshipped by the whole Pagan world, and which idolatrous worship was set up on the plain of Shinar, whence each nation (and amongst the rest the founders of the Chinese Empire), carried it to the several countries in which they settled after the confusion of tongues and the consequent dispersion. Shang-te, notwithstanding his high-sounding titles, must therefore take his place with Baal, Jupiter, Osiris, &c., all of whom were the "Great Father," or First Man.

This "Great Father," however, has frequently been mistaken for the true God, in consequence of the attributes which belong to Jehovah alone being given to him by his votaries. This mistake has been made also by those Missionaries in China who consider that the wor-

ship of Shang-te ought to be sanctioned by the Chinese Scriptures. Of the two writers above alluded to, one, captivated by Shang-te's attributes and titles, unhesitatingly pronounces him to be "*God over all blessed for ever;*" while the other, more timidly, declares him to be the true God, "*as far as the Chinese know him,*" whatever that qualification may mean. On this subject, Mr. Faber says,

"Some writers of note . . . . from some remarkable expressions which have been used by Gentile authors in various countries, and which *in their legitimate acceptation* can only be applied with propriety to the Supreme Being . . . . have inferred that the true God was the object of pagan, no less than of Jewish and Christian veneration, though his attributes were disguised and his worship was debased by much vanity and superstition, &c.

"But this, so far as I can judge, is *wholly insufficient* to establish the hypothesis, that the chief deity of the Gentiles was truly and properly Jehovah, acknowledged as the Creator of the world, though dimly viewed through the mist of polytheistic absurdity. The mere ascription of certain attributes of Jehovah to that deity *will not prove their identity; nor can it set aside the apostolic declaration,* that by their wisdom the heathens knew not God, and that to all intents and purposes they were no better than atheists." — Faber's Orig, &c., vol. i., p. 54.

One of the above-mentioned writers on the Chinese controversy, has even gone so far as to assert that the triplication of Shang-te into "Heaven, Earth, and Man," bears "some allusion to the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, which may have been derived by tradition from the patriarchal age." (Medhurst's "Theology of the Chinese," p. 85.) This writer, however, is not the only Missionary who has fallen into this error concerning the "Great Father," as the following statement of Sir William Jones will show:

"Very respectable natives have assured me, that one or two missionaries have been absurd enough, in their zeal for the conversion of the Gentiles, to urge that the Hindoos were even now almost Christians because their Brahma, Vishnou, and Mahesa were no other than the Christian Trinity; a sentence in which we can only doubt whether folly, ignorance, or impiety predominates. The tenet of our Church cannot, without profaneness, be compared with that of the Hindoos, which has only an apparent resemblance to it, but a very different meaning."

Mr. Faber, while he considers this censure of Sir W. Jones too severe, remarks,

"An examination" of these Triads "seems to me very clearly to

prove that they have *no sort of relation whatever* to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, but that they sprang from a totally different source."—Ibid. p. 18, and *note*.

From all these instances of mistake respecting the Chinese system, we may perceive the necessity, in translating and interpreting Heathen authors, of observing the useful caution given by Dr. Mosheim, viz., that

"Those who read the works of ancient authors, and meet with the words νους ασωματος, simplex, &c., &c., therein, should take care not necessarily to consider them as conveying the same idea as that which *we* attach to them in reference to *God*, *Soul*, and *things divine*."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 54, *note*.

Having already shown who Shang-te really is, and that he is merely the animated Universe composed of MIND and Matter, it is unnecessary to dwell upon the impiety and danger of sanctioning the worship of such a Being in the Holy Scriptures. It is much to be regretted that one million of New Testaments are now being printed in China by some of the Missionaries, with the funds of the Bible Society, in which the designation "Shang-te" is inserted wherever Θεος occurs in the original, and the term "Shin" is used as the translation of πνευμα: so that, as the Confucian Classics inculcate the worship of Shang-te, so do the Holy Scriptures; and both the Classics and the Scriptures, by this use of the term "Shin," inculcate *pantheism*. Let the reader imagine what would be the effect of inserting the word "Jupiter," in our version of the Scriptures, wherever the word "God" occurs, and the word "God" wherever "spirit" or "soul" occurs, and he will then be able to form some idea of the notion of Christianity which the Chinese are likely to derive from the "million Testaments" now in process of printing. No amount of divine attributes bestowed upon Shang-te, who is really a MAN, can ever make him to be the Infinite Jehovah. Jehovah is the only true "SHIN," and beside Him there is no other.

I could, if it were necessary, state many instances in which the Chinese readers of Christian tracts, and of the New Testament, on being interrogated as to whom they supposed the Shang-te mentioned therein to be, have unhesitatingly replied "Heaven and Earth;" and who have as unhesitatingly stated that "Jesus is the son of Heaven and Earth," *i.e.*, the Hermaphroditic Shang-te. Instead, however, of dwelling upon such cases, I shall merely allude to one of the most remarkable instances of the danger of preaching and teaching the worship of Shang-te—I mean that of the Insurgents. These men have been confirmed in the worship of Shang-te by various tracts and books

circulated amongst them, and also by the preaching of Missionaries. They have received this teaching and have adopted the doctrines inculcated. They have even printed large portions of a Bible, in which Shang-te takes the place of Jehovah, and hence in their published works they designate the Being whom they worship, indifferently, "Shang-te," or "Jehovah." They state that we foreigners have brought no new doctrine to them, for that both Chinese and foreigners have always worshipped *the same Being*, viz., Shang-te. These men are, I suppose, as well instructed in the Scriptures, and in the doctrines therein inculcated, as any others in China who derive their knowledge from the same source ; indeed, judging from the translations of their books which have appeared in newspapers, &c., we should consider them to be perfect Christians if we were not aware that these translations make them appear, as Dr. Mosheim says, "not as they really *are*, but such as they *would have been* had they been educated in our schools."

Whom then do these men suppose the Shang-te of their Scriptures, and the Being preached to them by the Missionaries, to be? Let them answer this question for themselves. In speaking of the origin of souls, they say,

"Whence are generated, and whence come forth the souls (of men)? These are all conferred by *Imperial Shang-te, the original K'e*, whence they are generated and come forth. Hence it is said (in the Classics), that one Root (*i.e.*, Shang-te or MIND) scattered and became innumerable radii (*i.e.*, Souls) and these innumerable radii all revert to one Root," viz., Pater Æther or Shang-te. (See also Sing-le-ta-tseuen, ch. xxxiv, pp. 19, 21.)—T'ae-ping Chaou Shoo, p. 10.

"Hence man being formed *by the creative energy of Heaven and Earth* (*i.e.* Shang-te), in the course of nature derives his birth from his parents at the fixed period," &c.—Proclamation of Lew, Great Generalissimo of the T'ae-ping Celestial Empire. North China Herald, May 20th, 1854.

Thus it appears that the Insurgents, led astray by the preaching of some of the Missionaries (however unintentionally) and also by the Bibles in their possession, declare the Shang-te of the Confucian Classics, who is worshipped at the round hillock at Pekin, to be *our* Jehovah, and consider both to be the subtle Ether (K'e) or MIND, inherent in Heaven, Earth, Man, and all things. Hence in their San Tsze King, they designate Shang-te the "Hwăn foo," literally "the rational soul father," *i.e.*, either the ψυχη κοσμου designated "Father" in the Classics, or, the Father of the rational souls of men which are, as has been shown decerpted portions of Shang-te himself or the subtle

Ether. In this error, it seems, these men in common with the rest of their countrymen, are now to be confirmed by a million of New Testaments.

From what is stated in the Chinese system with regard to the two Principles of the Universe, it is plain that these are the two Persian Principles of Light and Darkness, Good and Evil. The Light is the good God or Shang-te proper, the rational soul of the world, who is opposed by the evil Demon, and who is regarded as the framer of the world. At each return of all things to Chaos, the Darkness or evil Principle envelops the Light and overcomes him for a time, producing destruction and death. That this Light or Shang-te is not the true God, is plain from what is said of him; and we have also the direct testimony of Scripture on this point, *e.g.*:

"Holy Scripture at once testifies the remote antiquity of such speculations; and decidedly proves that the pure light or good principle of the Persians *was not the true God, as some have imagined;* but no less than the thick darkness or evil principle *a mere creature.* In the address of Jehovah to Cyrus his anointed, he is represented as saying, in manifest allusion to the philosophy of the Magi: *I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light and create the darkness; I make the peace and create the evil. I the Lord do all these things.*" Isaiah xlv., 6, 7. "The *peace* or harmony of the renovated world; the *evil* or confusion of the dissolved world."—Faber's Orig., &c., vol. iii., p. 98, and note.

An attempt to graft this Philosophy of the Magi upon Christianity gave rise to the heresy of Manes, Cerinthus, &c. Manes held that all things proceeded from two principles; the one "a pure and most subtle matter called Light, and the other a gross and corrupt substance called Darkness." He held that there were two souls in man, "one of which is sensitive and lustful, and owes its existence to the evil principle; the other rational and immortal, a particle of 'the divine light.'" He considered that Jesus Christ is "a most splendid substance, consisting of the brightness of the eternal Light;" that "his residence is in the Sun," and that the Holy Ghost is "a luminous and animated body diffused throughout every part of the atmosphere which surrounds this terrestrial globe. This genial principle warms and illuminates the minds of men, renders also the earth fruitful," &c. —Mosheim's Eccles. Hist., vol. i., p. 174, &c.

Now it appears to me that in consequence of preaching the worship of Shang-te in China, the Insurgents have fallen into this heresy of the Manacheans. Their Shang-te, or the Light, they are taught is

"God over all blessed for ever," and God "as far as the Chinese know him." They are assured that Jesus Christ is also Shang-te; and that the Holy Ghost is also Shang-te. Now the term used for the Holy Ghost is "Shing Shin" (literally "Holy *God*"), and they are taught that the soul is also *properly* called "Shin" (Θεος or Deus). Hence as their Scriptures tell them that the "Holy Shin" (who inhabits the outer circle of the Universe and pervades and animates it, iii., 10,) resides *in* them, and that their souls are truly and properly termed "Shiu," they naturally conclude that their souls are portions of Shang-te, the Light, or Holy Ghost (iv., 2, b). Hence, as their Classics teach them that a greater portion of this ψυχη κοσμου resides in Princes, they regard them as being Shang-tes or Jehovahs. Thus, in a tract lately printed, we find the "celestial king" addressing the eastern prince Yang thus, "When our celestial elder brother Jesus, in obedience to the commands of our heavenly Father, came down into the world, in the country of Judea, He addressed His disciples, saying, at some future day the Comforter will come into the world. Now I, your second elder brother, considering what you brother Tsing have reported to me, and observing what you have done, must consider that the Comforter and the Holy Ghost spoken of by our celestial elder brother *is none other than yourself.*"

Such is the result of an attempt to discover the Jehovah of the Holy Scriptures in the Heathen Chinese Classics. Nor can I see how those who teach the Insurgents to worship Shang-te can consistently charge them with "Blasphemy," for making such statements as the above, which are in their minds, but legitimate consequences of the statements made in the million of New Testaments.

Nor indeed can I see how, if this course of teaching be persisted in, the Chinese will be able to understand the simplest statements of the Gospel. Take, for instance, that beautiful passage, John iii., 16, which in the Chinese version in the hands of the Insurgents reads thus, "Shang-te so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son," &c. Now, not to mention the fact that Shang-te *never did* "love the world," and that *he is not* "the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," the statement in this passage, according to *Chinese* ideas, will merely mean, as I have frequently heard the Chinese interpret it, that Jesus Christ is "the Son of Heaven and Earth," or the Hermaphroditic Shang-te, and that He is our "Chief Sage," in whom (like Confucius and others) dwells a greater portion of the ψυχη κοσμου than in others, and in whom *we* are bound to believe, just as *they* "believe in Confucius." Hence the Chinese *readily assent to* the statement that

"Jesus is Shang-te," because they consider that our Saviour, being the Son of Heaven and Earth, is, like their sages, *the human representation* of this Hermaphroditic Shang-te.

I trust that the time is not far distant when all erroneous preaching and teaching shall cease in China, and when the Chinese shall be taught by *all* Missionaries to know Him "*whose name alone is* JEHOVAH (*not* Shang-te), and who has Himself said, "I am JEHOVAH; *that is my name:* and my glory *will I not give to another.*" &c.—Isa. xlii., 8.

The authority chiefly quoted in the preceding pages is the celebrated Chinese Philosopher Choo-foo-tsze, who is the most voluminous commentator on the Classics, and whom I have chosen, chiefly because his works have been appealed to by the writers on both sides of the controversy. This Philosopher lived about 700 years ago, and the estimation in which he is held by the Chinese may be gathered from the following eulogium passed upon him by the oldest student of Chinese at present in China :—

"..... Choo-foo-tsze, the learned commentator on the Four Books and the elucidator of the five Classics, who, by fixing the sense of the standard writings of the Chinese, has created, as it were, the mind of China, and established a system from which all subsequent writers have borrowed, and according to which all modern essayists must be conformed or they cannot succeed at the literary examinations through which alone distinction and power can be attained. The opinions of Choo-foo-tsze therefore *constitute the orthodoxy of China*, and all who differ from him are considered *heterodox*, insomuch that some modern writers who have dared to dissent from his views have not only failed in obtaining office, but have also been prevented through fear of persecution from publishing their lucubrations."—Medhurst's Theology, &c., p. 162.

Choo-tsze, however, has introduced no *new* system, as appears from the following :—

"As it regards the learning of Confucius, Choo alone, say the Chinese historians, fully comprehended its true import; and has transmitted it to future generations so perfect and immaculate that were Confucius himself, or any of the ancient sages, to come back to life, they would not alter what he has written."—Chinese Repository, vol. xviii., p. 204.

The Yih-king, from which Choo-tsze derives his opinions on Cosmogony, was composed by Wăn Wang, about B.C. 1150. The history of the formation of the Universe is given in this ancient Classic in numbers, according to the Pythagorean system. Number *One*, or

as it is called, "Supreme One," is the chief God, or Shang-te, being the first Deity generated from Chaos; number *Two*, or Duality, is Matter; and number *Three* is the union of these two, forming the complete animated Universe, or First Man. This is the Triad. The formation of the Ogdoad is as follows:—

"The Great Extreme (*i. e.* the eternal, animated K'e) generated the Two E, (*i. e.* Light and Darkness, or two-fold MIND); the Two E generated the four simulacra (*i. e.* each soul generated a body: the ψυχη generated Heaven, the anima Earth; making *four* things in all), and the four simulacra generated the Eight Diagrams," (*i. e.* the two-fold soul uniting with the two-fold body formed the Great Father and Mother, Keen and Kwăn, or Heaven and Earth animated; and these generated the "six children.")—Yih-king, vol. ii., ch. xiv., p. 25.

The difference between the views of Laou-tsze, the founder of the Taonist sect, and those of Confucius on Cosmogony, may be gathered from the following passage in which Choo-tsze alludes to the doctrine of the former and dissents from it:—

"Reason is the Great Extreme of the Yih-king; the odd number One is the Yang (animated Heaven, or Shang-te); the even number Two is the Yin (animated Earth, his Wife); Three is the odd and even number united (the complete Hermaphroditic Shang-te, or First Man). When it is said that Two generated Three, this means that Two and One form Three. Taking One to be the Great Extreme, then *there is no necessity to say that Reason generated One*."—Choo-tsze's Works, T'ae-keih, sentence 43.

The Great Extreme, or "One," who generates all things from himself, is, as we have seen, the ψυχη κοσμου, or Shang-te, whose body is Heaven, or the World, and which Choo-tsze himself states to have been eternally generated by the *Incorporeal* Great Extreme, or Reason, *i. e.*, the GOD, κατ' εξοχην (i., 3). This Divine Reason now uniting with "One," or Shang-te, makes him to be an Intelligent Mind, so that these two, *viz.*, Reason and Mind, being henceforth one complete Being, Choo-tsze considers it "unnecessary to say" that Mind is generated by Reason, both being thus eternally united, and one being unable to exist without the other. Laou-tsze, however, seems on all occasions, to have stated the distinctness of the Divine Reason and Mind, or Shang-te, and to have always insisted on the priority of the former, *e. g.*:—

"I do not know whose son it (*i. e.*, the Divine Reason) is: it is *prior to* the (Supreme) Ruler of the visible (heavens)," *i. e.*, Shang-te. —Medhurst's Theology, &c., p. 246.

Hence it is probable that Laou-tsze, although he held the eternity

of matter, yet did not make the Divine Reason (God) dependent upon it, as the Confucianists do. These two sects, however, are alike in one respect, namely, that they both pay divine honours to Shang-te, the *second* God, or Demiurge, and thus "worship and serve the *creature* more than the *Creator*." That the *three* sects, *viz.*, the Confucianists, Taouists, and Buddhists in reality worship *the same Being* as their chief God, appears from the following legend:

"The Lotus once floated the Star Supreme One (*i. e.*, Shang-te)."

Comment.—"During the Han Dynasty, in the reign of the Emperor Woo, there was a man seen in the midst of the sea, who had *two horns*, a face *like a gem*, and a flowing beard; his loins were encircled with the leaves of a tree, and he reclined in *a lotus leaf*, more than 100 feet in length. In his hand he held *a book*, and he floated up the East sea. Suddenly he disappeared in a fog, and what became of him is unknown. (The Philosopher) Tung Fang-sŏh says, that this was the star 'Supreme One.'"

In this Being, who is the Classical Shang-te, or "Supreme One," whose chariot is said to be Ursa Major, we see combined the gemmy face of the Taouist Shang-te, and he is seated on a leaf of the Lotus, which is sacred to Buddha. The "sea" represents the waters of the Deluge, on which this "Great Father" of the Pagan world, the *horned* Jupiter, reclines in the Ark, "in profound meditation," until the time arrives when he must arouse himself, and form a new world or Body from chaos.—(As to the antiquity of Buddhism, see Faber's Orig., &c., vol. i., pp. 86, &c.)

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REGULATIONS

FOR

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

[AS AMENDED TO THE 18TH MARCH, 1854.]

OF THE OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY GENERALLY, AND OF ITS MEMBERS.

ARTICLE I.—The ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND is instituted for the investigation and encouragement of Arts, Sciences, and Literature, in relation to Asia.

ARTICLE II.—The Society consists at present of *Resident*, *Non-resident*, *Honorary*, *Foreign*, and *Corresponding* Members; but henceforth no Members shall be elected except as *Resident*, *Non-resident* or *Honorary* Members.

ARTICLE III.—Members, whose place of abode is in Great Britain or Ireland, are considered to be *Resident*.

ARTICLE IV.—Those whose usual abode is not in Great Britain or Ireland, are considered to be *Non-resident*.

ARTICLE V.—Foreigners of distinction, or any persons who have contributed to the attainment of the objects of the Society in a distinguished manner, are eligible as *Honorary* Members.

ARTICLE VI.—All the Members of the Society, of whatever denomination, must be elected at the General Meetings of the Society, in the manner hereinafter described.

ARTICLE VII.—*Honorary* Members, when residing in England, have a right of admission to the Meetings, Library, and Museum of the Society; but are not eligible to its offices, nor entitled to copies of the Journal.

MODE OF ELECTING THE MEMBERS.

ARTICLE VIII.—Any person desirous of becoming a *Resident* or *Non-resident* Member of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, must be proposed by Three or more subscribing Members, on a certificate of recommendation, declaring his name and usual place of abode.

ARTICLE IX.—Every recommendation of a Candidate proposed for election, whether as a *Resident* or *Non-resident* Member, shall be read at two successive General Meetings of the Society, and after the first reading, the certificate shall remain suspended in the Meeting-room of the Society till the ballot for the election takes place, which will be immediately after the second reading of the certificate.—Except in the cases of the Members of Branch Societies, who are eligible for immediate ballot.

ARTICLE X.—The Council may, upon special grounds, propose to a General Meeting the election of any Foreigner of distinction, or any person who shall have contributed to the attainment of the objects of the Society in a distinguished manner, to be elected an *Honorary* Member of the Society; and upon such proposition the Society shall proceed to an immediate ballot.

ARTICLE XI.—No candidate shall be considered as elected, unless he has in his favour the votes of three-fourths of the Members present who vote.

ARTICLE XII.—The election of every candidate shall be entered on the minutes of the proceedings of the Meeting at which he is elected; but should it appear, upon inspecting the ballot, that the person proposed is not elected, no mention thereof shall be inserted in the minutes.

ARTICLE XIII.—When a candidate is elected a *Resident* or *Non-resident* Member of the Society, the Secretary shall inform him of his election by letter.

ARTICLE XIV.—To an *Honorary* Member there shall be transmitted, as soon as may be after his election, a Diploma, under the seal of the Society, signed by the President, Director, and Secretary.

OF BRANCH SOCIETIES AND THEIR MEMBERS.

ARTICLE XV.—Literary and Scientific Societies established in Asia may be admitted, by a vote of a Special General Meeting, on the recommendation of the Council, to be Branch Societies of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ARTICLE XVI.—Members of the Branch Societies, while on furlough, or otherwise temporarily resident in England, shall be admitted to the Meetings of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, on the footing of *Honorary* Members. If desirous of becoming *Non-resident* or *Resident* Members, they shall be eligible at a General Meeting, by immediate ballot, and they

will be required to make the payments directed by Articles XXXV. and XXXVII.

Article XVII.—The following Societies are declared to be Branch Societies of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Literary Society of Bombay;
The Literary Society of Madras;
The Asiatic Society of Ceylon;
The Asiatic Society of Hong-Kong.

OF THE COUNCIL AND OFFICERS, AND OF COMMITTEES.

Article XVIII.—There shall be a Council of Fifteen *Resident* Members, besides the Officers, constituted for the management and direction of the affairs of the Society.

Article XIX.—The Officers of the Society shall form a part of the Council, and shall consist of a President, a Director, the Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and a Librarian.

Article XX.—The President of the Society shall be appointed for a period of Three years, from the Annual Meeting at which he may have been elected; or in the event of his appointment taking place at an intermediate period, then for Three years from the next ensuing annual General Meeting; and he shall be re-eligible at an interval of one year after vacating the office. The Vice-Presidents henceforth elected shall hold their office for the same period and on the same terms as the President. The Council and Officers, (except the President and Vice-Presidents,) shall be elected annually by ballot, at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society.

Article XXI.—Five Members of the Council shall go out annually, three by seniority and two by reason of least attendance, and five new Members shall be elected in their places, from the body of the Society.

Article XXII.—The Council shall have the power of provisionally filling up vacancies in its own body, occasioned by resignation or death.

Article XXIII.—The Council shall meet once in every month, or oftener, during the Session.

Article XXIV.—The Council shall be summoned, under the sanction and authority of the President or Director, or, in their absence, of one of the Vice-Presidents, by a circular letter from the Secretary.

Article XXV.—At any Meeting of the Council, *Five Members* of it being present shall constitute a *quorum*.

Article XXVI.—Committees for the attainment of specific purposes within the scope of the Society's views, may, from time to time, be appointed by the Council, to whom their reports shall be submitted previously to their being presented at a Special, or at an Anniversary Meeting of the Society.

FUNCTIONS OF THE OFFICERS.

ARTICLE XXVII.—The functions of the PRESIDENT are, to preside at Meetings of the Society, and of the Council; to conduct the proceedings, and preserve order; to state and put Questions, according to the sense and intention of the Members assembled; to give effect to the Resolutions of the Meeting; and to cause the Regulations of the Society to be put in force.

ARTICLE XXVIII.—The functions of the DIRECTOR are twofold, *general* and *special*. His general functions are those of a *Presiding officer*, being next in rank to the President; by virtue of which he will preside at Meetings when the President is absent, and discharge his duties. His special functions relate to the department of Oriental Literature, which is placed under his particular care and superintendence.

ARTICLE XXIX.—The duties of the VICE-PRESIDENTS are, to preside at the Meetings of the Society and of the Council, when the Chair is not filled by the President or Director; and to act for the President on all occasions when he is absent, and when his functions are not undertaken by the Director.

ARTICLE XXX.—The TREASURER will receive on account of and for the use of the Society, all moneys due to it, and make payments out of the funds of the Society, according to directions from the Council.

ARTICLE XXXI.—The Treasurer's Accounts shall be audited annually, previously to the Anniversary Meeting of the Society. The Council shall, for that purpose, name three Auditors, of whom two shall be taken from the Society at large, and the third shall be a Member of the Council. The Auditors shall report to the Society, at its Anniversary Meeting, on the state in which they have found the Society's funds.

ARTICLE XXXII.—The functions of the SECRETARY are the following:—

He shall attend the Meetings of the Society, and of the Council, and record their proceedings. At the General Meetings he will read the Papers that have been selected by the Council; unless any Member obtain permission from the Chairman to read a Paper that he has communicated to the Society.

He shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and of the Council.

He shall superintend the persons employed by the Society; subject, however, to the control and superintendence of the Council.

He shall, under the direction and control of the Council, superintend the Expenditure of the Society. He shall be competent, on his own responsibility, to discharge small bills; but any account exceeding the sum of Five Pounds shall previously be submitted to the Council, and, if approved, be paid by an order of the Council, entered on the Minutes.

He shall have the charge, under the direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

ARTICLE XXXIII.—If the Secretary shall, at any time, by illness, or any other cause, be prevented from attending to the duties of his office, the Council shall authorize the Assistant-Secretary, or request one of its Members to discharge his functions, till he shall himself be able to resume them.

Article XXXIV.—The Librarian shall have the charge and custody of all books, manuscripts, and other objects of learning or curiosity, of which the Society may become possessed, whether by donation, bequest, or purchase; and apartments shall be appropriated, in which those objects may be safely deposited and preserved.

ON THE CONTRIBUTIONS AND PAYMENTS WHICH ARE TO BE MADE TO THE SOCIETY BY THE MEMBERS.

Article—XXXV.—Every *Resident* Member is required to pay at his election the sum of Three Guineas as his first Annual Subscription; unless his election shall take place in November or December, in which case the first annual payment shall not be due till the succeeding January: —and in every succeeding year he shall pay an Annual Subscription of Three Guineas.

The following compositions are allowed, in lieu of Annual Subscriptions:—

Upon election	Thirty Guineas.
After two Annual Payments	Twenty-five Guineas.
After four or more Annual Payments	Twenty Guineas.

Article XXXVI.—Any person elected as a *Resident* Member of the Society, who shall proceed to reside in any place out of Great Britain, shall not be required to continue his Annual Subscription of Three Guineas while so absent. But he shall contribute an Annual Subscription of One Guinea, and shall be entitled to receive the Society's Journal.

Article XXXVII.—Any person elected a *Non-resident* Member of the Society, shall pay an Annual Subscription of One Guinea. If he subsequently become permanently resident in Great Britain or Ireland, he shall be required to pay the Annual Subscription of Three Guineas, or the regulated composition in lieu thereof, as a *Resident* Member.

Article XXXVIII.—*Honorary* Members shall not be liable to any contribution.

Article XXXIX.—Every person elected a *Resident* Member of the Society shall make the payment due from him within two calendar months after the date of his election; or, if elected a *Non-resident* Member, within twelve calendar months after his election; otherwise his election shall be void; unless the Council, in any particular case, shall decide on extending the period within which such payments are to be made.

Article XL.—Annual subscriptions shall be paid to the Treasurer on the first day of January in each year; and in case the same should not be paid by the end of that month, the Treasurer is authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Secretary shall apply, by letter, to those Members who are

in arrears. If the arrears be not discharged by the first of January following such application, the Subscriber's name, as a defaulter, shall be suspended in the Meeting-room, and due notice be given him of the same. The name shall remain suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing ; when, if the Subscription be not paid, it shall be publicly announced that the defaulter is no longer a Member of the Society, and the reason shall be assigned.

Article XLI.—The Publications of the Society shall not be forwarded to any Member, whose Subscription for the current year remains unpaid.

Article XLII.—The Resignation of no Member shall be received until he has sent in a written declaration, and has paid up all his arrears of Subscription.

OF THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

Article XLIII.—The Meetings of the Society, to which all the Members have admission, and at which the general business of the Society is transacted, are termed General Meetings.

Article XLIV.—At these Meetings, the Chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, either by the Director or one of the Vice-Presidents ; or, should these Officers also be absent, by a Member of the Council.

Article XLV.—*Ten Members* being present, the Meeting shall be considered as constituted.

Article XLVI.—The General Meetings of the Society shall be held on the *first* and *third Saturday* in every month, from the third Saturday of November to the first Saturday of July, both inclusive ; excepting the Saturdays preceding Easter and Whit Sundays and Christmas-day.

Article XLVII.—The business of the General Meetings shall be, the proposing of candidates, the election and admission of Members, the acceptance and acknowledgment of Donations, and the reading of Papers communicated to the Society on subjects of science, literature, and the arts, in connexion with Asia.

Article XLVIII.—Nothing relative to the regulations, management, or pecuniary affairs of the Society shall be introduced and discussed at General Meetings, unless the Meeting shall have been declared *special* in the manner hereinafter provided.

Article XLIX.—Every Member of the Society has the privilege of introducing, either personally or by a card, one or two visitors at a General Meeting, whose names shall be notified to the Chairman or Secretary.

Article L.—The admission of a new Member may take place at any General Meeting. When he has subscribed the Obligation-Book, the President, or whoever fills the Chair, standing up, shall take him by the hand, and say :—"*In the name and by the authority of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, I admit you a Member thereof.*"

Article LI.—The Obligation-Book is intended to form a record, on the part of the Members (by means of the signature of their names in their own hand-writing), of their having entered into the Society, with an engagement that they will promote the interests and welfare of the Society, and submit to its Regulations and Statutes.

Article LII.—The Council may at any time call a *Special Meeting* of the Society, on giving fourteen days' notice, to consider and determine any matter of interest that may arise, to pass, abrogate, or amend regulations, and to fill up the vacancy of any office occasioned by death or resignation. No other business shall be brought forward besides that which has been notified.

Article LIII.—Such Special Meetings shall also be convened by the Council on the written requisition of *Five Members* of the Society, setting forth the proposal to be made, or the subject to be discussed.

Article LIV.—Notice of Special Meetings shall be given to every Member residing within the limits of the London District of the Post-office; apprising him of the time of the Meeting, and of the business which is to be submitted to its consideration.

Article LV.—The course of business, at *General Meetings*, shall be as follows:—

1. Any specific and particular business which the Council may have appointed for the consideration of the Meeting, and of which notice has been given according to Article LIV., shall be discussed.
2. The names of strangers introduced shall be read from the Chair.
3. The Minutes of the preceding Meeting shall be read by the Secretary, and signed by the Chairman.
4. Donations presented to the Society shall be announced or laid before the Meeting.
5. Certificates of recommendation of Candidates shall be read.
6. New Members shall be admitted.
7. Ballots for new Members shall take place.
8. Papers and communications shall be read.

Article LVI.—The Anniversary Meeting of the Society shall be held on the third *Saturday* in *May*, to receive and consider a Report of the Council on the state of the Society; to receive the Report of the Auditors on the Treasurer's Accounts; to elect the Council and Officers for the ensuing year; to enact or repeal Regulations; and to deliberate on such other questions as may be proposed relative to the affairs of the Society.

OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

Article LVII.—Communications and Papers read to the Society shall, from time to time, be published under the title of *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*

Article LVIII.—All *Resident* and *Non-resident* Members of the Society are entitled to receive the parts or volumes of the *Journal* published subsequently to their election; and to purchase, at an established reduced price, such volumes or parts as may have been previously published.

Article LIX.—The Council is authorised to present copies of the *Journal* to learned Societies and distinguished individuals.

Article LX.—Every original communication presented to the Society becomes its property; but the author, or contributor, may republish it twelve months after its publication by the Society. The Council may publish any original communication presented to the Society, in any way and at any time judged proper; but if printed in the Society's *Journal*, twenty-five copies of it shall be presented to the author or contributor, when the Volume or Part in which it is inserted is published. Any Paper which the Council may not see fit to publish, may, with its permission, be returned to the Author, upon the condition that, if it be published by him a printed copy of it shall be presented to the Society.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

Article LXI.—Every person who shall contribute to the Library or Museum, or to the General Fund of the Society, shall be recorded as a Benefactor, and the gift shall be acknowledged in a letter from the Secretary, and recorded in the Society's *Journal*.

Article LXII.—Every Member of the Society shall be at liberty to borrow the books of the Society, whether printed or manuscript, on giving a receipt for the same, and under such rules as shall be settled by the Council. But no books belonging to the Society shall be taken out of the Society's house, without a receipt from the Member borrowing. No models, plans, or papers shall be taken out of the Library, without a written authority from the Librarian or Secretary. No stranger shall be allowed the use of the Library without the permission of the Council.

Article LXIII.—The Museum shall be open daily for the admission of the public (except on Saturdays and the usual holidays), between the hours of eleven and four, either by the personal or written introduction of Members, or by tickets, which may be obtained by Members at the Society's House.

Article LXIV.—Whereas the Royal Asiatic Society has been established exclusively for the purpose of science and literature, and its funds have been devoted entirely to such purpose, it is hereby declared that it is wholly inconsistent with the objects, laws, constitution, and practice of the Society, that any division or bonus in money should be made unto or between any of its Members; and it is hereby ordered that the Royal Asiatic Society shall not, and may not make any dividend, gift, or bonus in money, unto or between any of its Members.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

Held on the 17th May, 1856.

PROFESSOR WILSON,

PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

THE FOLLOWING REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

WAS READ BY R. CLARKE, ESQ., HONORARY SECRETARY :—

It is with much satisfaction that the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society are this year enabled to state a large increase in the number of Members, exhibiting a strong contrast to the diminution which it was their painful duty to announce at the last Anniversary Meeting. The total number of new Resident Members elected during the last twelve months was 17;* and of Non-resident, 4.† The deaths have been eleven only,‡ including those of two foreign Members;§ and the retirements were seven.‖

* 1. John Alger, Esq.; 2. Dr. H. Barth; 3. Maj.-Gen. W. J. Browne, C.B.; 4. Alfred Curzon, Esq.; 5. Sir Frederick Currie, Bart.; 6. The Rev. Elijah Hoole; 7. Lieut.-Col. W. Hough; 8. Welby Jackson, Esq.; 9. Mrs. Alexander Kerr; 10. Sir John S. Login, M.D.; 11. Dr. J. D. Macbride; 12. John Marshman, Esq.; 13. The Rev. William Parry; 14. George Palmer, Esq.; 15. The Rev. W. Selwyn; 16. Newman Smith, Esq.; 17. Mrs. Speir.

† 1. E. C. Bayley, Esq.; 2. D. F. Carmichael, Esq.; 3. G. H. Freeling, Esq.; 4. H. G. Keene, Esq.

‡ 1. W. B. Barker, Esq.; 2. Charles Elliott, Esq.; 3. The Rt.-Hon. Henry Ellis; 4. The Rt.-Hon. Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., G.C.B.; 5. Dr. Colin Rogers; 6. The Duke of Somerset; 7. The Hon. W. H. Leslie Melville; 8. P. Pusey, Esq., M.P.; 9. John Reeves, Esq.

§ 1. General Prince Paskevitch; 2. The Chevalier Don Lopez de Cordoba.

‖ 1. Sir F. Abbott, C.B.; 2. David Blane, Esq.; 3. Capt. I. J. Chapman; 4. G. H. T. Heatley, Esq. (struck off); 5. Charles Rieu, Esq.; 6. Andrew Wight, Esq.; 7. Lieut.-Gen. Salter.

But while the Council contemplate with satisfaction the general increase in the number of the Members, they have to deplore the loss they have sustained by the death of their highly valued and respected colleague, Mr. Charles Elliott, who, ever since his return to his native land, has taken an active interest in the operations of the Society, and held the office of Treasurer since the death of Mr. James Alexander, who was appointed to that office at the first institution of the Society.

Mr. Elliott proceeded to Bengal, as a Writer, at a time when no provision existed for preliminary training for the arduous duties of the Civil Service; but his natural energy led him to an early cultivation of the Persian and Hindustani, which a facility for acquiring languages enabled him speedily to master. When the College of Fort William was instituted by Lord Wellesley, at the commencement of this century, he was one of the few who, although he had already entered on public life, voluntarily returned to Calcutta for the purpose of submitting to an examination, and establishing his character as an excellent Oriental scholar.

Mr. Elliott had been in India only a few years, and had not much passed the age of thirty, when he was appointed judge of the province of Futtyghur; and, shortly afterwards, he was raised to the higher, and more responsible post of one of the judges of the Bareilly Court of Appeal and Circuit. In the year 1821, he was called upon to act as one of the judges of the Sudder Court in Calcutta; and in the following year, he was sent to Delhi as senior member of the Board of Revenue of the North Western Provinces, and agent to the Governor-General at the Court of the Great Moghul.

The political office with which Mr. Elliott was thus invested, occasioned the attendance at his durbars, or levees, of many distinguished native chieftains, who have since earned an unenviable notoriety in their struggles with the British Government. Such were the turbulent chiefs of Afghanistan, and princes and others, of distinction, in the Court of Runjeet Singh. With these personages, all communications were carried on at that time through the channel of the Governor-General's agent at Delhi.

It was in this position that Mr. Elliott exhibited the soundness of his judgment, the integrity of his character, and the firmness so essential to the discharge of his high and important duties. These qualities rendered him a fit and able successor to Sir Charles, afterwards Lord, Metcalfe.

Mr. Elliott's return to England in 1826, with the Company's retiring annuity, in addition to a handsome patrimony, precluded his advancement to a seat at the Council Board, to which his distinguished and

meritorious services would no doubt have pointed him out as peculiarly eligible.

During the thirty years of his residence in his native land, he was happily permitted to enjoy a larger share of health and happiness than usually falls to the lot of man.

The only work he ever published was an abridged translation, from the Persian, of the life of Háfiz Rehmut Khán ; but as a Fellow of the Royal Society, and as a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, he was well known as manifesting, at a very advanced age, a lively interest in all that was passing in the world of literature and politics, and a sound and discriminating taste in the appreciation of excellence and merit. Few men, even in the vigor of life, passed so many hours in reading as did Mr. Elliott, when nearly fourscore years of age ; and still fewer, at that age, have possessed the mental and physical power which enabled him to mix, almost daily, in society, where, amidst an unusually extensive circle of friends and acquaintance he was always welcome, as a man possessing a large fund of anecdote, and a rich store of information.

Mr. Elliott died, full of years and of honor, on the 4th of May, 1856, in the 80th year of his age.

Sir Henry Pottinger was a member of an ancient Berkshire family which had been settled in Ireland for nearly three centuries. Sir Henry was born at Mount Pottinger, in the county Down, in 1790. He went to India in 1804, as a cadet, and very soon brought himself to the notice of the Government of Bombay, by whom he was attached as surveyor to the missions that were sent, about 1809–10, to Sindh and Persia. In the latter year, he was sent, with Captain Christie, into Sindh and Baluchistan, countries then almost unknown to Europeans, and of which it was considered important to gain precise information, especially in respect of their geographical and political circumstances. An account of his travels was published in 1816, and first afforded the means of obtaining accurate knowledge of the countries between the lower course of the Indus and Persia,—in fact, it is still our chief authority for our acquaintance with the western districts of Baluchistan, and the adjacent Persian frontier. Upon his return to India, Lieutenant Pottinger was appointed an assistant to the Resident at the Court of the Peshwa ; and after the close of the Mahratta war, was one of the officers selected by Mr. Elphinstone, for the administration of the territories which had recently fallen under British authority. He was accordingly nominated judge and collector of the Ahmednagar district, in which he remained until he was appointed Political Resident at the Court of the Row or Raja of Cutch, then under age. He was

entrusted with the administration of the country, and so endeared himself to the young prince, whose education he superintended, that the latter, as a proof of his affection and gratitude, proposed that he should be permitted to pay for the education of the Resident's children when they were sent to England, a measure, however, which the Indian service did not admit of. While holding this position, he gave liberal aid to inquiries of a different description, and contributed essentially to the success of Mr. Masson, in investigating the antiquities, and collecting the coins of Afghanistan.

In 1838, he was appointed Resident at the Court of the Amirs of Sindh. During his tenure of that office, which lasted fifteen years, the Afghan war took place; and although not personally engaged in it, the means of promoting the success of the operations of the army, derived from his political station, and his intimate knowledge of the chiefs and resources of the country, were so judiciously and effectively made use of, and his services were justly held of so much importance, that, at the close of the campaign, they were acknowledged by his elevation to the rank of Baronet. Returning on leave to England, his services were engaged by the British Government, and he was sent, in 1841, to China as Envoy Extraordinary and Superintendent of our commercial intercourse with that country, where his intelligence and firmness soon effected a reconciliation with the Chinese Government, and established conditions of peace on a scale more advantageous than had ever before been conceded. For this service he received the Grand Cross of the Bath. He then became Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Hong Kong, where he remained till 1844, in which year he was made a member of the Privy Council. Two years after this he was appointed Governor of the Cape of Good Hope; and in 1847, of Madras, which office he retained until 1854. He died at Malta, on the 18th of March last, whither he had proceeded for the restoration of his health, broken down by an incessant and laborious public career, in several parts of Asia and in Africa, of more than half a century.

The Right Honourable Sir Henry Ellis was born about the year 1788; and was educated at Harrow. He proceeded to Bengal, in the Civil Service, in the year 1806; and was early distinguished at the Calcutta College for his acquirements in the Persian and Sanscrit, as also in the vernacular language of Bengal. In the early part of 1808, he became a paid attaché to the mission to Persia, under Colonel, afterwards Sir John Malcolm. In 1809, he was appointed Secretary to the Mission to Sindh, under Mr. Hankey Smith; and, in the following year, joined Brigadier-General Malcolm, on his second Mission to the Court of Tehran, as Secretary of Embassy. On his return to

India, he was nominated Head Assistant at the Court of the Peshwa, at Poona.

In 1811, he returned to England on account of ill-health; and was appointed Private Secretary to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, then President of the Board of Control, where he failed not to acquire extensive information of the home administration and policy of our Asiatic Government. In 1814, Mr. Ellis was Minister Plenipotentiary, *ad interim*, in Persia. In 1816, he was nominated Secretary of Embassy to the Mission to China, under the Earl of Amherst, with the provisional appointment of Joint Commissioner, to which he succeeded. On his return to England, he wrote an account of the Embassy to China,—a work of great interest at the time, and of considerable merit. In 1819, he was appointed Deputy-Secretary to the Government of the Cape of Good Hope; and in 1825 he was nominated to the office of Clerk of the Pells, which he retained until it was abolished in 1834. In the year 1830, he was selected as one of the Commissioners of the Board of Control, to aid with his experience in the discussions on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter; and in July 1832, he was made a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council; and two years afterwards, he was dispatched to Persia in the capacity of Ambassador Extraordinary to congratulate Mahomed Shah on his accession to the Persian throne. In 1848, he received the additional honour of a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath.

Sir Henry Ellis possessed considerable literary talents, added to a sound classical education, and an acquaintance with several languages, both European and Asiatic.

Under the recent modification of the Society's Rules, the two classes of Corresponding and Foreign Members have ceased to receive any accessions; while the Society retains the power of testifying its sense of distinguished services in aid of the general objects for which it is associated, whether rendered by British subjects, or by learned and diligent investigators of foreign countries, by conferring upon them diplomas of admission into the class of Honorary Members.

In the course of the present session the Council have recommended, and the members have unanimously elected, as Honorary Members of the Society, His Majesty Phra Bard Somdetch Phra Paramendr Maha Mongkut Phra Chom Klau Chau Yu Hua, the Chief King of Siam, and his brother and subordinate Prince, Phra Bard Somdetch Phra Paramendr Ramesr Maheswaresr Phra Pin Klau Chau Yu Hua. The enlightened characters and unusual attainments of these princes had been brought to the especial notice of the Council by Sir John Bowring, Her Majesty's representative in China, who had become personally ac-

quainted with them during the mission to their capital. To a knowledge of Sanskrit the Chief King adds an acquaintance with both the Latin and English languages; and the younger brother is said to write and speak English with wonderful correctness. Both have acquired a considerable knowledge of astronomy, and the younger has also given some attention to chemistry and mechanics. Thus enlightened themselves, they give, by their example and patronage, every encouragement to literary and scientific pursuits within the sphere of their power. In proposing to enrol among our Honorary Members these Indian princes who had laboured so assiduously in furtherance of the objects for which the Society was founded, the Council were actuated by the consideration that the honour to be conferred would be gratifying to their Highnesses, and that such public acknowledgment of their merits, while reflecting credit on the Society, would act as a stimulus to further exertions on the part of these intelligent personages, in the enlightened career on which they have so auspiciously entered.

The Society has also conferred the degree of Honorary Member on the Rev. R. Spence Hardy; on Dr. Hincks; and on Professor Westergaard, as having, in the words of the 10th Article of the Society's Regulations, "contributed to the attainments of the objects of the Society in a distinguished manner."

By the publication of "Eastern Monachism," the first-named gentleman has given us, from original documents, an account of the origin, laws, sacred writings, and practices of the Buddhist Mendicant Orders; and in his "Manual of Buddhism," subsequently published, he has carefully traced the modern development of the system, beginning with Buddhist cosmogony and the history of Gautama, and closing with a compendium of the philosophy of Buddhism, as understood by the modern priesthood, and taught to the people.

Dr. Hincks has been for several years before the learned world as a successful investigator and decipherer of the languages written with cuneiform characters; and though his distance from the places where the materials exist in greatest extent has necessarily prevented him from giving full scope to the inherent sagacity which appears in all his communications, there can be no question that he has contributed very greatly to our intelligence of those records, the discovery and decipherment of which is the most interesting fact in archæology, adding, as it does, so great a portion of the history of the world to our stores of knowledge.

Professor Westergaard, by his "Radices Sanscritæ," published some years ago, contributed one of the most useful works of reference to the student. This work is composed on a scientific plan, and refers, in every instance, to classical sources in support of the acceptation which he has given to the verbal forms that are the subject of his labours.

To his own countrymen, the small Danish Sanskrit Grammar is calculated to be peculiarly valuable. His recent edition of all the Zend Texts, noticed in a later part of the present report, will, when completed by the translation, grammar, and dictionary, fully justify the Society in conferring on this distinguished scholar the diploma of an Honorary Member.

The progress of Assyrian discovery has been very satisfactory since the last Anniversary Meeting. More monuments have been brought home to enrich our national museum; new inscriptions have been received, some of them recorded by monarchs of whom nothing had hitherto been found; and the progress of decipherment, by the continued labours of Sir Henry Rawlinson, has kept pace with the arrival of fresh materials. The discovery of the plan and purport of the Birs Nimrud has been made known to the Society by communications from Sir Henry, previously to his return to England. The memoir on that edifice has been partly read to the Society, and is now in the printer's hands, being intended to form a portion of the 17th volume of the Society's Journal. The monuments of a series of twenty-five primitive Chaldæan Kings have also been investigated. These kings had utterly passed away from history; they preceded the Assyrian dynasty, whose later monarchs are known by name from the Biblical records, and may comprise a thousand years of duration, extending from the 23rd to the 13th century B.C. The arrangement of this series of primitive Chaldæan monarchs is based upon thirty-five inscriptions, which were translated and analyzed in a paper laid before the Society in July last; and a solid foundation has thus been laid for raising an edifice of history, extending into the remotest times, of which even tradition has scarcely brought us any traces. The inscriptions themselves will appear, with an analysis, in the first delivery of the series of Monuments of Assyria and Babylonia, the publication of the original texts of which the Government has confided to Sir Henry Rawlinson. They have also declared their readiness to consider any plan which this Society may propose for the purpose of accompanying such publication with a translation. The inscriptions being in a language of a more primitive character than that hitherto called Assyrian and Babylonian, there is necessarily much obscurity about their purport, which could scarcely have been cleared up but for the discovery of the real nature of a great number of clay tablets in the British Museum, dug out from the ruins of Koyunjik. These tablets, in reality, as stated by Sir Henry Rawlinson, at a meeting in December last, "are neither more nor less than comparative alphabets, grammars, and vocabularies of the Assyrian and Babylonian [Chaldæan] languages." When all the tablets containing these bilingual inscrip-

tions shall have been fully analyzed—a work which is now being steadily prosecuted,—we shall have ample materials for studying the ancient Chaldæan or Hamite language of Babylon.

In the early part of the present year, Sir Henry Rawlinson made another communication of interest to the biblical student, being a monument of the Assyrian King Pul, mentioned in the Second Book of Kings in conjunction with Menahem, King of Israel. The inscription on this monument, which was found in the centre palace of Nimrud by Mr. Loftus, informs us that Pul overran Syria, and received tribute from Tyre and Sidon, Samaria and Edom, and from the Philistines and the Hittites. It also records a then recent expedition to Syria, the conquest of Damascus, and the exaction of an enormous tribute, the particulars of which are given in the inscription.

About a month ago Sir Henry Rawlinson read to the Society a paper on an inscription which had been nearly fifty years in England, having been obtained by Sir John Malcolm in 1808, and presented to the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. This inscription is a record of Neriglissor, probably one of the Nergal Sharezers of Jeremiah,* who, according to Berossus, usurped the throne of Nebuchadnezzar, after the dethronement of Evil-Merodach ; and consists chiefly of an account of the various works of that monarch executed at Babylon. It is valuable for the topographical information it affords, which, in conjunction with what is made known to us by the numerous legends of Nebuchadnezzar, enables us to determine the course of the Euphrates, the lines of canals by which it was fed, and the sites of all the great buildings of the city.

Dr. Hincks has successfully prosecuted his investigations ; and has furnished a valuable paper on the Assyrian verb, which is published in the Journal of Biblical Criticism. This paper is a continuation of his grammatical communications, the first part of which, on the Assyrian personal pronouns, he published in 1854.

Dr. John Brandis, of the University of Bonn, a recent labourer in the field, has published, in Berlin, a valuable *resumé*† of the additions to Assyrian history, obtained from the decypherment of the cuneiform inscriptions. In this work he has first described the state of our knowledge of Assyrian history as it was previously to the discovery of any of the inscriptions ; and, secondly, given an account of the recent researches, and the results which he deduces from them. As a sequel to this treatise, he has added, with much detail, a valuable paper on the principles of the Assyrio-Babylonian system of cuneiform writing, in which he has communicated to the scholars of Germany a critical review of discoveries made by our learned countrymen, together with

* Ch. xxxix. 3.

† Uber den Historichen Gewinn aus der Entzifferung der Assyrischen Inschriften. Berlin, 1856.

some of his own readings, and a searching analysis of many of the proper names occurring in the inscription.

Dr. Julius Oppert, in the tenth volume of the German Oriental Society's Journal, has published a letter on the values of the Babylonian characters, in which he has summed up all the results that had appeared up to the date of his writing, 29th September, 1855. This letter is accompanied by a plate, purporting to be a complete Babylonian syllabarium. In this plate he inserts only the ordinary phonetic value of each character, reserving the ideographic values for another plate, "which will contain the genetic developement of the various styles of writing, and will show why any given character associates a syllabic power with its ideographic value." We may expect some good results from the learned doctor's researches in this interesting branch of the inquiry.

Another investigator has come into the field—Fox Talbot, Esq., already known by his discoveries in physics, has printed a paper on the great inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, preserved at the India House, which he has successfully and independently examined, and given readings and translations of several passages of that inscription. He has followed up this paper by another ; and we may expect good results from the sagacity and industry of this new coadjutor.

Among the donations of the present season, the Council would especially notice a magnificent volume, the work of their talented and learned colleague, Mr. Morley, exhibiting, in a succession of anastatic plates, the most faithful and clear representations of a beautiful Persian astrolabe in the British Museum, illustrated by full and interesting descriptive and historical notices. The value of the anastatic process is powerfully exhibited by these plates, which, taken from the astrolabe itself, present, in one view, all the elaborate tracery, the mass of minute Persian writing, and the accurate divisions of the circle, extending to quarters of a degree, with an accuracy which could not have been otherwise obtained, except by an amount of labour and expense which could scarcely have been bestowed for such an object, however curious and valuable. Compendious notices of twelve other astrolabes, never before published, are also added to this book, among which is the one in the Society's Museum, which will be found described at page 49 of Mr. Morley's beautiful volume. The Society will acknowledge, with the highest satisfaction, their obligation to Mr. Morley for this his costly contribution to the history of Oriental science.

The library is indebted to the Committee of the Bible Society for a copy of the Chinese version of the entire Bible, recently printed at Shanghai. This edition is believed to surpass all others in correct

rendering of the sacred text. The beauty and neatness of the typography must strike even the untutored eye; while its compact size, and marvellous cheapness, promise—so far as material influences may operate—to aid its extensive circulation among the natives of China.

The completion of Professor Westergaard's text of the Zendavesta, which includes the whole of what is left to us in the Zend language, will be hailed by the student with great satisfaction. This volume, valuable as it is, forms the least important portion of the work which the learned professor is printing, which will comprise a grammar and dictionary of the language, together with a translation of all the Zend texts. It may be said that no work is more wanted by the Oriental archæologist; and, perhaps, with equal confidence, that no one now living is so able to execute it. The ground had been trodden by the late E. Burnouf, who might probably, but for his lamented death, have prepared a similar work; but the result of his learned investigations and sagacious conjectures is in the hands of Professor Westergaard, who has diligently examined them, and has long been engaged on the same difficult labour.

The volume published is prefaced by an elaborate introduction in the English language, containing a history of the various MSS. in which the Zend works have come down to us, and an estimate of their comparative value. A dissertation is added on the age of Zoroaster and the religion of the Persians, on the alphabet in which the writings were probably preserved, and on the manner in which the existing texts were collected and digested by the Sassanians, to whom he attributes the gathering together of the existing relics of an anterior period.

The Oriental Translation Committee have, during the past year, delivered to their subscribers a translation (accompanied by the original text) of a work of considerable interest, entitled "*Spicilegium Syriacum*," by the Rev. William Cureton, Canon of Westminster. This volume contains the productions of some early Christian writers, of which fragments only have hitherto been known. One of the treatises is a curious metaphysical disquisition on fate and freewill, and another is the apology of Melito, Bishop of Sardis. Each of these tracts is replete with arguments of great ingenuity and acumen, and presents thoughts characterized by good sense and dignity, of which qualities writers of this class have been accused of a deficiency. They were published about the second century of the Christian era, and are said to have been addressed to the Emperor Marcus Antoninus.

The printing of the seventh and last volume of *Haji Khalfæ Lexicon Encyclopædiacum et Bibliographicum* is nearly brought to a conclusion. The sixth volume completed the original work of Haji Khalfa; and the

seventh is occupied by supplementary matter, collected from various sources by the indefatigable editor, Professor Flügel, who is now laboriously engaged upon the necessary indices to the whole lexicon.

The translation of the *Kitab-al-Yamîní*, of Ibn-al-Jabbár Al Utbí, by the Rev. James Reynolds, the Secretary to the Committee, is approaching its termination, and will probably be finished by the end of the year. This personal memoir of the celebrated Mahmud of Ghuzni, comprising notices of many of his contemporaries, is rendered from a Persian version of the Arabic original, and is interspersed with poetry. The work of Al-Utbí is probably the most ancient historical record of the events of the period.

AUDITORS' REPORT.

The following Report of the Auditors on the Financial Accounts of the Society was then read by O. De B. Priaulx, Esq.:—

"The Auditors observe, on reference to the accounts of the last three years, that the *proper and actual* receipts of each of those years have fallen short of the expenditure; and that these annual deficits have been respectively made up from the *balance* of each preceding year, which has annually diminished until it is now nearly extinguished:—

"Balance of preceding years, carried to current year's account:—

1853, carried to	1854	....	....	£265 15 2
1854 „	1855	....	....	195 18 4
1855 „	1856	....	....	84 15 3
Estimated for	1857	....	....	11 15 9

It seems to follow, that unless income can be increased, or expense diminished, the funded capital of the Society (£1806 19*s.* 5*d.* Consols) will soon be broken in upon.

"The Income of the current year, of which the Estimate is herewith submitted, will be larger than that of the past year, as the accession of new members has been greater, and the loss of contributing members less than for several preceding years; but in the current year, expenses must be incurred for painting, carpet, &c., the amount of which is not entered in the Estimate, which must, therefore, be considered as more favourable than the actual out-turn is likely to be.

"The expense of two numbers of the Journal has been entered in the Estimate, because both will be out of the press by the middle of the year; and the charge, therefore, legitimately belongs to, and ought to be defrayed, within the year. One of these numbers is chargeable to the ordinary Funds of the Society; the other, which is one of the Rawlinson Series, will be defrayed from the balance remaining on hand of the Parliamentary Grant of £1,000 made in 1851-2. That balance is at present

£171 18*s.* 11*d.*, from which the expense of the number just published being deducted, there will remain of the Parliamentary Grant, £31 1*s.* 5*d.*

"Early in the ensuing year a further part of the Rawlinson Series will pass through the press, for which the above small balance left of the Government Grant will be wholly inadequate. The Auditors recommend a renewed application to be made to Government for a further grant.

"The only other means of relief that can be looked forward to would be the removal of the Society into rooms provided by the Government, for which urgent application has been repeatedly made, and hopes of success held out, but at no definite period, and consequently the prospect is yet distant.

"W. B. BAYLEY, } Auditors on the part
"S. GREGSON, } of the Society.

"O. De B. PRIAULX,
Auditor on the part of the Council.

"London, May 15, 1856."

It was moved by J. W. Redhouse, Esq., seconded by the Honourable H. E. J. Stanley, and carried unanimously:—

"That the Report of the Council of the transactions of the past year, as well as the Report of the Auditors on the accounts of the same period, be received and adopted; and that the Auditors be requested to accept the best thanks of the Meeting for the attention they have bestowed in the discharge of their important duties."

The Right Honourable Holt Mackenzie moved, and Robert Hunter, Esq., seconded, the following motion, which was carried *nem. con.*:—

"That this Meeting desire to record their deep regret at the loss of their Treasurer, Charles Elliott, Esq., who always evinced a lively interest in the proceedings and objects of the Society; was ever ready to promote its interests; and whose presence among them was always hailed with cordial satisfaction, as that of an accomplished gentleman and an agreeable associate."

It was moved by A. Ashpitel, Esq., seconded by the Rev. James Reynolds, and carried unanimously:—

"That the thanks of the Meeting be presented to the Vice-Presidents, and the other Members of the Council, for the zealous and efficient discharge of their duties during the past year."

The following resolution was proposed by Major A. Moore, seconded by Sir Henry Rawlinson, and carried unanimously:—

"That the best thanks of the Meeting be offered to Professor Wilson, for his invaluable services as the President and Director of the Society, and for his kindness in taking the chair on the present occasion."

The President addressed the Meeting, and acknowledged the vote.

Professor Wilson moved a vote of thanks to the Secretary and Assistant-Secretary, for their services during the past year, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Clarke returned thanks.

The Honourable H. E. J. Stanley, and J. W. Redhouse, Esq., having been appointed Scrutineers, the Meeting proceeded to ballot for Officers and Council for the ensuing year.

At the close of the ballot, Colonel W. H. Sykes was declared unanimously elected a Vice-President, in the place of the Right Honourable Holt Mackenzie, whose term of office had expired.

Richard Clarke, Esq., was unanimously elected Treasurer of the Society, *vice* Charles Elliott, Esq., deceased.

Mr. Clarke was also elected Honorary Secretary, *pro tem.*

The Librarian was re-elected.

The following gentlemen were unanimously elected Members of the Council for the ensuing year:—Baillie, N. B. E., Esq.; Bayley, W. B. Esq.; Bosanquet, J. W., Esq.; Cautley, Sir Proby T. K.C.B., F.R.S.; Colebrooke, Sir Thomas Edward Bart.; Gregson, Samuel, Esq., M.P.; Latham, Dr. R. G., F.R.S.; Mackenzie, The Right Honourable Holt; Muir, John, Esq.; Priaulx, O. De Beauvoir, Esq.; Rawlinson, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry C., K.C.B.; Robertson, T. C., Esq.; Royle, Professor J. F., M.D., F.R.S.; Thomas, Edward, Esq.; Willoughby, J. P., Esq.

Abstract of Receipts and Disbursements, from 1st January, to 31st December, 1855.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
128 Subscriptions of Resident Members, at 3*l.* 3*s.*	403	4	0			
21 ditto, Original Members, at 2*l.* 2*s.*	44	2	0			
24 ditto, Non-Resident Members, at 1*l.* 1*s.*	25	4	0			
Arrears of Subscription received	18	18	0			
				£491	8	0
Composition of Subscriptions	21	0	0			
Annual Donation of East India Company	210	0	0			
Dividends on Consols	50	16	6			
				281	16	6
Publications sold				29	13	5
				£802	17	11
Balance in Banker's hands end of 1854	195	18	4			
Ditto in Secretary's hands	22	8	5			
				218	6	9
				£1,021	4	8

DISBURSEMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Rent, one Year	280	0	0			
Parochial Rates, 1854 and 1855	57	0	7			
Assessed Taxes and Water Rate	35	2	10			
				£372	3	5
House Expenses	57	11	5			
Coals, 19*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* Gas, 2*l.* 0*s.* 3*d.*	21	4	3			
				78	15	8
Printer, for Journal, Vol. 15, Part 1.	113	0	2			
Sundry Printing, and stitching Journal	20	1	3			
Lithographer	31	8	0			
				164	9	5
Salaries and Collector's Poundage				255	2	0
Books and Bookbinding	23	2	3			
Book-case, Carpentry, &c.	19	18	3			
Postage and Carriage	11	18	7			
Sundries	9	7	8			
In Secretary's hands	1	12	2			
				65	18	11
				936	9	5
Balance in hand end of 1855				84	15	3
				£1,021	4	8

[Assets, 1,806*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.* Three per Cent. Consols.]

Examined and found correct, May 15th, 1856. { W. B. BAYLEY. S. GREGSON. O. DE B. PRIAULX.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

Held on the 20th May, 1854,

SIR GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON, BART.,

VICE-PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

The CHAIRMAN stated to the Meeting that he was very sorry to inform them that they would be deprived of the attendance of the Noble President of the Society, who was unhappily confined to his room by severe indisposition. His Lordship has expressed his great regret at losing the gratification of taking the Chair on the present occasion,—a regret in which they would all, with himself, sincerely participate.

THE FOLLOWING REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

WAS READ BY R. CLARKE, ESQ., HONORARY SECRETARY :—

THE Council of the Royal Asiatic Society have to report, that the accession of Members to the Society in the year just closed, though it has fallen short of the increase during the preceding twelve months, is larger than the average of several years preceding the abolition of the entrance fees. The number of New Members is 17;* that of retire-

* Elections:—1. Lieut.-Col. F. Abbott, C.B.; 2. The Rev. William Arthur; 3. N. B. E. Baillie, Esq.; 4. Captain I. J. Chapman; 5. S. S. Dickenson, Esq.; 6. Thomas Geo. Hough, Esq.; 7. Benjamin Hutt, Esq.; 8. T. F. Hughes, Esq.; 9. The Rev. D. J. Heath; 10. Charles MacFarlane, Esq.; 11. James T. Mackenzie, Esq.; 12. Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A.; 13. John E. Marks, Esq; 14. Lieut.-Col. P. M. Melville; 15. The Rev. R. P. Smith; 16. John White, Esq.; 17. The Rev. Dr. Trumpp.

ments, 11;* and the deaths of Members, resident and non-resident, has amounted to 14;† and of Foreign Members, one.‡ Among the deceased members the Society has to lament the loss of three distinguished names:—

The Rev. William Hodge Mill was born, it is believed, about the year 1792, and entered the University of Cambridge in 1809. His previous education was pursued chiefly under Dr. Belsham, a celebrated Unitarian preacher; and, although it had but partially prepared him for his University career, had furnished him with an extent of general knowledge, and a degree of proficiency in metaphysical and theological studies, very unusual among young men of his age, and influencing the whole subsequent tenor of his intellectual life. Whatever the defects of his academic preparation, they were soon repaired by his unwearied application and vigorous mind; and, before long, he became equally distinguished for mathematical and classical attainments, making himself at the same time conversant with various branches of Oriental study, particularly Hebrew and Arabic. He took the degree of sixth wrangler in 1813—a year in which the first and second on the list were Sir John Herschel and Dr. Peacock; and, in 1814, he was elected a Fellow of Trinity College in preference to numerous and able competitors, amongst whom were the two classical medallists of the year. During the next five years he resided in the University, and directed his attention especially to the Oriental languages, the writings of the Fathers, and other departments of profane and sacred learning. In 1820, he was nominated Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, then recently established by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, under the superintendence of Bishop Middleton. That learned prelate's opinion of his new principal is emphatically expressed in an extract from a letter written by him in October 1821:—"His (Dr. Mill's) attainments are indeed pre-eminent. It would be an honour to any learned establishment to have such a man at the head of it." The Bishop's successors invariably expressed the same high estimate of the merits of the Principal of Bishop's College.

* Retirements of Resident and Non-resident Members:—1. Major W. De Winton; 2. Dr. Hugh Falconer (struck off); 3. Major F. S. Sotheby (struck off); 4. Rev. Dr. J. Angus; 5. Lieut.-Col. W. Borthwick; 6. Thomas Henry, Esq.; 7. Major H. Huddleston; 8. Sir James Law Lushington; 9. Joseph Mussabini, Esq.; 10. Sir Henry Roper; 11. Sir Robert Campbell.

† Deaths, Resident and Non-Resident: — 1. Sir William Betham; 2. The Earl Brownlow; 3. A. H. Hamilton, Esq.; 4. Lieut.-Gen. T. P. Smith; 5. George Stratton, Esq.; 6. Lieut.-Gen. F. W. Wilson; 7. The Hon. Robert H. Clive; 8. Forbes Falconer, Esq.; 9. George J. Gordon, Esq.; 10. Sir Richard Jenkins; 11. The Rev. William Linwood; 12. The Rev. Dr. W. H. Mill; 13. Charles Stokes, Esq.; 14. Lord Colborne.

‡ Deaths, Foreign and Corresponding Members:—1. Professor G. F. Grotefend.

Immediately after assuming charge of his office, Dr. Mill engaged in the studies which he considered essential to a free communication with the native mind, whether Mohammedan or Hindu—the acquirement both of the vernacular and learned languages. Obtaining a sufficient conversancy with Hindustani for ordinary intercourse, he set diligently to work on maintaining and improving his previous acquaintance with Arabic and Persian, and on mastering the Sanscrit language. These studies he prosecuted with unremitting assiduity during the whole of his stay in India, and with proportionate success, keeping them, however, subordinate to the main objects of his appointment—the dissemination of sound knowledge, and of Christian truth. With this view, he prepared a series of Notes on the choice of Sanscrit equivalents for Scripture terms; he supervised a corrected translation of "Bridge's Algebra" into Arabic; and contributed to complete and publish an Arabic version of the Book of Common Prayer, with the Psalms of David, under the designation of "Liturgia Anglicana." His great work, however, was his "Christa Sangita," the Life of our Saviour, rendered into Sanscrit from his own original compilation, the principles of which are explained in an interesting dissertation in English, prefixed to the volume. The work consists of four parts; the first relates the genealogy and birth of Christ; the second, the occurrences of his early ministry; the third contains the account of his ministration; and the fourth narrates his death and resurrection. The narrative is translated from the Evangelists, but embodies many passages of the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament. The whole is in metre, in the usual measure of the Puranas, with occasional passages in a more elevated strain. It comprises rather more than five thousand stanzas, in correct and not unfrequently elegant Sanscrit. Its merits were fully acknowledged by the Pundits, who assigned to its author the title of one of their most celebrated poets—the modern Kalidasa. The work is eminently calculated to present the history and character of the Divine Author of Christianity to the learned classes of the Hindu community in an attractive and instructive form.

Although devoted to the duties of the college, and the literary labours connected with his position, Dr. Mill was not indifferent to the educational advance of the natives, nor to the literary labours of his countrymen. He always gave ready and most efficient assistance at the periodical examinations of the Sanscrit and Arabic, and Hindu Colleges, taking, in especial, the department of mathematics. Soon after his arrival, also, he joined the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and was one of its most zealous supporters. For some years before leaving India, he was one of its Vice-Presidents; and was an occasional and valuable contri-

butor to the Journal conducted by its zealous and able Secretary, Mr. James Prinsep. The second volume contains a portion of the Kumára Sambhava, a poem by Kálidás on the Birth of Kumara, translated from Sanscrit into English verse, by Dr. Mill, and illustrated by notes, which are remarkable for their classical, as well as Oriental erudition, particularly on the subject of Greek metres, which the learned author was in the habit of comparing with those of Sanscrit prosody. In the third volume, Dr. Mill appears foremost amongst the discoverers of the remains of antiquity, hitherto locked up in illegible characters, but which were now, for the first time, deciphered through the ingenuity and ability of James Prinsep and his colleagues. Notice having been drawn to the inscriptions on the column at Allahabad, and some attempts having been made to read them, Dr. Mill gave to the Journal, in March 1834, his restoration and translation of one of the two inscriptions on the column, determining the value of the characters, and placing the purport of the record beyond doubt. Other essays of a similar and successful nature followed. In the Journal of July 1835, is the restoration and translation of an inscription found in a ruined temple in the Shekawati country, and till then undeciphered; and in the Journal of July 1837, we have the restoration and translation of an inscription on the Bhitari lát, with critical and historical remarks. There are other communications by Dr. Mill, of less extent in the Journal, all contributing to throw valuable light on the ancient history of India. We have also a valuable piece of Arabic criticism in remarks upon a manuscript of the "Thousand and one Nights." The observations on the Bhitari inscription closed his literary labours in India, as at the end of 1837, he returned to his native country. The Bengal Society expressed their sense of his extraordinary merit by a suitable address, and by placing a bust of him, executed by Sir Francis Chantrey, in their hall in Calcutta. Their address, and his reply—documents of great interest, —are recorded in the Journal of October 1837.

At the time that the Sanscrit Professorship was founded at Oxford, Dr. Mill was a candidate for the appointment. He was very nearly being successful; and was, no doubt, eminently qualified for the office. Whatever disappointment he might have experienced from the circumstance was more than compensated by the justice which was rendered to his merits when he finally returned. He was shortly afterwards chosen as his chaplain by the late Archbishop of Canterbury; and was, after some time, presented to a valuable living, but he was also nominated Christian Advocate at Cambridge; and in 1848 was elected Regius Professor of Hebrew in the same university, with a canonry in Ely Cathedral. He was now in a position well suited to his tastes and habits, and with every prospect of adding to his usefulness and reputation, when an

accidental indisposition shortened his valuable career, and frustrated the reasonable hopes of himself and his friends. He died in December last, leaving behind him the reputation of a profound Oriental scholar, an eminent divine, and an amiable man.

Professor Forbes Falconer was born in the city of Aberdeen, on the 10th of September, 1805, and was the second and only surviving son of Gilbert Falconer, Esq., of Braeside, Fifeshire. Having completed his early studies at the Grammar School, he became First Competition Bursar at Marischal College, gained the silver pen in the Greek class, and disputed, with much credit, for the honours of a Mathematical Bursarship. Specimens of his taste and progress in his classical studies appeared in some metrical translations from the Greek Anthology, which were published, though without his name, in the local periodicals of that time.

Mr. Falconer had already evinced a strong predilection for the study of the languages of the East. Before he had attained his twentieth year, he attended the Hebrew lectures of Professor Bentley, in Aberdeen, and acquired an extensive and accurate knowledge of the sacred language and of its cognate dialects. He also, though at that time untaught, made considerable progress in the study of Arabic and Persian. His enthusiasm in these studies increasing with his advancement in them, he resolved to avail himself of the assistance of the most able continental Orientalists. With this view he proceeded to Paris, where, for nearly five years, he attended the lectures of Baron de Sacy in Arabic, M. de Chezy in Persian, and M. Garcin de Tassy in Hindustani; by his acquirement of this last language, he made a valuable addition to those he already possessed, and his acquaintance with the learned and amiable Professor of that Cours, was the commencement of a friendship which formed one of the most agreeable associations of his literary life. Subsequently Mr. Falconer attended also the classes of some of the most celebrated German Orientalists, especially at the University of Göttingen. After returning for a short time to his native city, he finally settled in London, where he established himself as a teacher of Oriental languages, principally for the preparation of youth intended for the two establishments of the Honourable East India Company, or qualifying themselves by private study for civil or military service in the East.

A vacancy occurring in the Professorship of Oriental languages in the London University, Mr. Falconer was unanimously elected to that Chair; but the inconvenience of attending pupils at a distance from his own residence, and the difficulty of giving popularity to a public class in a branch of study little patronized in this country, caused him afterwards to retire from an appointment which conferred little or no public

fame, and which, being entirely without endowment, offered but small recompense for the valuable time devoted to its duties. In the year 1839, having then just completed his thirty-fourth year, Mr. Falconer was again a candidate for a Professorship of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow. On this occasion the omission of personal canvassing, to which the natural timidity and bashfulness of his character presented an insurmountable obstacle, proved the only cause of his failure in an appointment for which he was pre-eminently qualified by his previous studies, and strongly recommended by the high testimonials he received from all the most distinguished Oriental scholars and professors, both in Great Britain and on the Continent.

Not wholly abandoning his desire to return to his native country, and to exchange the laborious but unthankful duties of private teaching for the literary ease and retirement of a professorship, Mr. Falconer continued to devote his time to the numerous pupils his increasing reputation had gained for him, and employed himself also, occasionally, as a translator of official documents for the East India Company, as well as of those derived from other sources. During his intervals of leisure he amused himself with various literary researches, chiefly in connexion with the poetry and philosophy of the East. His favourite walk in these studies was the poetic literature of the Persians, and, especially, of the poets of the Sufi class, who have given utterance to their mystic enthusiasm in the most impassioned and admired compositions in that language Of this species of literature, Professor Falconer contributed from time to time, short extracts and translations to the "Asiatic Journal," a periodical which offered to Orientalists the advantage of an easier and more speedy mode of publication, as well as of the reception of essays and fragments of a more miscellaneous character than those to which are devoted the graver transactions of our own and other Asiatic Societies. Some of these contributions of Mr. Falconer were also of a more extended nature, comprising analyses of native works from unpublished MSS. or inedited portions of poetry. The latter were chiefly from the "Bustán," a poem which seems to have possessed a peculiar charm for its accomplished editor, who probably found in the calm, moral, and elegant philosophy of its author, a spirit congenial to his own. Of the "Bustán" he published also a considerable portion, separately, in text, lithographed from his own transcript in a minute, but clear, and singularly Oriental style of penmanship, in which art he had obtained great perfection and elegance. The translations contributed to the "Asiatic Journal" were either literal, in English prose, executed with scrupulous fidelity and correctness; or, in some instances, in rhymed verse; and these, even in specimens of such limited extent, display a taste and genius, which, independent of their merits as trans-

lations, entitle their author to distinguished credit as a poet. Those only who are acquainted with the originals can appreciate the difficulty of a versified translation of Persian poetry,—a difficulty which occurs in a similar process in all languages, but which is greatly enhanced by the peculiar turn of thought of the poets of the East; and it may with great justice be asserted, that, from the earliest specimens presented to the European public in the versification of Sir William Jones, the poetical efforts of Professor Falconer in this species of translation are perfectly unrivalled and unapproached.

As a specimen of critical research we should notice another contribution of his to the "Asiatic Journal"—an analytical account of the "Sindibád Námeh," of which a MS., unpublished and hitherto undescribed, in the library of the East India House, afforded a subject of much interest in the investigation of the history of romance. The "Sindibád Námeh" is one of the numerous forms under which has appeared, in nearly all the languages of Europe, the "Historia Septem Sapientium;" a work to which we are indebted for the original of most of our tales of fiction, and which, in literary interest, is only inferior perhaps to that of the varied and widely diffused versions of the "Pancha Tantra," and its successors. The notes with which Professor Falconer has enriched his "analytical account" exhibit, though on a small scale, the extensive character of his critical and philological acquirements, in the illustration of a subject which had already engaged the attention of Dacier, De Sacy, and of M. Loiseleur de Longchamps.

Within the last few years Professor Falconer received a diploma as LL.D. of the University of Aberdeen, an honour unsolicited by himself, but conferred on him solely as a mark of respect from his college, and in acknowledgment of the credit he had reflected on the place of his early education by his accomplishments and learning. He was at an early age a member of the Asiatic Society of Paris, to which he was elected at the recommendation of Baron Silvestre De Sacy; and very recently was made an honorary member of the American Oriental Society. He was also a member of the Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts, to which he was induced to lend his valuable services as editor of the "Heft Aureng, or Seven Poems of Jámí," the publication of which had been recommended to the Committee by Mr. Bardoe Elliott of Calcutta, who contributed a handsome donation in furtherance of the undertaking. Yielding to the solicitations of those friends who were anxious that his talents, though fully appreciated in his own circle, should be more fully made known to the Oriental world by some publication of importance and extent, Professor Falconer accepted the gratuitous labour, and in the year 1848 edited the "Tuhfat

ul Ahrár," the first poem of that series, followed by the text of "Salámán and Absál" in 1850. His merits as an editor, as displayed in the critical care and fidelity with which he prepared these texts, are acknowledged by Professor Johnson in the preface to his "Arabic and Persian Dictionary," who considered himself indebted to them for some valuable suggestions for his new edition. Professor Falconer's labours in the publication of these texts were interrupted by his premature death. His illness was as unexpected as dangerous. In the spring of the last year, 1853, a sudden and general derangement of the system so completely prostrated his strength, that his friends hardly dared to hope even for his temporary recovery. Judicious care, however, and skilful medical assistance so far restored him as to permit him later to try the effect of change of air and scene in a visit to Scotland; but, on his return to London, a violent attack on the lungs, consequent on a severe cold, exhausted his constitution, already impaired by illness, and terminated in his death on the 7th of November of the same year.

The personal character of Dr. Falconer was most exemplary in every relation of life. Mild, unassuming, kindly, and eminently single-hearted, it was indeed impossible to know him without loving and esteeming him. From those members of our Society, to whom, from his extreme diffidence of character and the retired nature of his habits, he was but little known as a visitor at our meetings, he may have passed away almost without notice; but his merits as a scholar, and his virtues as a friend, cannot but be appreciated by those few who enjoy the sad privilege of lamenting his loss.

May it be permitted to conclude this hasty and imperfect tribute to his memory, with the sentiment of the Roman poet, though not expressed in one of the languages specially connected with the objects of this Society:

> "His saltem accumulem donis, et
> fungar inani munere."

Dr. Grotefend was born on the 9th of June, 1775. He received the rudiments of education in the school of his native place, and afterwards at Ilfeld. In the year 1795, he was admitted to the University of Göttingen; and, within a couple of years, through the interest of Heyne, with whom he contracted an intimate friendship, he was named to a tutorship in the Gymnasium. Two years after this he printed an erudite essay, "De Pasigraphia sive scriptura universali," the writing of which had probably led to his appointment. After several further steps in the educational career, he was promoted, in 1821, to the Directorship of the Lyceum at Hanover, an office which he held until his retirement from active duties in 1849.

Dr. Grotefend contributed to classical literature several grammatical and educational works which enjoy a considerable reputation in Germany. But he is best known, both at home and abroad, by his earnest and successful efforts in the decipherment of ancient inscriptions. In this path, the most striking instance of success, begun by the happiest conjectures and followed up with great industry and acumen, was his discovery of a considerable number of the characters of the Persian Cuneiform alphabet,—a commencement which he would probably have carried out to the splendid results since derived from the united efforts of Burnouf, Lassen, Rawlinson, and Hincks, if he had been acquainted with the Zend and Sanscrit, in a cognate dialect of which the principal portion of the monument of Behistun was engraved, but which, at the early period when Dr. Grotefend studied and wrote, was wholly unknown to continental scholars. The key furnished was not unused by its discoverer, and the several essays which he subsequently published at Hanover and Göttingen until the year in which he died, are all valuable for the material which they furnished, and the ingenious dissections they contained, and more especially for the sagacious collation of similar passages found in different monuments, under the most singular caligraphic disguises, which appear to have been contrived rather to conceal the meaning of the inscriptions than to contribute a record of their contents. In the same spirit, Dr. Grotefend wrote his Rudiments of the Umbrian and Oscan languages, in eight successive numbers, a copy of which is upon our shelves; in this work he carefully pointed out the connexion of those forgotten old-Italian languages with their more fortunate sister-tongue, which the arms and policy of the Latin conquerors diffused over so large a portion of Europe.

This work was followed by another "On the Geography and History of Old Italy," which appeared at Hanover in five successive fasciculi from 1840 to 1842. Dr. Grotefend's paper on the Lycian and Phrygian Inscriptions appeared in the Transactions of our Society in 1833. The results of his labours on this subject were not considerable; and this we may fairly ascribe to the small amount of data at his disposal, and the inherent difficulty of the subject, because the subsequent discovery of a much larger mass of materials, and the efforts of several learned and ingenious men, have not added much to our knowledge of the structure and affinities of the language of Lycia.

We learn from a gentleman who was many years a pupil of Dr. Grotefend that, although he was considered by persons not in his intimacy, to be of a cold and reserved character, wholly occupied with his recondite studies, and uninterested in anything beyond them, this learned man was really full of feeling, and endowed with an almost

child-like simplicity, which endeared him to all those who were of the circle of his friends.

When teaching, he became eloquent. Every part of a lesson furnished matter for bringing forward his great stores of information, which he poured out to his delighted pupils,—rather exciting them to efforts for the discovery of what was still to be found, than detailing the things already known; these he was inclined to leave to the industry of his scholars; a mode of teaching calculated to stir up the best efforts of young men of genius, though perhaps not so fitted for the dulness of an average pupil.

Dr. Grotefend was one of those men who from childhood to old age follow up one unvaried plan of study with unflinching tenacity. He was possessed of an extraordinary memory and excellent health, which allowed him to study from the earliest morning until late at night, without stint or relaxation. His greatest pleasure was in the exercise of his professorial duties; and he has left in the minds of his pupils the most affectionate recollections of his kind and unremitting endeavours to promote their progress in their studies, and to ensure their well-being while under his care.

After the publication of his inaugural essay, mentioned before, Dr. Grotefend, in addition to several elementary writings, produced the following works, so far as have come to our knowledge:

Elements of German Prosody. Giessen, 1815.

An improved Edition of the great Latin Grammar of Wenck. 2 vols. Frankfort, 1823.

Smaller Latin Grammar. Frankfort, 1825.

First Essay on the decipherment of the Cuneiform character, published as an Appendix to Heeren's Researches. In the English translation of Heeren, Oxford, 1833, it is in the 2nd vol. p. 313.

Various Contributions to the decipherment of Persian, Babylonian, and Assyrian Inscriptions were published successively in 1837, 1840, and 1853, at Hanover; and in 1846, 1850, at Göttingen.

He also published, at Göttingen, in 1851, his "Anlage and Zerstörung der Gebäude zu Nimrud." (Erection and Destruction of the Buildings at Nimrud.)

Of his other writings, we have seen his "History of the Lyceum of Hanover," printed at Hanover, in 1833; and his treatise on the "Rise and Progress (Aufblühen) of the City of Hanover from the earliest periods to the middle of the 14th century," Hanover, 1848; and an essay "On the Literary career of Horace," Hanover, 1849.

The Council had hoped to have seen in this room and on the present

occasion their valued friend Colonel Rawlinson, and they had intended in that case to propose him as a member of their body, but they hear with regret that political events will not permit him to return to England for some time; this he himself laments, as he had hoped to be enabled to dedicate himself for some long period to the work of arranging and bringing out the results of his labours. For this purpose he had already dispatched to England, under care of Mr. Hodder, all the tablets, cylinders, vocabularies, syllabaria, &c., for the British Museum, which will probably be soon in this country. He consoles himself, however, with the prospect of the important work which he may still achieve, for he observes, in a late communication, "the vast mass of Chaldæan legends, which come pouring in from all quarters, will find me in ample occupation during the few hours which political business, and the withering climate of Baghdad, will leave at my disposal during the summer."

Disappointed as we thus are of the presence of Colonel Rawlinson, it will be interesting to the meeting to receive a brief account of the progress of his discoveries during the last twelve months. The Council have therefore great pleasure in submitting the following *resumé* by Mr. Norris of the chief points in the Colonel's communications to himself, which are frequent and full of details.

The most recent, as well as the most important discovery, in an historical and geographical point of view, is that of another obelisk, in the south-east corner of the great mound of Nimrud, and erected by Shamasphul, the son of Shalmanubara or Shalambara, who raised the similar and well-known obelisk in the British Museum, and of which a cast is now in this house. This obelisk is described as being six feet nine inches in height, and nine feet square, meaning, of course, nine feet in periphery: It is of very fine limestone, and is rounded at the top. On one side, a king is boldly represented "within an arched frame," like the one given at p. 351 of Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, having the same Assyrian symbols over his head, and the cross like that of Malta on his breast. The obelisk is of more irregular and uncouth shape than the one we have; it stands on a pedestal, which is sunk very deep in the ground; and as the obelisk and pedestal are all in one piece, it is feared that it will be necessary to break off a large portion for the convenience of carriage. There is an inscription on the other three sides of this obelisk, casts of which have been sent to Colonel Rawlinson at Baghdad. They are in the hieratic Assyrian character, of which a specimen exists in London upon Lord Aberdeen's black Stone; but the alphabet varies in some points from the ordinary Assyrian character, and it required some study before it could be read with fluency. The difference, however, is not greater, perhaps, than that which exists

between some of the more ornate forms of what we call old English or black letter, and the ordinary type of our printed books.

The date of the obelisk is about the beginning of the eighth century, B.C. The inscription is divided into four columns, and contains 225 lines. It begins with the usual invocations to the gods of Assyria; and then goes on to record, in the following words, a domestic revolution begun by his elder brother. "Asshur-dan-pal raised a revolt against his father Shalambar; as my elder brother, he was guardian of the whole country (?), but he threw it into revolt, and prepared for battle. The men of Upper and Lower Assyria he joined with him, and he appointed leaders to command the cities, and to lead the inhabitants to battle to fight for him." Then follows a list of twenty-seven cities, most of which are obscure, but the concluding names are well known. Asshur (Shirgat), Arabhka (Arrhapachitis), Arab-il (Arbela), as far as Amida (Diarbekir), Tel-apni (about Orfa), and Khindan (Irban on the Khabour). The inscription proceeds: "These twenty-seven strong places revolted against Shalambar, my father, and adhered to Asshur-dan-pal; by the assistance of the great gods I reduced them all under my yoke." Then follow details of the King's wars. In his first year, he invades the frontiers of Nahiri (Naharaina) and fixes the limits of Assyria Proper, from Bishadira of Nahiri, on the north, to Kar-Shalambar, below Shagamista and Zaddi, the borders of Akkadim (or Babylonia) on the south; and, again, from Ingita and Haridi, on the north-west, to Sukha (שוּחַ or Sohene, north-west part of Babylonia, between the rivers) on the south-east. In his second year, he sends his general Mulil-Ashur against Nahiri, and this chief prosecutes his expedition as far as the sea of the setting sun (either the Euxine or the Mediterranean). His chief antagonist is Khartsina, son of Mikdiara, and in this campaign many cities are taken, enemies slain, and plunder carried off.

In the third year the King crosses the Zab, and passes through Tsilar to Nahiri; receives the tribute of Dadiya, of Khupuska (named on the old obelisk), of Khartsina, son of Mikdiara, of Tsumpa, of Minni (Armenia?), Bartsu, and Tahalla. On this passage the Colonel remarks: "I am now of opinion, that Bartsu cannot be Persia. It is evidently a part of Armenia, being joined both here and on the old obelisk with Minni, or Ararat." The inscription then details the tribute exacted, relates the ravages and plunder of Milida (?), and describes the campaign in this mountainous country. The triumphant king proceeds onwards to Ziruppunda; receives the tribute of several kings, whose names are doubtful. The campaign in Ziruppunda is described in detail. A king named Pirishat is carried into slavery, and the usual plunder follows. The conqueror receives the tribute of the city of Tsibara, and there erects a *stele*, on which he inscribes the laws and ordinances of Asshur,

and the feats of arms achieved by his soldiers in the conquest of Nahiri; he marches on to Mata (Media), and describes the campaign in that quarter. The chief city is named *Nabit*. He next attacks Shirtsuarta, chief of Arazias, and details his conquest, and the submission, tribute, &c., of his opponent. Then follows a list of tributaries who made their submission, containing 26 names of chiefs, and their cities; and they are all more or less connected with Sintira (?) and Artazirari, kings of Nahiri. These names are all new, and many of them very difficult to read, but they will be useful in etymology. They are all Scytho-Arian, *arta* and *aspa* being common in the names of persons, and *kin* and *gin*, the usual Medo-Scythic prefix, in the geographical names. The royal record then gives a list of the tribute raised, and says that by the grace of the gods, the king imposed the yoke of Assyria upon all the countries which extended from the mountain district of Tsilar, as far as the sea of the setting sun, that is, over the whole of Asia Minor, and the Taurus range.

The annals then go on as follows :—"In my 4th year, in the month of Si(?) on the 15th day, I set out for the country of Babylonia. I crossed the Zab; on the skirts of the mountains I killed three wild bulls. I ravaged the country of Epikh, and captured the temple of the city, on the river Turnat (which Col. R. thinks is the Upper Nahrwan). The fear of my gods, Asshur and the Sun, fell upon the people of the country, and they submitted to my power. The men of the country I defeated, and I gave over their property and their gods to my own people. I crossed the Turnat by a bridge (or by fording). The city of Tikne, and 200 towns in the vicinity I destroyed, and overthrew, and burnt with fire. I ravaged the country of Yalman, and attacked the city of Diabina. The fear of Asshur fell on the people, and they submitted." More details follow, all in the same style, till the king fairly enters Akkadim. "Then," he adds, "the people feared from the wrath of my victorious troops, and from the power of my army, whose conquests were not to be arrested, and they betook themselves to the city of [a name not read], which was their capital city, and situated on the river Surabbi, the waters of which were impassable to an army, and around which were 447 dependent towns. This city I took by assault and I slew 18,000 of the garrison. Their blood ran like the waters of the rivers which surrounded their city; 3000 of the inhabitants I took alive. The wealth or arms of the garrison, plentiful as drops of rain, I gave over to my troops; the city I destroyed and overthrew, and burned with fire. Then Merodach . . . . . betook himself to his army: he collected the Chaldæans, the Elamites, the Nimri, and the Aramæans, forces innumerable, and came to meet me in battle. On the river Dab, below the city of [as above], I fought with his army, and their auxiliaries,

and defeated them; 5000 of the fighting men I slew; 2000 I took alive; 1000 chariots, 2000 tents, the royal pavilion and standard, and the whole camp I captured." And so the inscription ends abruptly.

After giving the above professedly hasty sketch of the annals of Shamasphul, Colonel Rawlinson notices a few points of the geography of Assyria, at that early period; the rivers Surab and Dab, he believes to be the Sura and Zab of the Arabs, the left branch of the Euphrates, which bifurcated at Babylon. He had formerly supposed the Surab to be the Kerkha, but he believes that Shamasphul could not have gone so far without much more fighting than is narrated in the annals. He also remarks on Akkadim applying here, as on the older obelisk, to Babylonia so far north as the Assyrian frontier, whereas, in after times, the name was restricted to the lower country.

The Colonel states that he has been down the river to Bassorah, whence he has shipped off several cases for the British Museum and the Crystal Palace by the Acbar steam frigate, which was sent up from Bombay for the purpose; so that we may expect these valuable relics in a few months.

While on his visit to Bassorah, Colonel Rawlinson inspected the Chaldæan collection making in the south by Mr. Taylor, the British Consul; and he has sent home, as a result of a hurried examination, a list of 18 of the primitive kings of Babylonia, found on bricks, cylinders, barrels, vases, and other relics; and 20 names of persons in subordinate authority, in South Chaldæa, subject to the Assyrian kings of the Empire. We trust that we have here the nucleus of a real history of Western Asia, cotemporaneous with, and even preceding, the establishment of the Children of Israel in the Holy Land.

The excavations of Mr. Taylor at Umgheir have satisfactorily proved the architectural plan of the Babylonian and Chaldæan temples, shewing that they were built stage upon stage, with a single chamber at the summit as the adytum; in fact, in precise accordance with the description given of the Temple of Jupiter Belus, by Herodotus, i. 181.

Five cylinders covered with writing have also resulted from Mr. Taylor's researches, and a great number of bricks, with names of kings not found on the monuments previously discovered. From these relics Colonel Rawlinson has sent home lists of names, some of them being of monarchs who must have reigned over the plains of Mesopotamia before the establishment of the Assyrian Empire; and others, of governors of provinces of the country, under the authority of the supreme monarch.

The chronology of Assyria has received a valuable accession by the discovery of a record of one of the early kings, whose name is read

Tiglath Pileser, like that of the later king of Assyria known to the Hebrews. Tiglath Pileser I. was shewn to have flourished 418 years before the reign of Sennacherib, by a passage in the Bavian inscription, which had been translated by Dr. Hincks, to whom Mr. Layard communicated a copy. The same learned scholar subsequently found a cylinder of Tiglath Pileser in the British Museum, recording the construction of a temple at a preceding date, which he satisfactorily proved to correspond either with 1750 or 1840 B.C. This discovery he published in the month of July; and it is gratifying to be enabled to state that Colonel Rawlinson fully confirms this discovery, having since found a duplicate cylinder in a more perfect condition, which shows that the earlier date, or 1840 B.C., is the correct one. The Colonel's letter, which communicated this, was read at the meeting of the 4th March last. From letters more recently received from that gentleman, we learn tha he has read the name of Semiramis on a statue of the god Nebo, dug up from the ruins of the palace of Nimrud. Semiramis appears, in a legend upon the statue, to have been really the wife of Pul, king of Assyria, the same as is mentioned in the Book of Kings; the cotemporary of Menahem, king of Israel. This would place Semiramis 150 years before Nebuchadnezzar, which will curiously confirm the tradition recorded by Herodotus, that this queen preceded Nitocris by five generations (lib. i. 184), equal to 150 years. It is observed by the Colonel, that the works which Herodotus attributes to Nitocris, were certainly erected by Nebuchadnezzar, as is duly attested by Berossus, and recorded in the Babylonian Cuneiform Annals; and he conjectures accordingly that Nitocris was the wife of Nebuchadnezzar.

A further very curious discovery made by Colonel Rawlinson is, that the employment of the Babylonian cuneiform writing was continued down at least so low as the time of the Macedonian dominion in Asia, the commencement of the 3rd century, B.C. This appears to be ascertained from a hasty examination of some tablets found at Warka by Mr. Loftus, which reached Colonel Rawlinson a couple of days before he sent off his last letter. These are merely notices of benefactions to the temples at Warka, but the royal names upon the tablets, which Colonel Rawlinson incloses, are unmistakeably those of Seleucus and Antiochus. There is nothing more extraordinary in this than in the well known fact, that the names of Roman emperors, Claudius, Nero, Tiberius, and others, are found expressed in genuine hieroglyphics on Egyptian monuments; but we are so accustomed to look upon the Assyrian writing as a thing of antiquity, beyond the reach of Greek history, that its appearance on the monuments of the successors of Alexander is somewhat startling. We may now, perhaps, look for Parthian monuments in the same character.

The Council will here advert to a popular question, which has been asked by more persons than by those who have been without all means of obtaining sufficient information on the broad point which it involves. The question is, how are we to be satisfied that the readings of the cuneatic inscriptions, and consequently, the results deduced from them, can be relied on? The question, as is well known to all who have intelligently followed the steps of the discoverers, admits of a most satisfactory elucidation, but such as it would occupy too large a space in the present report to demonstrate. There is, however, a short proof which should suffice to inspire confidence in the general truth of those discoveries and results; and that is, that not only one laborious and indefatigable mind has applied itself with all the aids that extensive learning, and keen sagacity can supply, to the careful and gradual ascertainment of each separate letter and word, but that kindred spirits of energy, knowledge, and zeal, from Grotefend to Rawlinson and Hincks, have been sedulously engaged in the same task during a succession of years, and in places wide apart; and that the conclusions at which they have arrived, in the progressive stages of research, by their separate and independent operations, are generally accordant and corroborative of each other. It may be added of the more advanced realizations, that, while it is occasionally difficult to determine in which quarter a particular point has first been fixed, the discrepancies between rival authorities are only such as prove the individuality of their minds, while they bear no proportion to the great mass of the results in which those learned labourers accord; and even the points of difference often vanish as the one authority or the other is led, on further investigation, to adopt and confirm the suggestion from which he had at first differed. It may be added, that no human ingenuity could devise any system, by which consistent results should be obtained from any number of documents, however large, unless such system were true.

Since the Society met at its last anniversary, an association has been formed promising very important results, from the prosecution of extensive works of excavation and research on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. Our Society has hailed with cordial satisfaction a public movement in this direction; and they have gladly afforded to the Committee the only aid in their power to offer,—the use of this house for their meetings. The Assyrian Excavation Fund have printed their first report, which the Council hope will convince many who may not yet have afforded their support to this undertaking, that its labours are directed with energy and skill; and that the fruits already reaped are important and promising. From many spots which have yet been only seen in passing, monuments of great historical value may be expected

to come to light; some such having been found at Warka, even on the first rapid survey. Photographic representations of many objects of interest, including several inscriptions, have been received from Mr. Loftus, who conducts the operations so recently commenced. These discoveries will continually and rapidly add to the stores of inscriptions, and other monuments, which the labours of Colonel Rawlinson and other palæographers have now rendered available to the elucidation of historical facts, and to the chronological allocation of the succession of sovereigns in the Assyrian annals.

The following paragraphs from the Report of the Assyrian Excavation Fund before referred to, will best shew the great necessity for every exertion being made to carry on the work so auspiciously commenced; and the Council cannot doubt that the cause of Assyrian discovery, to which the Royal Asiatic Society have been enabled to contribute so much assistance by the publication of the laborious and important works of Colonel Rawlinson, will receive further and abundant support from the individual Members of this Society :—

"As the grant voted for the Assyrian excavations carried on by the Trustees of the British Museum is on the point of being exhausted, and as the artist in their employment is incapacitated on account of his health from making any drawings of these highly important discoveries, Colonel Rawlinson suggests that, under these circumstances, the Committee should direct Mr. Loftus and Mr. Boutcher to fix themselves at Mosul for the summer, and thus turn this new discovery to the best account.

"The Committee have not hesitated to act on this suggestion, Mr. Loftus and his companion have been directed to conform to Colonel Rawlinson's instructions, and to proceed to the ruins of Nineveh as soon as the season for excavating in Southern Babylonia shall come to a close.

"The Committee feel confident that the most important results will be afforded by the new discoveries at Kouyunjik, and that the labours of their artist in this new field will enable them to publish invaluable illustrations of the history, chronology, and art of ancient Assyria.

"The Committee take this opportunity of calling the attention of the subscribers to the progress recently made in the deciphering of the inscriptions, which comprise the identification of all the Assyrian kings mentioned in the Bible—of many of those whose names occur in profane history, extending the chronology of Assyria to a period of about two thousand years before Christ. An almost perfect series of the names of the ancient kings of Assyria has also been discovered, and numerous illustrations of the sacred Scriptures, of the highest interest.

"Further researches and excavations are alone wanted to render complete this most extraordinary restoration of the history, arts, manners, and chronology of a nation no less important for the position it held amongst the empires of antiquity, than for its intimate connexion with the Jewish people. The Committee therefore appeal with confidence to the public for additional funds, to enable them to persevere in carrying through a work which has been so successfully commenced, which promises results of such vast importance to the illustration of sacred history, and the prosecution of which has hitherto proved so creditable to the British nation."

The researches carried on by Mr. Loftus, under the auspices of the Assyrian Excavation Committee, prove the identification of Senkereh with the Sanchara of Berosus, which was given conjecturally by Colonel Rawlinson in the beginning of his "Outlines of Assyrian History," &c., published by this Society in 1852.

Mr. Loftus has found at Warka a very plainly engraved Himyaritic inscription from a tomb, which Colonel Rawlinson interprets as follows: ("Nafas wa-qabar Hanat-asar ben Esu ben Hanat-asar faj âtaf"). The grave of Hanat-asar, son of Esu, son of Hanat-asar, &c. The rest is broken and unintelligible. Colonel Rawlinson is of opinion that Hanat-asar is a compound of the same kind with Hannibal, Hananiah, and Hananeel,—the Mercy or Gift of God. It might at first be thought that the existence of such an inscription would prove the recent date of Warka; this is possible, but the existence of a genuine Babylonian cylinder, having three royal figures upon it, which was brought home by Captain Jones, and is now in the British Museum, having upon it a legend of ten very clearly drawn Himyaritic letters, proves the antiquity of the character.

The Council advert with great satisfaction to a work of no small labour, and of considerable value, accomplished by one of their Members, Mr. W. H. Morley,—a descriptive Catalogue of the Historical MSS., in the Arabic and Persian languages, in the library of this Society. In the preparation of this valuable work of reference, the writer has brought to bear an extensive acquaintance with the literature of the countries whence the works he has described have come to us; and the Council anticipate the cordial concurrence of the Members of the Society in the expression of their obligation to the accomplished writer for the service he has rendered to Oriental literature by the task he has so ably performed, and for the gratuitous devotion to its accomplishment of valuable time, and extensive learning.

The Council have directed that Mr. Morley's Catalogue shall be given

to any Member applying for it without charge. The price to the public has been fixed at half-a-crown.

This Society published, in 1834, a work of singular interest, both in respect of the subject of which it treats—the Architecture of the Hindus, and as being the composition of a native author, written in pure and elegant English. The circumstances which led the highly-talented and distinguished writer to undertake and accomplish the task, are so fully described in the preface to the book, that the Council will not occupy the time of the Meeting in repeating them here. The work gives a clear and succinct analysis of the best treatises on Silpi Sastra by the Hindu sages who, under that title, have treated largely of the sciences of architecture and sculpture. It is illustrated by a large number of engravings, presenting examples of the forms described by those learned, but obscure authors, and carefully followed by the builders of the magnificent temples and other structures which meet the eye in every part of our Indian territories. This valuable production has not been so well known, or so extensively circulated as it well deserves to be. Under these circumstances, and considering that the outlay for the publication was made from the Society's own funds, nearly twenty years ago, the Council have resolved that any Member applying for a copy of the work shall be allowed to have it without payment, except for the carriage, when required to be sent to a distance.

The Committee of the Oriental Translation Fund are about to publish the text and scholia of the "Divan of the Hudzailis," edited by Professor Kosegarten, of Greifswald. The proposal of Dr. Kosegarten to edit and translate this collection of ancient Arabic Poems was accepted by the Committee some years since, having been strongly recommended to them by the late Dr. Rosen. The work will be useful and interesting on account of the various historical allusions and unknown Arabic words which the poems contain, but which will now be fully illustrated and explained by the learned and accurate editor. Professor Kosegarten has obligingly agreed that his version of the Divan shall be in English, instead of Latin, as originally intended. The volume now to be issued will be accompanied by a preface in English, and also by a few specimens of translations of the poetry.

The printing of the seventh and last volume of the Lexicon of Haji Khalfa, translated and edited by Professor Flügel, is rapidly being proceeded with, and will, it is expected, be completed during the present year. This supplementary volume will contain the results of the Editor's indefatigable researches into recent Oriental bibliography, in illustrating which he has availed himself of the catalogues of various

libraries in Constantinople, Vienna, and other cities on the Continent; and has extended his inquiries, in fact, to all quarters where Eastern manuscripts are accumulated.

The limited funds of the Society for the publication of Oriental Texts have not permitted them to present to their Subscribers any printed work within the last year, but it is hoped that their resources will now soon nable them to send to press M. Garcin De Tassy's text of the Mantic ut Tair, to be followed by Mr. Morley's edition of Baihaki's History. The Committe have, in common with all friends of Oriental literature, to lament the loss of Professor Forbes Falconer, who had lately taken an active part in their editorial labours, and by whose death the publication of Jami's Heft Aureng, of which series he had already edited the two first poems, is now interrupted. The Committee hope, however, to succeed in finding an editor who may continue and complete this work, commenced under such favourable auspices and encouraged by Mr. Bardoe Elliott's munificent patronage.

Auditors' Report.

J. W. Bosanquet, Esq., read the following Report of the Auditors:

In presenting their Report of Receipts and Expenditure for the past year, the Auditors beg leave to observe that, although the estimated surplus of £900, anticipated at the audit of 1852, has not been realized, and although the expenditure for the year 1853 has exceeded the amount received, they see no reason on the whole to be dissatisfied with the state and prospects of the finances of the Society.

The excess of expenditure beyond receipts amounts to the sum of £220 9*s.* 4*d.*, from which may be deducted £58 3*s.* 6*d.* for lithographing Scythic inscriptions and the Nakshi Rustam inscription, being an appropriation of so much of the Government grant of £1000 towards the publication of Colonel Rawlinson's discoveries, thereby reducing the deficiency on ordinary expenditure to £162 3*s.* 10*d.*

In the meanwhile the annual subscriptions show a trifling increase from £500 17*s.* received in 1852 to £510 6*s.* received in 1853, and the estimated amount of subscriptions for 1854 is £550, showing a slow but progressive improvement in the funds of the Society.

The reserved fund of stock in Three per cent. Consols, which at the end of 1852 was £1300, was at the end of 1853 £1306 19*s.* 5*d.*

The estimated expenditure for the year 1854, which also includes a sum of £107 19*s.* chargeable to the Government grant, will, after deducting that sum, leave a surplus of about £70 in favour of the Society at the end of the present year.

The Auditors would also express a hope that, as the Rawlinson fund will in the course of the present year be nearly exhausted, additional aid may perhaps be obtained either from Government or from private subscriptions towards the publication of a mass of interesting historical information connected with ancient Assyria, which has now accumulated in the hands of Colonel Rawlinson.

T. C. ROBERTSON.
O. DE BEAUVOIR PRIAULX.
J. W. BOSANQUET.

9th May, 1854.

It was moved by L. R. Reid, Esq., seconded by Major Chase, and carried unanimously:

"That this meeting approve and adopt the Report of the Council which has now been read; and likewise the Report submitted by the Auditors, to whom the thanks of the Society are due for the able discharge of the duty intrusted to them."

Moved by Colonel Dickinson, seconded by General Delamotte, and carried unanimously:

"That this meeting desire to express their high sense of the attention bestowed on the affairs of the Society during the past year by the Director, Vice-Presidents, and the Council, to whom the best thanks of the Society are due."

Sir George Staunton acknowledged the vote.

The Honourable Holt Mackenzie moved:

"That the thanks of the Meeting be specially given to Mr. Morley, a Member of the Council, for preparing, with great labour and learning a descriptive Catalogue of an important portion of our Oriental Library, which adds very largely to its value, and, under an unpretending title, contains much important matter."

This motion was seconded by H. T. Prinsep, Esq., and carried unanimously.

It was moved by Captain Eastwick, seconded by Sam. Ware, Esq., and carried unanimously:

"That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, for their zealous services during the past year."

The Secretary and the Treasurer acknowledged the vote.

Charles Elliott, Esq., moved "That the thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Norris, the Assistant-Secretary, for his services during the past year," which was seconded by R. Clarke, Esq., and carried unanimously.

Abstract of Receipts and Disbursements, from 1st January to 31st December, 1853.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
136 Subscriptions of Resident Members, and 3*l.* 3*s.*	428	8	0			
27 ditto, Original Members, at 2*l.* 2*s.*	56	14	0			
24 ditto, Non-Resident Members, at 1*l.* 1*s.*	25	4	0			
Arrears of Subscription paid up	24	3	0			
				£534	9	0
2 Compositions of Resident Members, at 31*l.* 10*s.*				63	0	0
Annual Donation of the East India Company				210	0	0
Dividends on Consols				37	17	4
Publications sold				39	18	5
				885	4	9
Balance brought from 1852				986	4	6
				£1871	9	3

[Assets, 1806*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.* 3 per Cent. Consols.]

DISBURSEMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Rent, one Year	280	0	0			
Assessed Taxes	26	19	8			
Fire Insurance on House	5	12	6			
Ditto on Library and Museum (7 Years)	16	7	5			
				£328	19	7
Ordinary House Expenses and Housekeeper	60	5	3			
Coals and Gas	17	1	0			
				77	6	3
Salaries of Assistant Secretary, Clerk, Porter, and Armourer	234	2	0			
Collector's Poundage	25	0	0			
				259	2	0
Printer's Bill for Journal, Vol. 13, Parts 1 and 2	267	5	6			
Lithographer's Bill	60	6	0			
Stitching up Journal, &c.	12	8	6			
				340	0	0
Books, Periodicals, Binding, and Stationery	27	2	6			
Repairs of House, Furniture, &c.	18	11	5			
Postage and Carriage 10*l.* 0*s.* 5*d.*, Sundries 22*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*	32	11	3			
Cost of Lease of House	22	1	1			
				100	6	3
				£1105	14	1
Purchase of 506*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.* Consols at 98½				500	0	0
				£1605	14	1
Balance in hand, end of 1853				265	15	2
				£1871	9	3

Colonel Bagnold and K. R. H. Mackenzie, Esq., having been appointed Scrutineers, the Meeting proceeded to ballot for the Council and Officers for the ensuing year.

The Director, Treasurer, Honorary Secretary, and Librarian were re-elected; and the following Members were declared elected to form the Council of the Society for the year:—Bagnold, Colonel M.; Bland, Nathaniel, Esq.; Bosanquet, J. W., Esq.; Bird, Dr. James; Briggs, Lieutenant-General John, F.R.S.; Fergusson, James, Esq.; Lewis, Henry, Esq., R.N.; Latham, Dr. R. G., F.R.S.; Oliphant, Major James; Perry, Sir Thomas Erskine, M.P.; Pollock, Lieut.-General Sir George, G.C.B.; Priaulx, O. De Beauvoir, Esq.; Robertson, T. C., Esq.; Sykes, Lieut.-Colonel, F.R.S.; Vyvyan, Sir Richard R., Bart., M.P. F.R.S.

J. W. Pycroft, Esq., moved thanks to the Chairman for his conduct in the Chair, which was seconded by O. De B. Priaulx, Esq., and carried unanimously.

LIST OF THE MEMBERS

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CORRECTED TO SEPTEMBER, M.DCCC.LIII.

1853.

Patron:

HER MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

Vice-Patrons:

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE ALBERT.
HIS MAJESTY LEOPOLD I., KING OF THE BELGIANS.
THE PRESIDENT OF THE INDIA BOARD.
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HON. EAST INDIA COMPANY.

President:

THE RIGHT HON. LORD ASHBURTON.

Director:

PROFESSOR H. H. WILSON, M.A. F.R.S.

Vice-Presidents:

THE RIGHT HON. SIR EDWARD RYAN.
SIR GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON, Bart., F.R.S.
THE HON. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE.
THE RIGHT HON. HOLT MACKENZIE.

Council.

Ex officio—THE PRESIDENT and VICE-PRESIDENTS.
COLONEL M. BAGNOLD.
Dr. JAMES BIRD.
NATHANIEL BLAND, Esq.
J. W. BOSANQUET, Esq.
BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S.
MAJOR-GENERAL J. BRIGGS, F.R.S.
JAMES FERGUSSON, Esq.
G. B. GREENOUGH, Esq., F.R.S.
HENRY LEWIS, Esq., R.N.
WILLIAM HOOK MORLEY, Esq.
MAJOR JAMES OLIPHANT.
SIR THOMAS ERSKINE PERRY.
LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GEORGE POLLOCK, G.C.B.
H. T. PRINSEP, Esq.
E. C. RAVENSHAW, Esq.

Treasurer:—CHARLES ELLIOT, Esq., F.R.S.

Librarian:—JOHN SHAKESPEAR, Esq.

Secretary:—RICHARD CLARKE, Esq.

Assistant-Secretary:—EDWIN NORRIS, Esq.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Honorary Members.

HIS MAJESTY FREDERICK WILLIAM THE FOURTH, KING OF PRUSSIA.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE JOHN OF SAXONY.
HIS HIGHNESS THE IMÁM OF MUSCAT.
HIS HIGHNESS NAWÁB IKBÁL UD DAULAH BAHÁDUR.

Members.

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT.

N.B.—The marks prefixed to the name signify—
* Non-resident Members.
† Members who have compounded for their Subscriptions.
|| Members whose Subscriptions are in abeyance during absence.

†HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE ALBERT.
†His Majesty Leopold I., King of the Belgians, K.G.
Aberdeen, the Right Honourable the Earl of, K.T. F.R.S., *Argyll House.*
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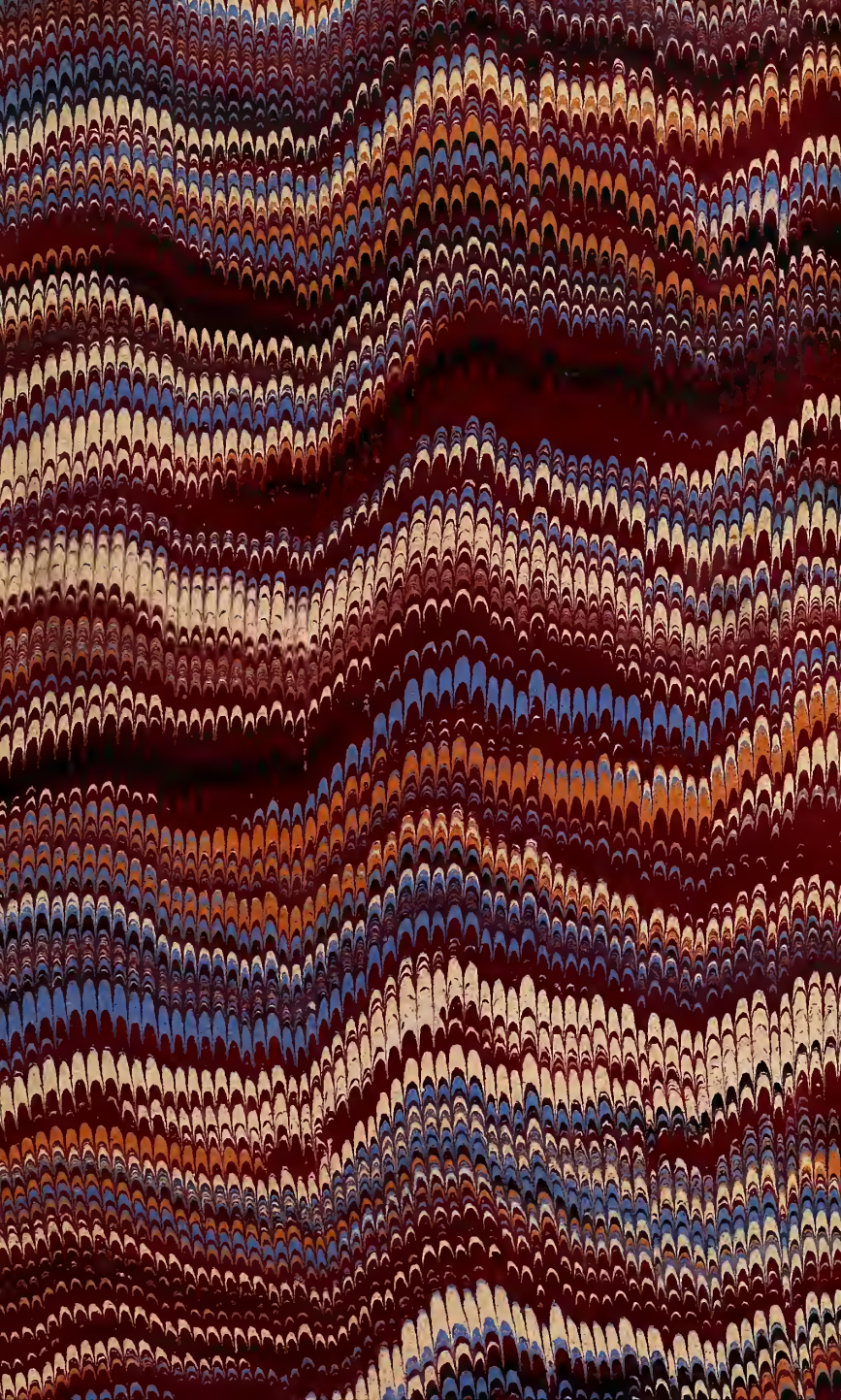

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